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Identity, language, school, and social cohesion in a multicultural context: young romanians in the compulsory secondary education of Catalonia

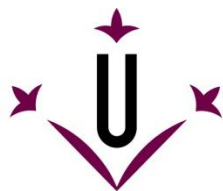
Carmen-Valentina Poalelungi

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Universitat de Lleida

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

**Identity, Language, School, and Social Cohesion
in a Multicultural Context:
Young Romanians
in the Compulsory Secondary Education of Catalonia**

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Doctoral program: Educació, Societat i Qualitat de Vida

Lleida, 2016

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this thesis represents the product of a successful collaboration on many fronts. First and foremost, I gratefully acknowledge the funding source that made my Ph.D. work possible, namely *Agència de Gestió d'Ajuts Universitaris i de Recerca* (AGAUR), which granted me a FI-DGR scholarship for the 2012-2015 period (Reference number 2012 FI_B 00379).

Furthermore, special thanks go to my dissertation chairs and advisors, Prof. Dr. Cecilio Lapresta-Rey and Prof. Dr. Ángel Huguet. I appreciate all their contributions of time and ideas, their suggestions and useful critiques, as well as their patience and encouragements. Without their involvement, guidance, and constructive comments, this work would have not been possible.

During the past three years it has been a great privilege to be a part of the *Plurilingualism and Education* group, which to me has represented a source of advice, collaboration and, not least, friendships. To its members – Ángel, Ceci, Clara, Jose Luis, and Judit (and, of course, Dario), who in different ways have contributed to my professional and personal development, I would like to express my sincere gratitude.

I would also like to express special thanks and my most genuine appreciation to my colleagues, my friends and often peer-reviewers for many parts of this work: Adelina, Esther, Mireia, and Simona, who were constantly there for moral support and who encouraged me to approach things outside my comfort zone. Their helpful comments always enriched my perspective and improved the quality of my dissertation. I am grateful for all their advices, expertise, and friendship.

In addition, I express my gratitude to the University of Lleida, the Department of Sociology and Geography and the Department of Education, and especially to all the students, teachers, and the administrative staff involved in this research. Their time and the amiability they have showed made possible to complete this ample work.

Lastly, I would like to thank my extended family for the constant encouragement and the unconditional support offered in all my pursuits. I feel grateful and certainly very lucky for all their love which has sustained me throughout my life and throughout the past three years. For all these reasons and more, this dissertation is lovingly dedicated to my:

Dear husband, Florin, who believed in me more than I did, has understood and supported me to the best of his abilities, has encouraged me, and has always been at the heart of my strength.

Beloved parents - Tincuta and Costica - and grandparents – Tudorita, Stefan, Alexandrina, and Gheorghe – who have always struggled to offer me the best they possibly could and who represent my everyday source of inspiration, motivation, and energy.

Cherished sister, Andreea-Eliza, and sister in law, Gabi, who are my two personal examples of superwomen, and remind me through their personal example how love, dedication, ambition, and hard work can help overcome any obstacle.

Treasured nieces, Ioana and Sabina, who since their birth made every day more meaningful and joyful and always remind me how life is a gift.

Thank you all.

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ABSTRACT

Given the proven importance of maintaining the heritage cultural and linguistic traits for a satisfactory social integration, this investigation aimed to analyse self-identification related processes of 131 young Romanian students in Catalonia, also exploring the role of attendance at optional Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization courses. Overall, the results indicated that participants identify with all three groups – Romanian, Catalan, and Spanish, although asymmetrically. The three self-identifications were differently influenced by the variables investigated, the most influential factors being language attitudes, language use, and parental strength of identification. Further, each self-identification played a distinct role in explaining the variables associated with adapting in Catalonia. Additionally, finds varied by attendance at Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization courses. Students who attended these classes appeared to manifest greater openness towards multiculturalism and, while they maintained the Romanian identification, their Catalan self-identification seemed to have a more central role in the process of integration and adaptation. The implications for the construction of a cohesive society are discussed.

RESUM

Considerant la constatada importància de mantenir els trets culturals i lingüístics d'origen de cara a una millor integració social, aquesta recerca ha tingut com a objectiu analitzar els processos d'autoidentificació de 131 joves estudiants romanesos a Catalunya, considerant si assisteixen o no al Programa de Llengua, Cultura i Civilització Romanesa. Com a tendència general, els resultats mostren que els participants s'identifiquen amb el grup romanès, català i espanyol, si bé d'una manera asimètrica. De totes les variables analitzades, les més influents en les autoidentificacions són les actituds lingüístiques, l'ús de les llengües i la intensitat de la identificació dels pares. A més a més, les autoidentificacions tenen un paper diferent a l'hora d'explicar les condicions d'adaptació a Catalunya. Per últim, també es troben clares diferències en funció de l'assistència o no al Programa de Llengua, Cultura i Civilització Romanesa. Els i les joves que hi han assistit tendeixen a manifestar més obertura cap al multiculturalisme i, tot i mantenint la identificació amb el grup romanès, la seva identificació amb el grup català sembla tenir un paper més central en el procés d'integració i adaptació. Les seves implicacions de cara a la construcció d'una societat cohesionada són discutides.

RESUMEN

Teniendo en cuenta la constatada importancia de mantener los rasgos culturales y lingüísticos de origen de cara a una satisfactoria integración social, los objetivos de esta investigación han sido analizar los procesos de autoidentificación de 131 jóvenes rumanos escolarizados en Cataluña, considerando su asistencia o no al Programa de Lengua Cultura y Civilización Rumana. Como tendencia general, los resultados muestran que los participantes se autoidentifican con el grupo rumano, catalán y español, si bien de manera asimétrica. De todas las variables investigadas, las más influyentes sobre las autoidentificaciones son las actitudes lingüísticas, el uso de las lenguas y la intensidad de la identificación de los padres. Además, cada autoidentificación posee un diferente papel a la hora de explicar las condiciones de adaptación en Cataluña. Por último, también se encuentran claras diferencias en función de la asistencia o no al Programa de Lengua, Cultura y Civilización Rumana. Los y las jóvenes que han asistido tienden a manifestar una mayor apertura hacia el multiculturalismo y, aun manteniendo la identificación con el grupo rumano, su identificación con el grupo catalán parece tener un papel más central en el proceso de integración y adaptación. Las implicaciones de cara a la construcción de una sociedad cohesionada son discutidas.

REZUMAT

Având în vedere importanța dovedită a menținerii caracteristicilor culturale și lingvistice de origine pentru o integrare socială satisfăcătoare, obiectivul acestei cercetări a fost acela de a analiza procesele de auto-identificare a 131 elevi români din Catalonia, de asemenea luând în considerare participarea lor în cadrul cursului de Limbă, Cultură și Civilizație Românească. Ca tendință generală, rezultatele arată că participanții se identifică cu toate cele trei grupuri – român, catalan și spaniol, deși cu o intensitate variată. Cele trei auto-identificări au fost diferit influențate de variabilele investigate, factorii centrali fiind atitudinile lingvistice, utilizarea limbii și intensitatea identificării părinților. În plus, fiecare auto-identificare a jucat un rol distinct în explicarea variabilelor asociate cu adaptarea în Catalonia. Mai mult, rezultatele au variat în funcție de participarea elevilor la cursul de Limbă, Cultură și Civilizație Românească. Tinerii care au participat la aceste cursuri par să exprime o mai mare deschidere față de multiculturalism și, deși mențin identificarea cu grupul român, identificarea lor cu grupul catalan pare a avea un rol mai important în procesul de integrare și adaptare. Implicațiile pentru construirea unei societăți coezive sunt discutate.

ARGUMENT

Identity represents one of the most important concepts investigated in social sciences in the last decades. The interest it has aroused is reflected by the impressive volume of works generated by numerous authors across fields of study, both at theoretical and empirical levels. Moreover, as argued in the existing literature, the concept is indispensable in spite of the sometimes different perspectives on how it can be defined or measured (Côté & Levine, 2002; Wetherell, 2010).

The analysis of this concept becomes of increased interest in multicultural settings which bring different ethnic and cultural groups in close contact. The existing literature suggests that such situations may be potentially disruptive for the processes of identity construction and negotiation for both migrants and the autochthonous population. Furthermore, identity occupies a central role during one's adolescence, a stage marked by what Erikson (1968) called "identity crisis", when beliefs and identifications are more likely to undergo change. For these reasons, in a context which exposes the individuals to ethnic diversity, how multiple identities are integrated naturally focused the scope of a significant volume of research on adolescent and young adult migrants. The importance of the topic is further highlighted if we consider that the sudden changes entailed by migration can create confusion and uncertainty at identity level, and that young migrants need to find a balance between the influence of the home environment and that of the host society in order to adapt to their new country.

Furthermore, identity represents a critical aspect in immigration and ethnicity related studies as it aids in gaining deeper insight regarding key issues such as social integration and social cohesion. One multicultural context which has drawn attention on identity issues is that of Catalonia, which has become an important hub for transnational migrants in the past decades, between 2000 and 2010 registering an impressive six fold increase in foreign population. Accounting for 14.49% of the province's population, Catalonia holds the largest number of immigrants among all the Spanish Autonomous Communities, the second largest immigrant group in the region being that of Romanians (INE 2015a, 2015b, IDESCAT, 2015).

This has also impacted the Catalan educational system which, at present, hosts the largest population of foreign students across Spain at non-university level (22.8% of the total number of immigrant pupils in Spain). Moreover, within the Catalan Compulsory Secondary Education,

foreign students represent 14.5% of the total number of pupils, surpassing the overall percentage of immigrant students enrolled at non-university level in Catalonia, of 12.7%. Immigrant youth studying here also have very diverse cultural backgrounds, with students of Romanian origin accounting for the second largest group (MECD, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d).

Therefore, at social and educational levels policies are being implemented in Catalonia in order to deal with the changes brought by migration, acknowledging diversity while aiming towards a cohesive society built around the Catalan language – a central element of the Catalan identity. Thus, policies aim to ensure that members of the Catalan society, of different cultural origins, establish relationships based on dialogue and mutual respect. One of the measures carried out is that of developing optional courses of heritage language and culture for different ethnic groups, taking into account that “knowledge and awareness of one’s own cultural identity are indispensable keys to opening up to other cultures and recognising what makes them unique” (Preamble of the 12/2009 Law on Education, p. 6).

Moreover, given the political and linguistic context, the issue of identity construction is of increased relevance in Catalonia as newcomers face the task of integrating elements of two new cultural identities (Catalan and Spanish) with elements of their Romanian identity. Additionally, losing or acquiring a new language is also strongly connected with identity change and in a multilingual context this aspect raises other challenges – on the one hand, acquiring the majority languages is critical in order to adapt and integrate in the new society, and on the other maintaining one’s heritage language is equally important given its determining role in preserving ethnic identity.

Further, also considering that how immigrants identify is important not only for the individuals themselves but for the entire society, and keeping in mind that identification with the society of settlement represents a definite sign of integration (Portes et al., 2011), we reassert the importance of studying the self-identification processes undergone by immigrant youth in Catalonia.

Therefore, the present investigation is placed at the junction of several important areas of research – identity, globalization and immigration, integration and multilingual education– the connection between which we tried to highlight in the first three theoretical chapters. Moreover, our research was located in the multicultural and multilingual context of Catalonia where

immigrant policies, and particularly educational policies towards young migrants aim to help maintain their cultural identity, promote multilingualism, and foster multicultural openness.

Hence, we focused on the main factors which determined the self-identification of young Romanian migrants enrolled in Compulsory Secondary Education in Catalonia and, further, on the way in which their self-identification affects in turn different aspects related to their adaptation in the host society. As a side note, in accordance with our objectives and hypotheses, our analyses treated the causality between self-identification and the variables of interest as unidirectional. Nevertheless, we do not exclude the possibility of a mutual influence between the variables given that the literature to date presents consistent proof in this sense.

Moreover, each time we compared between the patterns of results of those students who attended courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* and those who did not, given that this was a key variable in the selection of our participants because of its potential impact regarding self-identification and adaptation in the host society. Thus, the sample of participants in our investigation was represented by 131 young Romanian students, with an average of 15.06 years of age, and included the entire population of pupils who were attending the optional classes at the moment when the research was conducted.

In light of the above, in the next chapters we first describe the general framework of this dissertation, depicting how social integration is approached and the important role of intercultural education in the wider context of globalization and worldwide migration, together with some general implications at identity level (chapter 1). Following, our review of the literature to date paints a complex image of the way in which identity is conceptualized among scholars in various theoretical and empirical works (chapter 2). We focused on two theoretical models which have generated a significant share of the research in the field of identity – the developmental perspective (Erikson, 1950/1987, 1959/1994, 1968) and the Social Identity Perspective (Tajfel, 1972, 1974, 1978, 1982; Turner, Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982). Our study lies at the intersection of these two theoretical models which, together, highlight the importance of studying the process of social identification construction in migrant youth. Nevertheless, our research followed the theoretical framework of the Social Identity Approach given its emphasis on social categorization and intergroup relationships which can provide insight into multicultural contexts (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000).

Finally, in the last section of the theoretical framework we strive to contextualize the present research by narrowing the focus on the migratory panorama in Catalonia, the Romanian group receiving special consideration for its significant representation within the immigrant population and particularly in the educational system (chapter 3).

The empirical part of this work (chapters 4 to 9) starts by stating the objectives and hypotheses of the study. We continue by describing the methodology used to collect and analyse the data. The results obtained are further organized in three sections. The first contains descriptive data regarding the self-identification reported by our students, together with their perceptions of the groups of reference in terms of civic and ethnic attributes. The second section presents the individual and simultaneous effect on self-identification of the variables investigated, in an attempt to reveal the most important factors in identity formation. In the third section emerge the results of the analyses which explored the impact of self-identification on certain variables linked to integration and adaptation in the host country. Lastly, in the final chapter we discuss the results obtained and sum up the general conclusions of our investigation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. SITUATING IDENTITY IN A MULTICULTURAL AND MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY

The technological advances which marked the last decades, particularly those in the areas of communication and transport have triggered ample changes at social level. As a result of these changes which have marked the Western society, the internal sense of selfhood has evolved (Baumeister, 1986, 1987; Burkitt, 2008, 2011; Gergen, 1991; Taylor, 1989). While in the past identities were dictated by the social context (Hall, 2000), today the technological breakthroughs and the ensuing intensified globalization phenomenon have created new identity choices for the modern individual. As traditional sources of identity formation become harder to draw upon, individuals may experience feelings of insecurity and fragmentation (Buckingham, 2008). In this context, given the array of roles which the individual is expected to play, “the very concept of an ‘authentic self’ with knowledgeable characteristics recedes from view” (Gergen, 1991, p. 7).

With the intensification of globalization, the old links between the territories we inhabit and identity are broken (Tomlinson, 1999) as constant technological advances have revolutionized communication, providing new ways of constructing identity (Buckingham, 2008). This process is amplified by international migration, a process central to globalization, which leads to the blurring of the borders and content of identities, and a feeling of anomie (Wan & Vanderwern, 2009). As migrants arrive in the host country, they often find their new social environment to be confusing and challenging (Frideras, 2002).

In a context where two or more ethnic groups come in contact for a prolonged amount of time, a concept which becomes relevant is that of culture (Phinney, 1990). Such multicultural contexts can lead to issues in defining and negotiating identity, for both migrants and members of the majority cultural groups (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). In order to adapt to the new home, migrants need to solve the emerging identity issues they will be confronted with. In this sense, as they try to integrate new social memberships within their self-concept, they also need to evaluate the old ones and negotiate a cohesive sense of self (Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007).

This short introduction points to the strong relationship existing between culture, globalization, migration, and integration, which motivates a better understanding of the concepts in order to further gain a finer insight concerning their consequences on identity formation. Taking this into consideration we begin with a short presentation of what is understood through globalization and international migration, and of the implications of these processes at economic, political, socio-cultural, and socio-psychological levels, placing focus on social integration and education in a migratory context. At the same time we aim to address the implications of these processes for migrants at identity level.

1.1. Globalization and its implications for identity

Globalization as a less intense process has manifested itself throughout human history. Cultures, nations and peoples have interacted and shared their financial and cultural wealth, influencing one another's evolution through trade, wars, migratory movements and explorations. New products and revolutionary inventions, but also beliefs, ideas and customs have thus spread beyond national borders, making cultures become more similar and leading to economical progress. The intensified globalization we see today is, by comparison, a recent phenomenon which was aided by the development of new technologies, by the diversification of globalization agents, and by transnational forces such as transnational companies and international financial markets, as well as by an international political climate favouring cooperation which helped make international travel, or living and working in a foreign country, an everyday reality for many (Arnett, 2002; de Lucas, 2003). The current amplitude of this phenomenon in the past decades has led to a debate regarding its purpose and benefiter (Holton, 2005), given that globalization marks deep changes in the structure of the modern society (Held & McGrew, 2002).

1.1.1. Definition, dimensions, and tendencies in conceptualizing globalization

The word globalisation first started being used in the English language in 1959 (Schreiter, 1997, 2005) and made its entry in the 1961 edition of the Webster dictionary (Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006; Scholte, 2008). Today this concept is used within the boundaries of multiple

disciplines, to describe the complex economic, social, political and ecological processes which lead to an accelerating interconnected world and with impact at individual, interpersonal, organizational, national, and international levels (García Quiroga, Baldi López, & Marti, 2009; Fagan, 2002; Priletelsky, 2012). However, it was only in the early 1980s that the notion of globalisation was brought to the attention of the academic community (e.g., Levitt, 1983; Robertson, 1983; Rosenau, 1980) and gained its widespread use today.

Although the concept is relatively recent (Coutinho, Dam, & Blustein 2008), there have been many attempts to define it. However, finding a unanimously accepted definition represents difficult task, given first and foremost the complexity and ambiguity of the concept. In this sense, reviewing a number of 141 existing definitions of globalization, Al-Rodham and Stoudmann (2006) note that most of these definitions referred to economical, political, social, geographical and psychological aspects, among others. This shows the extent of the interest which this topic received from multiple disciplines of study, and further suggests that the perspective from which it is viewed influences one's definition of this concept.

From a socio-psychological point of view, a broad definition of globalization which tried to capture most of its facets was offered by Marsella (2012), who states that:

Globalization is both a process and product; the globalization process and product are reciprocally determined; the primary drivers of globalization are all events, forces, and changes that are transnational, transcultural, and transborder, especially: capital flow, ownership, trade, telecommunications, transportation, political and military alliances, and international agencies. (pp. 460 - 461)

The definition above highlights the multiple dimensions of globalization which, from the perspective of Prilleltensky (2012) can be organized within four categories, namely:

- The *elements* disseminated through the processes of globalization, which include people, material and cultural products, and business and information processes (for some examples see Aneesh, 2012; Diaz, Schneider, & Pwogwam Sante Mantal, 2012).
- The *actors* involved in the globalization processes, which can be both organizations and individuals. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of inequality in terms of power between the

actors, with the powerful actors influencing the terms of the exchanges (Marsella, 2012) and leading to unequal gains from globalization (see Aneesh, 2012).

- *The reasons and goals* behind globalization, which can be social, political and scientific. Globalization allows different cultures to communicate better and exchange products. However, while in some cases the goals of globalization are creating equality and improving well-being, they are often related to profit making (Prilleltensky, 2012; Solnit, 2004).
- *The dynamics* of globalization, which are of economical, political, socio-cultural and socio-psychological nature. Various objects of analysis will involve different dynamics. Thus, in the case of trade policies, the processes through which globalization takes place are loans, penalties and policies of transnational institutions, while in the case of ideas or identity the processes are of socio-psychological nature, through social comparison, self assessment and decision making.

Further, also pointing to the complexity of the concept are the different perspectives on globalization argued by members of the hyperglobalist, sceptical, and transformationalist schools of thought (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999, 2003/2005). The *hyperglobalists* approach focuses on this process and its consequences mostly from an economic point of view. Globalization is seen as a phenomenon leading to the creation of a global market, and is viewed as socially desirable given that it prompts progress and social equality. Hyperglobalists argue that the emerging global economy marks the end of the nation-state, as power is shifted away from governments and towards the supranational institutions created to regulate the global market (Held et al., 1999).

By comparison, *sceptics* consider that today's world economy is less globalized and less integrated than at the beginning of the last century not only in terms of international trade, but also in terms of the amplitude of international migratory movements (Held & McGrew, 2002; Hirst & Thompson, 1999, 2003). Moreover, based on the patterns of international trade flows, they argue that what we are witnessing is not globalization per se, but regionalization (for a better understanding see Hirst, Thompson, & Bromley, 2009). Furthermore, sceptics consider that the hyperglobalist are wrong in stating that the role of the nation-state in today's economic climate is diminishing. In fact, they consider that states play a very important role through the promotion of cross-border trade and the association to free-trade zones (Held et al., 1999).

Lastly, *transformationalists* (see, Castells, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Giddens, 1999; Scholte, 2004) have a more moderate perspective on globalization than hyperglobalists. They analyse globalization from a multidimensional, and not just an economic, perspective (Held et al., 1999; Stefanović, 2008), considering that the level of global interdependence today is unprecedented, yet claiming that while globalization integrates and includes some societies it excludes and marginalizes others. The role and power of the nation-states is affected as well, according to transformationalists, who disagree with both the hyperglobalist perspective that the nation-state is obsolete and with the sceptic hypothesis that nothing has changed. Thus, it is asserted that states maintain their territorial sovereignty, but that their authority often gets in conflict with that of transnational institutions, and is constrained by international law (Held et al., 1999).

Nevertheless, in spite of the differences in understanding the concept of globalization, most if not all authors agree with the fact that globalization implies extensive contact between members of different cultures or nations, which lead to massive economic, cultural, social, psychological, or political consequences (Marsella, 2012).

1.1.2. Implications of globalization

The present section discusses these implications of globalization, differentiating between economical and political consequences on one side, and socio-cultural and socio-psychological consequences on the other, with further important ramifications at an identity level.

1.1.2.1. *Economical and political implications – challenges for the nation-state*

At economic level, globalization is believed to increase economic openness, cohesion and integration in the world economy (Nayyar, 2006). As a result, national economies are more interlinked than ever before, making some authors assert that the international economy is not divided according to national borders any longer (Fagan & Munck, 2009). Furthermore, globalization is seen by many as the only path towards economic growth (Yeung, 2002) due to its potential to produce positive consequences for all the actors involved.

Although it has the potential to bring economic prosperity, globalization also has documented negative effects on the world economy, such as slowing down global economic growth (Stefanović, 2008), making national economies more vulnerable to negative economic events taking place outside their borders (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004), and increasing income disparities between developed countries and poor or developing countries which leads to increased competition on local markets (Nayyar, 2006; Pogge, 2005; Stefanović, 2008). Furthermore, although the declared goal of globalization is equality, it in fact often generates inequality (Giddens, 2006; Munck, 2009; Stiglitz, 2006) as it represents a power system which includes and excludes (Nayyar, 2006; Touraine, 1997/2000). This inequality is expressed not just in terms of income, but also in terms of health, insecurity and uncertainty (Trimikliniotis, 2009). Furthermore, it is manifested both between and within states, with new divisions of labour simply reorganizing patterns of inequality (Castells, 2010b; Nayyar, 2006).

Often, globalization has consequences on national labour markets through cut-downs in personnel (Bloom, 2004), relocation of production centres to developing countries, or through outsourcing services (Friedman, 2007). Not only do jobs become less secure (Blustein, Kenna, Gill, & DeVoy, 2008), but workers are also expected to adjust to sudden changes in responsibilities, take risks and cope with an uncertain work environment (Giddens, 2014; Reich, 2002; Blank, 2000), which creates effects at a psychological level (Blustein, 2006). At the same time, advances associated with globalization allow workers to relocate over great distances looking for better jobs (Gibson & Mitchell, 2006), and many choose to do so although this implies relocation in an unfamiliar context.

The economical consequences of globalization are closely related to those taking place at political level. Over the second half of the 20th century, international governments have become more and more interconnected through the development of a growing number of multilateral agreements and the creation of an increasing number of global and regional institutions, which regulate and intervene in many aspects of transnational activity. If in the early 1900s there were only 37 intergovernmental organizations, in 2000 there were over 6700. Their presence means that the state must relinquish some of its sovereignty to global policy makers who are constantly expanding their jurisdiction (Giddens, 1999/2003; Held & McGrew, 2002, 2007).

Taking this into consideration, there is an intense debate regarding the effect of globalization on *the role of the state*. The principles which stand at the base of globalization, the free movement of capital and the development of a free market and its associated institutional structures beyond the control of nation-states and national governments, have raised the need to construct a new definition for the state and its functions (de Lucas, 2003), as the nation-state's position on the international scene appears to be considerably weakened (Fagan & Munck, 2009).

Moreover, given that economies are interdependent and vulnerable to international market fluctuations, nation-states today exert lower control over most aspects of their economy. Furthermore, in their pursuit for economic development, nation-states further their economic interests at international levels. This permits companies to develop unhindered within the nation-state and to expand their operations to other countries or into other regions of the world as well (Giddens, 1990). This implies lower control of the state due to the global mobility of financial capital and production – through outsourcing and offshoring (Blad, 2009).

Within the nation-states the political is separated from the economic. The sole role of government institutions is that of regulating economic activity, which they do through a wide range of internal and international economic policies. Nevertheless, this is not to say that the nation-states have no control over their economies. Their control is, however, much more limited than in the past, the nation-states representing the political actors which monitor their activity and represent their interests on the political global stage (Fagan & Munck, 2009, Giddens, 1990).

The decrease in the power exerted by the nation-state is manifested not only at economic level, but also politically through decentralization and transfer of power towards local and regional governments, and the development of the civil society (Castells, 1999). At the same time, the communication revolution occurring in the past decades has also marked a loss of control of the nation-state regarding the information transmitted in the media. Private radio and TV stations, as well as the apparition and the increase in popularity of the internet mean that any government has little if any control over the content of the messages transmitted through these channels (Castells, 2010a).

Nevertheless, although some researchers go as far as affirming that the national state is obsolete (e.g., Guehenno, 1993/1995; Ohmae, 1993, 1995), others (e.g., Weiss, 1998, 2003) consider that the nation-state has retained its capabilities in the economic, political, and social sectors, and that

the nation-states are developing strategies in order to adapt to the changes brought by globalization, which signals not the end of the state, but its adjustment to a changing world (Held et al., 1999).

The role of the nation-state has also been highlighted in the existing literature with regard to the regularisation of population movements. In this sense, the fact that people are less mobile than money, requiring documents, residence, and professional qualifications, gives territorial control to the sovereign nation-state, while internationally it gives it legitimacy in representing its population (Hirst et al., 2009; Hirst & Thompson, 1999).

Similarly, Castells (1999) presents this adjustment as the transition to a new type of state, a network state which functions through the interaction of its components (governmental and non-governmental structures), and involves a continuous process of planning, conflicts, negotiation, compromise, and decision making. This new type of state, although proclaiming itself a sovereign nation-state, reconfigures into a collaborative network of institutions which pool their resources together, allowing the state to survive and prosper in the age of globalization.

1.1.2.2. Socio-cultural and socio-psychological consequences – challenges for identity formation

The cooperative global political context together with the close interconnections at economic level are reflected also in the socio-cultural plane through increased levels of contact between people from all over the world, with further consequences for the identity formation of both youth and adults (Arnett, 2002; Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011), as introduced at the outset of this paper.

A first observation is that the concept of culture is ambiguous, given its complex origins and historical development. For this reason, defining culture in a way which is universally accepted can be a difficult undertaking (Kashima, 2010). While sociologists consider culture as representing “human processes of meaning making generating artifacts, categories, norms, values, practices, rituals, symbols, worldviews and discourses” (Spillman, 2007, p. 927), a broad definition from a socio-psychological perspective states that culture represents a “collection of information (or meanings) that is (a) nongenetically transmitted between individuals, (b) more or

less shared within a population of individuals, and (c) maintained across some generations over a period of time” (Kashima, 2010, p. 176).

Although culture is most often associated with large sized groups, it is possible for smaller groups to have their own culture. This also results from Hofstede’s definition of culture (1994) as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another” (p. 1). Here, the author uses “category of people” to describe both large sized groups such as nations, regions, ethnic groups, genders, age groups, social classes, as well smaller groups defined by occupation or by membership in a certain organization or family (Hofstede, 1994, 2011).

Therefore, it becomes apparent that culture defines the environment in which individuals build their identities and the social groups they are members of (e.g., those based on region, religion, nationality or ethnicity, and therefore shapes human behaviour) (Kashima, 2008). At the same time, culture is produced and transmitted by individuals through their face-to-face, daily interactions. Cultural transmission is vital to the passing on of cultural information, both within the group and across generations. Children, for instance, learn culture by interacting with parents, at home, and with teachers, at school (Kashima, 2010).

While cultural transmission is intentional in nature, at times it may represent an incidental effect of other activities. The main prerequisite for this process is that at least one of the participants in the exchange has cultural information, which needs to be communicated in a fashion that the others can understand. Information is thus shared with every member present, but it should be said that individuals perceive and retain different levels and aspects of the presented cultural information, consistent with their perspective and anterior knowledge. Thus, cultural information – referring to either *cultural information itself* or to the *identity of those interacting*, is not equally distributed throughout the group, with levels of shared information often only high enough to allow its members to engage in collective activities (Kashima, 2008, 2010)

The processes of cultural transmission become particularly important in the context of profound cultural exchange brought forward by the intensified process of globalization. Contact between different cultures has taken place since Antiquity (Diaz et al., 2012; Friedman, 2007), but the relatively recent advances in communication and transport have put all cultures in close touch (Marsella, 2012) and have narrowed the gap between global and local (Body-Gendrot, 2012;

Herman & Kempen, 1998). In this context, many people experience today more intense and more frequent exposure to other cultures (Chiu, Gries, Torelli, & Cheng, 2011). Furthermore, the diffusion of science, liberalism and socialism at a global scale deeply changed societies across the world (Held & McGrew, 2002, 2007).

This global interchange of values and ideas has resulted in the emergence of the concept of global culture, a set of values and beliefs largely shared across the world. The global culture can be observed at three levels. The first, the *cosmopolitanism principle* is shared by a minority of people, and refers to the idea that we are citizens of the world, and that certain values related to morals, human rights, geopolitical safety, etc., should be shared universally. The second, *the multicultural global culture*, refers to the transmission and hybridization of cultural elements and practices of multiple origins, while the most fundamental aspect is the *culture of consumerism*, which is related to the emergence of the global capitalist market (Castells, 2009).

Given that globalization usually involves Western products and western cultural values penetrating other cultures and challenging the traditional, local ways of life (Jensen & Arnett, 2012), globalization is sometimes perceived in terms of Westernization (Scholte, 2008). The cultural globalization has a reciprocal and interdependent character, that is to say that just as aspects of the western culture (associated with the idea of global culture) are introduced to other cultures the western culture absorbed cultural elements characteristic to other cultures (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Nevertheless, the impact of globalization is not the same all over the Globe (Arnett, 2002), and some cultures are perceived as placed on the ‘giving end’ while others are seen as being mostly receivers of global culture.

The opinions of the academic community on the possible consequences of globalization from a socio-cultural standpoint are divided. On the one side, it is stressed that being exposed to different cultures opens one’s mind to new experiences and ideas, thus making way for social change and principles such as human rights and democracy. Nevertheless, there are also those who believe that higher exposure to different cultures could make members of the local cultures manifest resistance to foreign cultures, and lead to the creation of social movements aiming to reaffirm the specifics of the local cultures (Chiu et al., 2011).

Often, the increased rate of cultural exchanges creates a situation of “fractured globalization”, a form of globalization which people perceive as a challenge to their culture and group cohesion

(Moghaddam, 2009). In these circumstances, members of the receiving cultures become worried that globalization will lead to cultural homogenization, or see it as a form of cultural invasion affecting the culture's core religious and cultural values (see Breckenridge & Moghaddam, 2012). Overall, the type of reaction (integrative or exclusionary) displayed by the members of the local culture is influenced by certain factors, such as the salience of their local identity, the degree in which they perceive the local culture as being threatened by the global one, their need for cognition and their desire for cultural learning (Chiu et al., 2011; Gelfand, Lyons, & Lun, 2011). At the same time, turning to the moral foundation theory (see Haidt & Graham, 2007), the nature of the reactions depends on the type of moral values we turn to when analysing a certain globalization process (Gelfand et al., 2011).

In spite of these fears and although there are reasons to consider that globalization is incompatible with identity diversity due to its dissemination of elements of global culture, multiculturalism can exist within a globalized society. Nevertheless, accepted elements of the local cultures are confined to only certain aspects of cultural life, such as folklore, gastronomy, religion, language and arts, or literature (de Lucas, 2003). However, globalization also provides the opportunity to directly promote elements of local cultures at global level, thus providing the prerequisites for cultural diversity (Friedman, 2007).

In the context of globalization, nation-states therefore no longer represent a determinant of culture (Sandel, 1996). Given the end of the state's monopoly in terms of cultural and national identity, and because of the new identities created by the migratory movements, cultural identity and national identity go through a reconstructive process (de Lucas, 2003), not only in the case of minorities, but also in the case of members of the dominant culture who come in contact with other cultures (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). At the same time, because the relationship between the values associated with the socio-cultural identity of the group (as symbols of the identity) and its norms and principles (as identification instruments and integration mechanisms) is broken, social cohesion is lost, or at least weakened. As an example, whereas working and living in a certain location used to help create a sense of community and belonging, as a consequence of globalization they lost their role as an identification and integration instrument (de Lucas, 2003).

Thus, beside socio-cultural consequences, globalization also has implications at socio-psychological and behavioural levels, and particularly regarding well-being and identity (Diaz &

Zirkel, 2012; Sandel, 1996). Although new experiences are a contributing factor to positive well-being (Seligman, 2011), the uncertainty associated with globalization has documented negative effects on mental health in poor and developing countries (Corrigal, Plagerson, Lund, & Myers, 2008), where it was found to lead to an increase in suicide rates (Phillips, Li, & Zhang, 2002), stress in the workplace, as well as to social and psychological disengagement from work (Blustein, 2006; Grantham, 2000) and social life in general as in the case of the hikikomori subculture in Japan (Norasakkunkit and Uchida, 2011).

Moreover, globalization influences the way in which people identify themselves, as the global society creates an environment requiring multiple identities and loyalties (Carolissen, 2012; Sandel, 1996). Aspects such as the increased global interconnection, the amplitude of the tourism industry, the number of daily internet users, the global character of business, all serve as proof that global connectedness has never before had a greater impact on the identities of as many people as it does today (Hermans & Demaggio, 2007), leading to the idea that globalization's primary influence may be on issues related to identity given the changes it brings to one's vision of the society in which one lives (Arnett, 2002).

One of the main factors which foster changes at identity level is the global media, which offers instant access to information from all over the globe and allows live interactions with members of other cultures (Jensen et al., 2011). In turn, this impacts the way in which group and national identities are created (Castells, 2010a). Furthermore, globalization marks deep linguistic changes – such as the development of English as lingua franca, or the use of hybridized forms of language like Spanglish or Chinglish by second generation migrants. Considering the importance of language – through its communicative, symbolic and social functions – these changes also mark important modification in identity construction and development of adolescents and young adults (Jensen et al., 2011).

Thus, given that adolescents and young adults are rarely exposed to only one culture growing up, constructing one's identity represents a matter of understanding how to negotiate multiple cultures and integrating them in their self-concept. This is a complex process which implies combining cultural beliefs and practices pertaining to different cultures which individuals come in contact with (Arnett, 2002; Jensen & Arnett, 2012; Jensen et al., 2011).

1.2. Migration as a manifestation of globalization and implications for identity

Migration is considered to be one of the processes which are at the foundation of globalization (Castles, 2010; Kahanec & Zimmermann, 2008). While migratory movements of people are not a recent phenomenon, having taken place since ancient times (Ciarniene & Kumpikaite, 2008; Li, 2008; Giddens, 2014), there is a strong connection between migration and globalization as the latter has profoundly affected the speed, complexity, volume, and the geographical scope of migration at global level (Benton-Short, Price, & Friedman, 2005; Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014; Li, 2008; Van Hamme & Grasland, 2011). In this sense, Wickramasekera (2002) notes that globalization facilitates migration (also) by delivering better access to information, and by providing easier and more affordable access to faster means of transport, and to advanced means of communication. However, it is not just globalization that affects migration, but also the other way around. As Ciarniene and Kumpikaite (2008) state, migration leads to stronger connections between the host society and the migrants' country of origin, stimulating globalization. Thus, migration represents both an outcome and an instrument of globalization (Giddens, 2014).

Furthermore, it represents a process which bears important consequences for those who relocate to other socio-cultural environments, in the sense that through the changes it entails, it creates instability, confusion, and uncertainty regarding the perception of self and identity (Kaderli, 2014).

1.2.1. Definition and reasons behind migration

From a conceptual point of view, Newman and Matzke (1984) note that the majority of definitions of migration are centred on the idea that it implies a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence, which helps differentiate between migratory movements and other forms of temporary mobility which do not involve relocation of residence. A similar view is expressed by Bhugra (2004), who defines migration as a process which leads to social change, and through which individuals relocate to another area within the borders of the same country or to another country, for a long period of time or permanently, and for various reasons including economic, educational, or political.

Nevertheless, given the evolution of the meaning of the term due to openness of borders and advances in technology (Castles, 2010), a more suitable definition would be the one presented by Perruchoud and Redpath-Cross (2011) in their *Glossary of Migration*, according to which migration represents:

The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border or within a state. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification (pp. 62–63).

As a phenomenon, migration has been a constant presence throughout human history (Castles & Miller, 2009; Koser, 2007) and, although it's impossible to say how many people were migrants in any historical period, there is proof that people with a migratory lifestyle coexisted with those with a sedentary one throughout history (Usher, 2004).

Nevertheless, the characteristics of the migration phenomenon at present mark significant changes from the past. One such differentiating aspect is that the paths of migratory flows are no longer following traditional colonial links. Instead, they are heavily influenced by globalization and its effects (Bauman, 2011), today profoundly connecting all regions of the Globe, and thus intensifying contacts between culturally dissimilar groups (Breckenridge & Moghaddam, 2012; Van Hamme & Grasland, 2011).

Another important aspect is that there is no longer a distinction between immigrant and emigrant countries, as each state is today both a source and a destination of immigrant flows (Bauman, 2011; Castles & Miller, 2009). Nevertheless, although most countries represent today the source of significant migratory flows, most of these flows tend to converge towards a relatively low number of destination countries (Martin & Zurcher, 2008), some of the top destinations being in Europe (UDP, 2013). Here, the characteristics of migration are influenced by the creation and expansion of the European Union, a free trade zone which, due to negative demographic trends and rapid economic growth, has attracted large numbers of migrants from all over the world (Czaika & de Haas, 2013; Stivachtis, 2008). Its expansion eastward, in 2004 and 2007, has led to important migration movements from the poorer, eastern countries, to the wealthier, western member-states (Favell, 2008).

Thus, the recent acceleration of international migration processes took place in the context of accentuated income disparities between developed and developing countries coupled with a lack of employment opportunities in the latter (Czaika & de Haas, 2013), and amid demographic changes related to decreasing fertility and aging in wealthy countries which determines these societies to resort to immigration as a way to increase population and to cover their labour force needs (Li, 2008). Nevertheless, the complexity of the phenomenon of migration is shown by the existence of ample migratory flows between developing countries (UNDP, 2009), and by the fact that highly economically developed countries are not only countries of destination for migrants, but also a source of both internal and international migratory flows (de Haas, 2010).

At the same time, the different motivations behind migration have led to the need of creating legal distinctions between types of migrants in order to determine their conditions of entry, restrictions, and their treatment once in the host country (Castles, 2010; UNDP, 2009). The criteria used to categorize migrants include permanence of stay, reasons for migration, legality (for examples see Bhopal, 2014; Koser, 2007; UNDP, 2009; Urry, 2007). However, the differences within each categorization are very blurry (de Haas, 2010; Koser, 2007) and regardless of the criteria used to differentiate between them, as a result of globalization most countries have become the destination of a wide range of types of migrants (Balzacq & Carrera, 2005; Castles and Miller, 2009; Stivachtis, 2008). This has often created an unprecedented diversity in terms of country of origin, legal status, employment rights, migration channels, and educational and professional history of immigrants, situation described by Vertovec (2007) as “super-diversity”.

1.2.2. Consequences of migration and the focus on identity

As already revealed, migration is a complex process, with ample consequences for the societies of origin and of destination of migrants (Castles & Miller, 2009; Kahanec & Zimmermann, 2008). The fact that migrants maintain their relationships with the country of origin while also developing new relationships in the country of destination has significant political, economic, and socio-cultural impact on the communities they maintain relationships with, on their families, and themselves (Vertovec, 2001). At the same time, migration, which can be potentially traumatic for migrants, has important effects at psychological level (Kaderli, 2014).

We further discuss the impact of migration, differentiating between the *consequences at economic and political levels*, and those at *socio-cultural and socio-psychological levels*, given that together they have important consequences on identity formation.

At political level, the fact that migration involves the crossing of national borders is often seen as a threat to the national sovereignty (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014). For this reason, migration has become a concern at political level – both in sending countries, where the governments often actively encourage emigration because of the economic and political benefits, and in receiving countries, which regulate migration particularly through the activity of their defence, internal security, and foreign relations ministries (Czaika & de Haas, 2013; Stivachtis, 2008).

One of the greatest challenges for governments in receiving countries is to maintain the balance between the benefits of increasing the size of the cheap international labour force allowed to come to the country, and appeasing the people's fears that greater social diversity poses a threat (Breckenridge & Moghaddam, 2012). This has led to the development of policies which aim to regulate the number of migrants entering the country. Nevertheless, some categories are not affected by restrictive policies. An example in this sense is that of family members of existing migrants, arriving with the goal of family reunification (de Haas, 2011; Li, 2008).

Although politically steps are being taken by some receiving countries to limit the intake of migrants, the economical benefits for the society of origin and for the host society are well documented. For the former, these benefits consist in a decrease in the rate of unemployment and in remittances sent to their families by migrants (Skeldon, 2005; Vertovec, 2001; Wickramasekera, 2002), although the migration in large numbers of skilled professionals may lead to a 'brain drain' in countries where this phenomenon is widespread (Wickramasekera, 2002). For the latter, migration represents a potential solution to the problem of ageing population and to the decreasing number of economically active people in order to maintain the levels of pensions and welfare aid (Koser, 2007). Although often they take up low status jobs which residents are not interested in, migrants are often perceived as directly competing with native workers for jobs. However, whether they indeed put a strain on the economy or rather aid economic growth depends in fact on the labour demand existing in that particular country (Lipsmeyer & Zhu, 2011).

Beside the implications at economic and political levels, migration can also lead to subsequent transformation **at socio-cultural and socio-psychological levels** in both the origin and destination countries (Portes, 2010). In the long run, the most salient effect which migration has is changing the ethnic, racial and cultural structure of the society, as people with different cultural and ethnical backgrounds are admitted to the country. Thus, ethnically and culturally homogenous societies can become multicultural and multi-ethnic, changing countries and cities beyond recognition (Li, 2008; Stivachis, 2008).

Immigrants bring with them new customs and practices from their home countries, and often recreate small communities within which they preserve their culture (Ciarniene & Kumpikaite, 2008; Kahanec & Zimmerman, 2008). While these changes are welcomed and seen as desirable in some countries, a multicultural society can be perceived as threatening by the native residents of the host country (Ciarniene & Kompikaite, 2008; Usher, 2004). At the same time, the presence of migrants generates fears in the host society regarding job security, potential increase in criminality, and the size of funds needed to accommodate social security needs of the migrants (Stivachtis, 2008).

For these reasons, the local population may often take a negative stance regarding migrants. They are often blamed for the lack of national unity, although research shows that national unity is more challenged by historical national minorities than immigrants (Kymlicka, 2011). Furthermore, society often fears that they may undermine or threaten national security, by not adhering to the values and norms which govern the society. Thus, migrants often encounter xenophobia and marginalization, many times also from others who are immigrants or descendants of migrants themselves. Nevertheless, the better they try to integrate in society and the more respect they show for the existing norms and values, the less threatening they are perceived as by the autochthonous. Similarly, the less respect migrants show for the society's norms and values, the more threatening they are perceived as being (Ciarniene & Kumpikaite, 2008; Stivachtis, 2008).

At the same time, the effects of the social change determined by migration can have varying impact at societal level. Sometimes these effects only marginally influence the receiving society, by changing norms, role expectations, and resource distribution within a state. Other times, however, the effects on the host society are more profound, migration altering the system of

values or the distribution of power. Either way, although a large number of immigrants will lead to effects at institutional level, such as changes in the educational system, the transforming effects which migrants may potentially have on the host society are limited. This is because of the well established power relations and cultural norms, which help educate migrants and their offspring in terms of the language and culture of their new home, a process which helps maintain status quo and encourage assimilation (Portes, 2010).

Although the effects on society at macro level are the most obvious, migration has an effect at every level, and especially within migrant families. These consequences are particularly important for children, for whom the absence of one or both parents can lead to development issues and decline in academic performance (Schapiro, 2009). Nevertheless, as a large number of migrants make long term plans to work in the host society, many of them bring their families, including their children. One of the reasons behind this decision is that the quality of education in developing countries is perceived as being lower than that provided in the host countries (Skeldon, 2005).

Furthermore, migration has consequences for a person's sense of self and his feelings of belongingness (Bauman, 2011). Although one's perception of his identity and self changes in time (de Fina, 2003), migration brings about sudden changes, causing confusion, uncertainty, and instability in the way in which migrants perceive their identity (Kaderli, 2014). Thus, they are likely to feel a sense of loss, dislocation, and alienation.

Nevertheless, Berry (1997) showed that adolescents adapt better than adults do, given that adolescence is a period in one's life marked by openness to beliefs and behaviours specific to cultures different to one's own (Jensen & Arnett, 2012; Schlegel, 2011). This openness, however, can also create a gap between the identity of the parents and that of their offspring, as the latter are more open to the global values which they see as representing the future, whereas the first are oriented towards the traditional values of their culture (Nsamenang, 2011). For young migrants, depending on a number of various factors, such as one's ability to cope with stress and attachment to the country of origin, this will lead to either integration or marginalization (Constant & Zimmermann, 2008; Bhugra, 2004).

However, young migrants brought to the host country by their parents sometimes fail to adapt to the new environment (Portes, 2010). As highlighted, there are a number of issues regarding

migrants' education in host countries, such as the high number of immigrant students enrolled in special education institutions, their predilection for choosing less demanding and shorter duration schools, as well as the placement of migrants in lower grades than their appropriate age, especially when the school does not provide transitory classes for immigrant students (Heckmann, 2008; Zanfrini, 2013). In short, migration can influence the children's ability to adapt and become self-sufficient adults (Corak, 2011). This failure to properly adapt was found to possibly lead to school abandonment, involvement in criminal behavior, and incarceration at an early age (Portes 2010). For this reason, attention needs to be given to the issue of their integration early on.

Therefore, while migration is often conceived as just the movement of people from one geographical space to another, it represents in fact a complex process which entirely changes the lives of those who migrate. Nevertheless, migrants can influence the extent of its effects at psychological level. In some cases, migration may lead to traumatic effects for the migrants, who begin to perceive their lives and time not on a continuum linking past, present, and future, but rather as two separate time spans clearly separated: the past and the present. In this sense, the present stands for their new life, filled with uncertainty and being different than what they have experienced in the past – which is security and familiarity in terms of space and socio-cultural environment. Furthermore, the past entails identification with the heritage socio-cultural space together with the related attitudes and behaviours, describing therefore the person's self and identity, which is associated with certain expressions and behaviours. In this sense, maintaining contact with their heritage culture and heritage group helps migrants maintain their identity and culture (Kaderli, 2014).

1.2.3. Worldwide statistics

In order to create a general image regarding the complexity of the phenomenon of international migration, we further present some relevant statistic data. Although the number of international migrants has leaped from 93 million to 167 million between 1960 and 2000, which marks an 80% increase, the percentage of migrants stayed in the last five decades at roughly around 3% of the world population, which increased by 104% in the same period – from 2.98 billion to 6.07 billion (Czaika & de Haas, 2013; UNDP, 2009). Between 2000 and 2010 the international

migrant population increased by about 4.6 million each year, twice as fast as it had increased yearly in the 1990s. However, as a result of the economic crisis, since 2010 the annual increase dropped to 3.6 million. In 2013, there were an estimated 232 million international migrants, 3.2% of the world population (UNDP, 2013).

Although the number of international migrants is increasing, it does not increase at the same rate across the Globe. Analysing the trends for international migration in the first decade of the 21st century, Li (2008) concluded that North America, Europe, and Oceania (mainly Australia and New Zealand) registered net migration gains, while for Asia, Africa, and Latin America the numbers show net migration loss. At country level, the number of international migrants between 2000 and 2010 has increased in 165 countries and regions, while decreasing in 65 others (UNDP, 2013).

The same report highlighted that roughly 60% of the 232 million international migrants had relocated to developed countries. Europe is home to 31% of the international migrant population, while North America hosts 22% of the total number of international migrants. Taking a closer look at the numbers, the report shows that about 50% of all international migrants reside in just ten countries. Thus, the largest number of migrants resides in the United States of America – 45.8 million, or nearly 20% of the entire international migrant population. The second largest destination is the Russian Federation, with 11 million migrants, followed by Germany with roughly 10 million migrants. The other seven countries, each home to fewer than 10 million migrants are Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Australia, and Spain (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development & United Nations. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Population Division [OECD–UNDESA], 2013).

Although much more salient, international migration accounts for only a small part of the total number of migrants worldwide. Most migration movements do not take place between different countries, but between regions of the same country. In 2009 it was estimated that the worldwide population of internal migrants was more than 740 million, more than 3.5 times the number of international migrants at the time. This is why it is believed that today around 1 billion people, one seventh of the world's population, are migrants (Appave & Laczko, 2011).

1.3. Social integration, identity, and education

As previously discussed, international migration leads to demographic changes in receiving countries, an example in this sense being that of the European Union member-states, which are becoming progressively multiethnic, multicultural, and multiracial (Koopmans, 2013; Martiniello, 2006). As the multicultural communities are growing both in numbers and in size at a rapid pace, many of the arriving migrants are interested in remaining in the host countries, which has brought into attention the problem of social exclusion – especially in the case of young immigrants (EUNEC, 2013; Dustmann & Glitz, 2011) and has raised awareness to the issues of integration and social cohesion. As migrants from all areas of the world converge, receiving countries need to tackle problems brought by cultural, ethnical, and racial pluralism, such as discrimination, prejudice and unequal opportunities (Li, 2008).

The degree in which migrants integrate in the host society represents an important aspect of their migration process (Myers, 1999). In this context, education can represent a gateway to inclusion into different areas of society, especially the labour market. At the same time, however, school has represented a key factor in the socialization of children which will guide the future adults' social participation as citizens (EUNEC, 2013; Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2001). For this reason, migration policies need to also address issues of integration and education of migrants. Otherwise migrants will be marginalized, and will only be eligible for unskilled and low income jobs (Ciarniene and Kumpikaite, 2008).

1.3.1. General understanding of integration

Integration, in its broadest sense, is used to describe the process through which social elements connect together within the same social system or community. Functionalist theories see integration as a network of connections between the individual modules of a system, with the dual goal of preventing the disruption of the unity of the system and promoting its function (Baubock, 2001).

Similarly, sociology regards integration as the process that takes place after migrants arrive in a new country, through which immigrants become part of the host society (Givens, 2007; Sinacore, Mikhail, Kassan, & Lerner, 2009). This highlights the importance of analysing the process of

integration of migrants in former homogenous societies which have now become migration hubs, in order to predict their future development (Aslund, Bohlmark, & Skans, 2009).

The use of the term “integration” in political discourse has led to new rights and legal mechanisms being developed, and to new international treaties and conventions being drafted in order to promote the integration of migrants and minorities economically, politically, culturally, and socially (Beresnevieiute, 2003; Martiniello, 2006; Rudiger & Spencer, 2003). Nevertheless, the integration of migrants does not happen as rapidly in all these areas, and for this reason it is possible for migrants to be very well integrated on one dimension, yet very poorly on others (Martiniello, 2006).

1.3.1.1. Integration, social cohesion, and social inclusion

Given the complexity of integration, we further delimitate between this concept and those of social cohesion, and social inclusion, which are sometimes used interchangeably in the existing literature.

The concept of **social cohesion** receives different meanings in the research to date. While sometimes it is conceived as solidarity or trust, at times it receives a wider meaning which encompasses social capital, inclusion, or poverty (Chan, To, & Chan, 2006). Furthermore, as mentioned earlier and as pointed out by certain authors (e.g., Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003; Gough & Olofsson, 1999), social cohesion is sometimes used as a concept synonym to integration. The work of Moody and White (2003), as well as Bruhn’s (2009) overview on social cohesion show that although there have been numerous attempts to define the concept, many of these definitions are rather intuitive, based on the idea of closeness between the social elements of a group.

A comprehensive definition is provided by Chan et al. (2006) who propose that:

Social cohesion is a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations (p.290).

Social interaction is therefore vital to the integration of migrants. By interacting with others, one develops feelings of belongingness to that certain social space. Nevertheless, social interaction can have both negative and positive valences. In this sense, discriminative behaviour can lead to marginalization, lack of, or negative interaction, and social disintegration. By contrast, healthy interactions between both people and people and institutions, based on respect for diversity, lead to migrants feeling their heritage culture is recognized and valued, with positive outcomes for their integration and social cohesion. While social cohesion represents, therefore a result of integration, this doesn't mean that migrant communities are expected to merge into a homogenous group. Social cohesion is a trait of any society where communities interact based on the idea that they are different yet interdependent (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003).

There are two directions of analysis of social cohesion: one from the perspective of academic discourse in social sciences and particularly social psychology, and the second from the perspective of policymakers. The first analyzes social cohesion in relation with integration, stability, and social disintegration and does not always focus on how to define social cohesion per se (Chan et al., 2006). By comparison, the analysis of social cohesion from a policymaking perspective is more result-oriented, because of the pressure to find ways to increase it. Changes in the structure of the society, brought by globalization, such as economic restructuring, cultural diversity, and increased mobility (Jeannotte, 2000; Jeannotte et al., 2002) have challenged the model of the traditional, welfare state in many post-industrial countries. This has led to the idea that a new form of governance, based on promoting solidarity, social participation, together with a more integrative approach to policy design, were needed.

Moreover, because of the tendency of integration being regarded as assimilation in some contexts (Strang & Ager, 2010), an alternative term used, especially in discrimination policies, is **inclusion**. Today, inclusion of all disadvantaged groups represents a goal throughout the European Union. Integration defined as inclusion, however, implies the idea of a desired social order, which implies high social cohesion. While this makes it a very attractive notion for policymakers because it promotes stability, it can also inhibit the acknowledgement of diversity. For this reason, considering that the process of integration involves a pre-existent social system, from this point of view instead of focusing on ways in which to actually encourage inclusion, migrants are still expected to adapt in order to fit in (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003).

1.3.1.2. Assimilation, multiculturalism, and interculturalism

As we could see, there is ample discussion as to what being integrated entails. Furthermore, another aspect under scrutiny is whether it is important for migrants to be integrated in the society as a whole or in the community (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). Often, the meaning given to integration varies depending on the national context (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003) but, in spite of these differences, it is mainly described as either assimilation or multiculturalism, two opposing strategies which lead to very different results at society level (Dhalgar & Thalpa, 2007; Givens, 2007).

Integration as assimilation. Thus, in many states, the goal of integration is the assimilation of newcomers. Migrants are expected to accept assimilation in the pre-existent social system, and embrace its homogenous culture and set of values. When diversified ethnic groups come to share the same socio-cultural space, they gain access to the same opportunities as the autochthonous population. In the process, the heritage cultural patterns of the newcomers are slowly replaced by new ones, characteristics to the host culture. This process is irreversible and, once begun, it leads to the assimilation of the newcomers into the host society (Algan, Bisin, & Verdier, 2012).

Therefore, understood as assimilation, integration is seen as unilateral change which immigrants need to undergo in order to be accepted by the wider society. The rationale behind this expectation is that “preserving and reinforcing ethnic boundaries promotes separatism and division and that harmonious group relations can best be achieved by promoting intergroup similarity” (Hornsey and Hogg, 2000, p. 948).

One of the major contributions on the theoretical work on assimilation, within the traditional perspective expressed by American sociologists, was made by Gordon (1964, 1978), who broke down the overall process of assimilation in seven subprocesses. The first typically to occur in Gordon’s perspective is the *cultural or behavioral assimilation*, which the author also named acculturation, and which he defined as a change in cultural patterns to match those of the host society. A second process is *structural assimilation*, characterized by access at primary group levels into institutions, communities, organizations, and other networks of social relations in the host society. The third covers large scale inter-marriage, and referres to *marital assimilation* or amalgamation. A fourth assimilation process the author referred to is the *identificational assimilation*, that is to say the development of an exclusive sense of belongingness to the host

society. Following, the fifth assimilation process described by Gordon is the *attitude receptional assimilation* which refers to the absence of prejudice on behalf of members of the host community towards migrants, while the sixth, called *behavioral attitude assimilation*, refers to the absence of discriminative behavior towards them. Finally, the seventh component of assimilation as proposed by Gordon is *civic assimilation*, which he described as an absence of value and power conflicts between migrants and the host society.

Each of these processes may take place to various degrees, and acculturation may appear unaccompanied by other forms of assimilation. However, a more complete assimilation requires structural assimilation as once this occurs, all other subprocesses follow (Gordon, 1964). Gordon's typology has guided much of the research in the field of assimilation (Alba & Nee, 1997), sometimes results pointing to the idea that different ethnic groups can show substantially different patterns of assimilation and that cultural assimilation seems not to be a valid form of assimilation for all groups (see Williams Jr. & Ortega, 1990).

Nevertheless, multiple limits of integration as assimilation were pointed out. Thus, as Rudiger and Spencer (2003) explain, migrants are unable to fully integrate in this manner because of their racial origins, or given that their religious beliefs may require them to wear certain symbols or items of clothing which make them stand out. Moreover, research has documented that ample changes at identity level in a short period of time, such as those occurring as a result of assimilation, can lead to psychological damage (Vrečer, 2010). Furthermore, another problem posed is the difficulty for newcomers to correctly identify what they need to emulate in order to integrate, more so given the fact that democratic societies are home to different lifestyles, each with its own ever changing values and processes. Thus, there is no real conformity at societal level, making assimilation – or integration – a goal impossible to reach. For this reason, although some societies put political and social pressure on migrants to assimilate, this may lead in fact to a deepening of social division (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003).

Integration as multiculturalism. While assimilation is one-way directed change, with migrants needing to adapt to society, integration seen as multiculturalism represents a two-way process which requires both the native and the migrant population to adapt to one another (Givens, 2007). Thus, the multiculturalism assumption is that “only when individuals feel secure in their

cultural identity can they feel generous and tolerant toward other cultures” (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000, p. 948).

Although multicultural countries have existed throughout human history, the concept of multiculturalism has only entered public attention in the 1960s, when the international community became supportive of such an egalitarian view (Rattansi, 2011). At present, there are multiple meanings associated with this concept.

According to Koopmans (2013), the most common distinction made is between descriptive, or demographic multiculturalism, and normative multiculturalism. The concept in its *descriptive sense* is used to discuss the demographic changes in Western European countries, which as a result of international migration have become more ethnically, racially, and religiously diverse (Koopmans, 2013; Rattansi, 2011). In its *normative sense*, multiculturalism refers to acknowledgment of the positive value of cultural diversity, and to desire of equal status for cultural minorities (Miller, 2006). In a broader sense, multiculturalism refers to the policies put in place in order to govern these multiethnic societies (Rattansi, 2011). These policies can be placed on a continuum which ranges from accepting or tolerating these minorities to accommodating and promoting them (Henrard, 2013). Based on this distinction, we can differentiate between *de facto multiculturalism* – characteristic to liberal states in general and through which minorities are granted basic rights and small concessions in the interest of public health or security, and *official multiculturalism*, describing contexts in which states explicitly acknowledge migrants and protect the rights of these distinct ethnic minorities (Joppke & Moraska, 2003).

While there is a clear distinction between descriptive and normative multiculturalism, they are closely connected, as the diversity implied by demographic multiculturalism can have deep consequences on the impact of multicultural policies which promote immigration and cultural diversity (Koopmans, 2013).

The connection between the two meanings of multiculturalism is also highlighted by the existing definitions of the concept. In this sense, we turn to the operational definition provided by Rosado (1996), according to whom:

Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behaviours that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society. (p. 2)

Thus, multiculturalism fosters the recognition, valuation and respect for diversity. One of the results of this two-way process is represented by structural changes at society level. However, instead of being perceived as a threat, from a multicultural perspective these changes can be seen as a sign of flexibility and openness, traits of a society which focuses on providing equal opportunities for its members. Multiculturalism implies accepting the existence of cultural plurality in modern states, and acknowledging diversity by applying the principle of equality. In this manner, the different cultural groups are provided with the medium in which to manifest their cultural and religious rights, while protecting them from being discriminated against. At the same time, however, these groups are not isolated, but interconnected. This is why multiculturalism, which encourages neither segregation nor separation (Rattansi, 2011), does not represent a barrier in attaining social cohesion. In fact, democracy is founded on difference in views and opinions, needs, values, or identities, and migrants only add to this diversity. Seen this way, integration is a highly complex process, one which manifests at multiple levels (Rattansi, 2011; Ravanera & Rajulton, 2009; Rudiger & Spencer, 2003).

While multiculturalism as strategy of integration is positively valued, there are some who consider that the spread of multiculturalism was overestimated, and that many of the states which had multicultural policies have given them up, or are at least reconsidering them (Cantle, 2012; Joppke & Morawska, 2003; Triandafyllidou, Modood, & Zapata-Barrero, 2006). Moreover, certain countries, such as Italy and Spain, have adopted policies combining assimilation and multiculturalism. In these countries, the efforts of government institutions and nongovernmental organizations to integrate immigrants are inhibited by the latter's low status on the job market, as they often work in menial jobs that natives are not interested in (Calavita, 2005, 2007).

These considerations highlight the importance that integration policies also focus on antidiscrimination, besides covering linguistic and cultural aspects. Addressing such issues as

inequality in education, employment mobility, or housing conditions will create the premises needed for equal opportunity and integration at all levels of society (Givens, 2007).

Integration as interculturalism. As different shortcomings of multiculturalism were suggested, another concept which gained support is that of interculturalism. Over the years, two different approaches to interculturalism have made themselves noticed.

A first political model of interculturalism was developed in the 1970s in Quebec, which has developed a distinctive intercultural approach towards diversity in direct opposition to the federal Canadian policy of multiculturalism. In this case, interculturalism is concerned primarily with the differentiation between state and substate policies, national and sub-national identities, and cultural differences within the region (Bouchard, 2011; Gagnon & Iacovino, 2005; Taylor, 2012).

By comparison, the second approach is the European interculturalism, which stresses aspects related to communities and classroom pedagogy, placing focus on the connection between citizens and groups in the civil society rather than on the relationship existing between the state and minorities (Meer & Modood, 2012). The shift from multiculturalism as a public policy towards interculturalism, seen as a path of balance and equity, was advocated by influential institutions such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO (Kymlicka, 2012).

An example in this sense can be extracted from the *White paper on intercultural dialogue* of the Council of Europe (2008) which, while acknowledging the importance of pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness, advocated within multiculturalism, also affirms that:

pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness may not be sufficient: a pro-active, a structured and widely shared effort in managing cultural diversity is needed. Intercultural dialogue is a major tool to achieve this aim, without which it will be difficult to safeguard the freedom and well being of everyone living on our continent (p. 13).

The reason behind this support is that the intercultural model is perceived as retaining the best ideas of multiculturalism, while also protecting the universal rights of citizens (Bouchard, 2011; Meer & Modood, 2012), given that the imputations brought to multiculturalism include

stimulating social fragmentation and social divisions and not putting enough effort in combating economic disparities (Cantle, 2012).

A brief review of the existing literature (e.g., Cantle, 2012; Gagnon & Iacovino, 2005; Kymlicka, 2012; Maxwell et al., 2012; Meer & Modood, 2012; Taylor, 2012; UNESCO, 2009) reveals the main *advantages brought by interculturalism when contrasted with multiculturalism*, which we present below:

- A first argument is that while both are directed towards coexistence, the first is more oriented towards dialogue and interaction than the latter.
- Furthermore, interculturalism is also less socially divisive than multiculturalism, striving to obtain a stronger sense of whole in terms of social cohesion and citizenship.
- In addition, while multiculturalism is sometimes illiberal, by encouraging dialogue interculturalism leads more often than not to criticism of such practices.
- Another point of discussion is that while both orientations value diversity, interculturalism offers dynamic support in order to protect distinctive cultural practices.
- Similarly, while both prevent and combat discrimination, interculturalism complements the antidiscrimination legislation through measures aimed at addressing the causes of discrimination.
- Moreover, while both orientations are based on the principle of equal opportunities, interculturalism strives to build positive relations across all types of differences, whereas multiculturalism is focused on differences of race or ethnicity.
- Interculturalism has a wider scope also in terms of the groups studied, as it does not just address the relations between majority and minorities but also those between minorities in a territory, further taking into account not just the national but also the diaspora and international dimensions.
- Moreover, interculturalism also promotes interaction and cross-cultural contact in order to bring communities together, as well as fluid and dynamic identities, whereas multiculturalism supports distinct identities and communities.

Therefore, a key element of interculturalism is intercultural dialogue, which is dependent to a great extent on the presence of intercultural competences, which are communicative by nature

but transform our understanding of the world. Thus, in a situation involving intercultural contact, fundamental capabilities include listening, dialogue, and wonder (UNESCO, 2009).

Nevertheless, while acknowledging the fact that interculturalism seems to have a more positive approach regarding differences between cultural groups, and that it views identity and culture as dynamic concepts, the existing literature also highlights some issues which should be taken into consideration when discussing interculturalism.

A first refers to the fact that the interculturalist discourse often takes the form of anti-multiculturalism. This makes it vulnerable to misinterpretations by xenophobic individuals and groups who may reject both multiculturalism and interculturalism. Furthermore, the vagueness of the concept further raises the risk of misinterpretations. Thus, although interculturalism should be in direct opposition to assimilationism, assimilation policies could be defended in the name of interculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2012).

A second issue refers to the fact that it is often difficult to draw a line between multiculturalism and interculturalism, given the fluidity in multicultural and intercultural discourse. This is further complicated by the existence of geographical and contextual variations of both multiculturalist and interculturalist discourse. (Levey, 2012).

1.3.1.3. Social integration dimensions and its facilitators

Because of the lack of a unanimously accepted definition of integration across national contexts and across the goals and perspective of those analysing it (Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002), there is wide debate regarding the way in which the level of integration in a given society should be measured. Nevertheless, it has been affirmed that the process of integration takes place at multiple levels (cultural, identity, economical, and political or legal), and that it manifests differently at each of these levels (Ager & Strang, 2010; Bosswich & Heckmann (2006; Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003).

The concept of *social integration* was proposed by Lockwood (1964) within his theory of social systems. He defined it as being the end result of premeditated and motivated interaction and cooperation between individuals, a process of inclusion of individuals within the social system

both in terms of building relationships between individuals and in terms of their attitudes toward society.

A distinction often made by scholars is between *structural integration* and *socio-psychological integration*. While the first refers to the concrete relationships of individuals with one another and within a community, socio-psychological integration, or emotional integration, refers to the level of integration perceived by the individuals, given that it involves perception of social experiences and depth of connection (Moen, Dempster-McClain, & Williams, 1989; Myers, 1999).

In the same line, Bosswich and Heckmann (2006), propose a more detailed distinction between four **dimensions of social integration**, namely structural integration, cultural integration, interactive integration, and identificational integration.

Structural integration refers to the attainment of rights, and access to services from the core institutions in the host country. This includes gaining access to the labour market, to the educational and professional qualification systems, to housing and social security services, as well as attaining full political rights, all of these together defining an individual's socioeconomic status, opportunities and resources. Structural integration mainly takes part in urban contexts.

Cultural integration as a dimension of social integration refers to cognitive, behavioural and attitudinal change of an individual. It is a process through which migrants acquire core competencies which will help them integrate in the new society. Moreover, as immigrants and their offspring acculturate, society must also find ways in which to respond to their needs and support them in this process.

Traditionally, *acculturation* was envisioned as a process with the sole goal of attaining assimilation, with migrants and individuals from minority cultural groups gradually switching to the way of life of the dominant group. However, early definitions of acculturation as well as research showed that assimilation is not the only outcome, and rarely the goal, of acculturation (Berry, 2005). Thus, existing research defines acculturation as the long-term reciprocal (yet asymmetrical) process of cultural and psychological change which is triggered by the contact between cultural groups or their members (Berry, 1997, 2005; Sam & Berry, 2010; Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998). The consequences of this process manifest at group level through

changes in social structure (such as changes in the school curricula and health services) and culture practices (by the acculturating group, because they are not seen as adaptive), while at individual level they consist in identity and behavioural changes (Berry, 1997, 2005).

At the same time, acculturation does not mean that the migrants need to renounce their culture. In the modern era, characterized by higher mobility and diversity, an increasing number of individuals have internalized elements of multiple cultures and can thus be defined as bicultural or multicultural, with the consequences at identity level which this entails (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). In fact, bicultural individuals are highly regarded, as they represent an asset for host societies. However, in order to reach the level of social mobility required for this to happen, migrants need to have a certain level of education at their arrival in the host country. Unfortunately this does not apply in many cases, and practicing this ‘semi-biculturalism’, as Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) call it, is not an example of successful integration, instead leading to the loss of a multitude of opportunities.

Furthermore, the implications of integration for identity are stressed within the dimensional model proposed by the two authors. In this sense, *identificational integration* is acknowledged as one of the dimensions of integration, and refers to the feelings of belongingness to the host society developed by immigrants. While an individual cannot participate at institutional level in the host society without gaining cultural competencies relevant to the functioning of these institutions, he can participate without having developed such feelings. These may develop later on, as a result of participating in social activities or as a result of feeling accepted by those around him (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). A similar conceptual perspective on identification as part of integration is offered by Granovetter (1973) who counts identification as one of the dimensions of integration. In his work, the author states that higher identification with others tends to lead to closer social bonds with those individuals or groups. Nevertheless, strong identification does not necessarily imply frequent or intense contact, a statement supported by the strong identification of migrants with their home country regardless of the fact that most of their social contacts are with people living in the host country.

Lastly, *interactive integration* refers to the acceptance and inclusion of migrants in the social networks existing in the wider host society. Interactive integration is linked to cultural integration, in the sense that some elements of the latter, such as communication competencies,

are a prerequisite for the success of the former. Furthermore, interactive integration in the migrant community can be of great help to migrants in the first stages of the integration process, as fellow immigrants can provide support and share information and their experiences, at the same time reinforcing their ethnic identity. However, maintaining close ties with the immigrant community can become a burden in time, as this can hinder the individuals from creating and expanding links in the wider society, and from gaining access to the resources needed to become competitive in the core areas of the host society (Bosswich & Heckmann, 2006).

Moreover, the rapidity and success of the social integration process at all of these levels is considered to vary depending on a number of factors such as personal traits, the actions of others, policies and legal status, and the structure of society (Huddleston & Dag Tjaden, 2012; NGO Committee for Social Development, 2009). Thus, the process of social integration is linked to an individual's position within the social system, to his abilities, and to his opportunities to apply the respective abilities (Beresnevieiute, 2003).

Similarly, Baubock (2001) proposes four categories of factors which affect the integration of migrants, namely economic opportunities, legal equality, cultural tolerance and, perhaps most importantly, inclusive public culture. When these conditions are not provided to them, as Sinacore et al. (2009) notes, the integration process becomes more difficult, as immigrants need to overcome barriers in order to successfully integrate. Other aspects are proposed by Dhalgar and Thalpa (2007), who suggest that the social integration of migrants is affected by the size of the immigrant community, and the cultural distance, or cultural gap between the migrants and the host population. Furthermore, existing works discuss the substantial effects on social integration of gender and age of arrival in the host society (Aslund, 2009; Dhalgar & Thalpa, 2007; NGO Committee for Social Development, 2009; Myers, 1999).

Equally important are the issues of language skills and access to education, often identified as key factors influencing social integration (Ager & Strang, 2004, 2008; Ager, Strang, O'May, & Garner, 2002; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Huddleston & Dag Tjaden, 2012; NGO Committee for Social Development, 2009). While language represents both the medium for daily communication and a resource in workplace and educational contexts, it is also a symbol of membership, thus influencing social integration at many levels (Esser, 2006). Similarly, access to

education represents a valuable resource for young migrants, helping them integrate both socially and, later on economically, avoiding underemployment and unemployment (NGO Committee for Social Development, 2009).

Nevertheless, even though the relationship between language learning, education and integration of migrants was frequently signalled both at theoretical and empirical levels, the importance of valuing, respecting, and promoting the heritage culture and language of migrants by the inhabitants of the host society was also stressed. Hence, beside providing immigrants with access to education, for a proper integration the way in which the learning process takes place in a school setting becomes important, considering that through educational experiences a wide range of cultural contents pertaining to the host society are transmitted (Huguet & Madariaga, 2005). Supporting this idea is Mar-Molinero (2001), who argues that in the process of newcomer integration it is important that teachers show linguistic sensitivity and awareness regarding the cultural and linguistic diversity of immigrants.

Moreover, the valuation and respect of the heritage language in an educational context were proved to be an essential prerequisite for newcomers to feel motivated and to manifest positive attitudes towards learning the national language, a key instrument for their social integration (Carbonell, 2000; Huguet & Madariaga, 2005; Lasagabaster, 2005; Vila, 1999, 2002, 2005; Serra, 2005). Therefore, the attitudes and behaviour of those involved in the learning environment, teachers and peers, also impacts the level of integration of immigrant students. Thus, as pointed out by Vila (1999), the respect, valuation and development of the necessary context for migrants to maintain their heritage language is a decisive element to acquire the language of the host nation.

Therefore, given the important role of language and education for social integration, and taking into account the difficulty of separating the processes of identity affirmation from those of learning (Lapresta et al., 2009), below we present in more detail issues pertaining to education and language in a migratory context.

1.3.2. Multicultural, intercultural, and multilingual education. Links with Identity

The immigrants' desire to reunite with their families in the host countries, which has resulted in an increase of the number of young newcomers of schooling age, has made apparent the need to successfully integrate students from different backgrounds, turning education into a central area of interest for government policies. The interest in the educational system is thus explained by its role in fostering social progress and social inclusion (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2001).

Additionally, in the globalized context today, the importance of education is also underlined by its responsibility in determining the wealth of a country. It is the role of the educational system to equip the future workforce with the set of skills required for successful integration on the international labour market (Bloom, 2004).

At the same time, at social level education plays a vital role in keeping communities together, by promoting values and attitudes which improve social participation, social cohesion and tolerance. Moreover, education plays a part in reducing the level of poverty and of gender inequality (Bloom, 2004; Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2001; UNESCO, 2014). In the case of immigrants possessing an educational background which is recognized in the host society significantly increases their employability, and thus the probability of successful economic integration. (Dustmann & Glitz, 2011; Jacobs, 2013; Sinacore et al., 2009).

Moreover, education influences the identity development of young migrants, as school represents the primary context in which children come across and deal with diversity. Given that diversity leads to social progress, it should be seen as a source of cultural enrichment. Fostering an inclusive identity is very important in this sense, and education plays a vital role in reaching this objective (Lestinen et al., 2004), making schools primary sites of identity work and identity making (Reay, 2010). In this sense, one of the greatest challenges faced by education is using diversity and the positive aspects it brings in order to perfect the educational process (EUNEC, 2013).

Hence, considering the fact that the “diverse student populations are simply not going to go away, but increase” (p. 11), the quality of education is directly influenced by the degree in which educational systems adapt to the new requirements of a multicultural, multiethnic, and multilingual society (Rosado, 1996). In this sense, it is considered that “all education, by its very

nature, transcends the time and place in which it finds itself. All good education is multicultural” (Edwards, 2010, p. 207).

1.3.2.1. Multicultural and intercultural education

In order to have a general understanding of what **multicultural education** means, we can take a look at its main characteristics, as stated by the National Association for Multicultural Education (2003). Generally speaking, multicultural education is conceptualized as a form of education guided by the principle of equity, which respects cultural differences and values the diversity reflected by the students, their communities, and their teachers. It acknowledges the need to prepare students for the requirements of a globalized, interdependent world, and the role played by the education system in developing attitudes and values which promote a democratic and multicultural society.

It manifests at all levels, not only in the educational process but also through policies and school structure, in order to ensure that students will develop positive self-concepts. Furthermore, it provides them with the skills, knowledge and attitudes needed to achieve structural equality in organizations and institutions at the level of the wider society. A key aspect of multicultural education is that it places the individual and his experiences at the centre of the learning process. Teaching therefore takes into account personal experiences of the students, and accommodates multiple ways of thinking (National Association for Multicultural Education, 2003).

Nevertheless, given the new era of globalization and the increasing convergence of diverse groups, Portera (2008) argues that the concept of **intercultural education** is a more appropriate response compared to multicultural education, and could represent the lens through which members of a society see one another as equals rather than different (Vila, 2002).

While multicultural education employs teaching about other cultures as a way to increase acceptance or tolerance towards those cultures, intercultural education strives to achieve more than passive coexistence. The goal is to develop a sustainable way of coexisting within multicultural communities by encouraging acceptance, understanding, respect, and dialogue between the various cultural groups (UNESCO, 2006)

Also, as Carbonell (1995) points out, intercultural education includes a great part of the multicultural education framework but also criticizes some of the ideas the latter brings forward. Specifically, it positions itself more strongly against racism, and puts forward the idea that school needs to represent more than an element which maintains the status quo. Instead it proposes that education should fight against dependency relations, facilitate the participation of students by taking into account the differences between their identities, and thus aiding their development. Moreover, it addresses all students and schools, not only those who have minority students, which transforms the entire curriculum into an intercultural one.

Therefore, the concept of intercultural education is structured based on three principles (UNESCO, 2006).

Principle I. Intercultural Education respects the cultural identity of the learner through the provision of culturally appropriate and responsive quality education for all.

Principle II. Intercultural Education provides every learner with the cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to achieve active and full participation in society.

Principle III. Intercultural Education provides all learners with cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills that enable them to contribute to respect, understanding and solidarity among individuals, ethnic, social, cultural and religious groups and nations (p. 32).

Thus, defined in terms of reciprocity through the principles of intercultural education, the perspective of children of immigrants seen as a problem or risk switches to that of viewing them as resources. This change in perspective therefore stems from the presence of people of different ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds, and is motivated by the possibility of personal and social growth it offers (Portera, 2008).

Therefore, intercultural education proposes transformations at curriculum levels, but also a redefinition of the teacher's role, who needs to deliver the message that in a multicultural context we are "more equal than different" (Carbonell, 2000, p. 133). The task of intercultural education is not an easy one as the author stresses, given that while intergroup differences are obvious, the

fact that we are all equal stems from a moral conviction, which needs to be cultivated and helped grow in students.

1.3.2.2. Definition and typologies of multilingual education

Therefore, classroom diversity with regard to gender, language, ethnicity, and socio-economic background creates challenges at educational level (de Jong, 2011). In this context the unifying element is language, the medium through which communication takes place in an educational setting both between teachers and students and at peer level.

In this sense, the interculturalist approach stresses the importance of acquiring the official language of the host state for minority groups' members in order to enable communication and allow them to act as full citizens. At the same time, the enriching value of the heritage language is acknowledged, although it is stressed that competences in the heritage language should not be attained in the detriment of those in the official language.

Given the intensified contacts between countries and the fact that worldwide there are over thirty times as many languages as there are nation-states, it should not be surprising that a large part of the world population speaks more than one language (Liebkind, 2010; Sustainable Development in a Diverse World, 2006). In this sense, **bilingualism** refers to a situation in which two languages are used, whereas **multilingualism** refers to three or more languages (Baker, 2011; Kemp, 2009; Ramírez & García, 2014).

A basic distinction is the one made between multilingualism and bilingualism as characteristics of a group, region, or country, and multilingual and bilingual as individual characteristics. *At individual level*, multilingualism is referred to as *plurilingualism*, as a way to distinguish it from multilingualism at group level (Kemp, 2009). Alternatively, the term used to describe multilingual or bilingual individuals, regardless of the number of languages the individual can use, is *individual bilingualism*. Although there is a clear difference between multilingualism and bilingualism, this is done for the sake of simplicity but also because most individuals don't use more than two languages in their daily interactions. For multilingualism and bilingualism *at societal level*, the term used is *societal bilingualism* (Baker, 2011; Baker & Prys Jones, 1998; Coulmas, 1998; Edwards, 2013; Grosjean, 2010).

Bilingualism is a broad concept, and as we saw above it is often used when also referring to multilingualism. Although originally it was defined as control at native level of two languages (Bloomfield, 1933/1956), later definitions presented the concept as being more inclusive, an example being Grosjean's (2010) definition that, "bilinguals are those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday life" (p. 4). The ambiguity of this concept reflects the many degrees of multilingualism which exist in the society (Edwards, 2004a, 2004b, 2010; Rothman & Nino-Murcia, 2008).

Nevertheless, perceiving bilingual students as individuals with a unique cross-cultural experience is critical in designing educational policies, teaching practices, and evaluation procedures. Furthermore, alongside families, schools can play an important role in the adjustment of bilingual children to their new social surrounding by promoting bilingualism (Brisk, 2006), as it is considered to impact the adaptation of migrants (Gunduz, 2013; Seidle, 2012). By feeling adjusted to both their host and heritage cultures, and by valuing and nurturing their bilingualism, bilingual students become particularly successful in the academic and social areas (Brisk, 2006).

Moreover, adopting multilingual education policies signifies that the authorities become involved in altering or maintaining the status and power relationships existing between languages (Fortanet-Gomez, 2013). Hence, varied educational models and programs (for a distinction see Hornberger, 1991) have been developed with the purpose of equipping students with bilingual and multilingual language skills (Fortanet-Gomez, 2013; Genesee, 2004). The traditional, widely accepted view of **multilingual education** is that it involves the use of two or more languages in instruction (García, 1998, 2009; Huguet, 2003; Huguet & Madariaga, 2005; NESSE, 2008; Simonsson, 2006). Similarly, Cummins (2008) defines bilingual education as "the use of two (or more) languages of instruction at some point in the student's school career" (p. i). In line with this view, Genesee (2004) describes multilingual education as being "education that aims to promote bilingual (or multilingual) competence by using both (or all) languages as media of instruction for significant portions of the academic curriculum" (p. 548). In other words, according to this perspective, multilingual education, by using two or more languages of instruction, differs from traditional language education programs which teach those languages as school subjects (Fortanet-Gomez, 2013; García, 2009).

However, when defined in relation to its goals, multilingual education describes programs which aim to attain bilingual proficiency among students. In this case, instruction can take place, primarily or entirely, in a minority language with the purpose of giving students the opportunity to learn the respective language (Cummins, 1997). In this broader sense, Cenoz (2009) considers multilingual education as “teaching more than two languages provided that schools aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy” (p. 32). Although this definition is based on teaching languages as school subjects and not as languages of instruction, the author explains that in most contexts some if not all of the languages will be used in teaching, with the exception of situations in which given that the exposure to some of those languages outside the classroom is deemed to be sufficient to attain proficiency, they are included only as school subjects. So, although at curriculum level all the languages need to be taught, not all of them need to be used in the instruction process.

Finally, García (2009) provides a new view of multilingual education based on the idea that bilingual education in the 21st century needs to be adaptive in order to accommodate the shifting communicative settings which multilingual children come across. Thus, the author defines multilingual education as

“any instance in which children’s and teacher’s communicative practices in school normally include the use of multilingual practices that maximize learning efficacy and communication; and that, in so doing, foster and develop tolerance towards linguistic differences, as well as appreciation for languages and bilingual proficiency” (pp. 8, 9).

Over the years many different **typologies of multilingual education** have emerged, given the high number of potential students and their characteristics, the various national contexts, as well as the desired social and educational outcomes (Edwards, 2010; Fortanet-Gomez, 2013). Thus, these classifications were based on criteria such as the power relationships existing between the languages, the educational goals and integration policies, the characteristics of the students, and the languages used at home, within the classroom, or in the community (Baker, 2006; Freeman, 2007; García, 2009; Hornberger, 1991; Huguet & Madariaga, 2005).

In this sense, the work of Mackey (1970), who identifies over 90 varieties of bilingual education, are indicative of the great diversity of these programs, such is Ytsma’s (2001) trilingual

education typology which includes 46 types of trilingual primary school education programs are clear examples in this sense. Another classification is provided by Lambert's (1973) categorization of bilingualism contexts, through which he differentiates between additive and subtractive bilingualism, based on the outcomes of the educational processes at linguistic level. Whereas *additive bilingualism* refers to contexts where the addition of a language is not expected to affect the status of the first language, *subtractive bilingualism* describes situations in which the acquisition of a second language is accompanied by pressure to demote the first language. Seen this way, additive bilingualism doesn't have a negative effect on heritage language competences, whereas subtractive bilingualism does.

Later, also referring to bilingual models, Fishman (1976) created a typology which differentiates between *transitional, maintenance, and enrichment models*. A more comprehensive typology is that of Baker (2006, 2011), who differentiates between ten types of programs organized in three categories, namely mono-lingual, weak bilingual, and strong bilingual programs. The first, *monolingual programs* place focus on the acquisition of the majority language and result most of the times in students becoming monolingual speakers of the majority language (García, 1998). By comparison, *weak bilingual programs* teach the minority language yet are based on the idea that children need to speak the majority language in order to function in the host society and maximize their academic potential (Baker, 2006; García, 1998), while *strong bilingual programs* aim to achieve additive bilingualism and biliteracy (García, 1998; Tedick, Christian, & Fortune, 2011).

Moreover, an alternative approach to categorizing multilingual education is provided by Cenoz (2009), who organises programs not on categories but on a continua ranging from *less multilingual* to *more multilingual* – in this way being possible to describe a range of varieties of educational programs. Thus, according to the author, multilingual education can take a great number of forms depending on the varied socio-linguistic contexts in which they are implemented and the status of the languages taught.

In much of the existing literature bilingual and multilingual education are referred to under the term *bilingual education* (Cummins, 2008; UNESCO, 2003). One reason for this simplification is that although there are many schools which label themselves as *trilingual* and run education programs aimed at multilingualism and multiliteracy, not all of these use more than two

languages as languages of instruction, as it is difficult to include them all in the teaching process. Hence, it is hard to differentiate between bilingual schools where two languages of instruction are used and a third or a fourth are taught as school subjects, and schools which call themselves trilingual or multilingual (Cenoz, 2009).

This isn't to say however that there aren't many examples of trilingual and multilingual education programs. Much like bilingual education, multilingual education can take a great number of forms depending on the varied socio-linguistic contexts in which they are implemented and the status of the languages taught (Cenoz, 2009). Examples of trilingual educational systems are that of Luxembourg, the ones in the Basque Country and Valley of Aran in Spain, the Ladin-speaking region in Italy's South Tyrol, and that existing in the Frisian-speaking community in the Netherlands, all of these representing regions where the national languages coexist with the low-spread minority language (Cenoz & Jessner, 2009)

Furthermore, with the ever wider use of English, which has gained the status of lingua franca, we are shifting away from its use as a foreign language and witnessing the development of what Hofmann (2000) called 'multilingualism with English', at both society and individual level. This concept describes the phenomenon through which a bilingual person (through immigration or birth) acquires English as a third language given its utility in their daily interactions or because they feel that their children or themselves may potentially need it later on. Examples of trilingual educational experiments are those implemented in bilingual European regions such as Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Friesland, which take a communicative approach to teaching English as a third language (Ytsma, 2000).

1.3.2.3. Multilingual education and identity

Bilingualism, as Edwards (2010) points out, leads to issues of social and psychological nature, regarding belonging and identity. Living in a multicultural society means needing to adapt accordingly, as multicultural contact can often lead to conflict. Thus, it becomes apparent that one of the roles of education is to contribute to the construction of a student's identity (EUNEC, 2013; Fleming, 2007; Lestinen et al., 2004; Reay, 2010; Toohey, Day, & Manyak, 2007). In this sense, Gardner (2004) stresses the importance of education in cultivating hybrid identities,

suggesting that such an outcome would enable students to think across cultural boundaries, to make sense of, and to internalize dissimilar cultural meaning systems, and that the ensuing multiculturalism and multilingualism would also represent a step towards a thriving society.

Linking education to identity in an English language teaching context, Cummins and Davidson (2007a) state that identity was found to be a key construct in educational settings. This reflects the complexity of the social relationships in this context, both between teachers and learners, and between students and teachers. For this reason, the process of learning can be seen as more than a cognitive process, also encompassing social components. Classroom learning involves social practices, in which both the students and the teachers construct and negotiate identities. During their interactions, teachers and students exchange messages about identity and belonging, and this process is heavily influenced by the status and power relationship between languages existing at societal level. (Cummins & Davison, 2007a; 2007b; Toohey et al., 2007; Weis, 1990).

Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that individuals constructs their identities in relation to others and, more importantly, in relation to the way in which he or she understands the other (Reay, 2010). Thus, as borders are constructed individuals also create representations of others based on stereotypes, which leads to inclusion and exclusion, and at the same time help define the self (Sibley, 1995). This relational aspect of identities becomes very important in multilingual educational contexts, because the identities of students are constructed on the premises of both what they are and what they are not, in this sense the way in which others see them playing a key role (Reay, 2010).

For this reason, a concept of interest today is that of *identity-safe classrooms*. Identity safety research is based on the idea that academic underperformance of minority students can be partially explained by the effect which the perceived stereotype threat has on their school experience, and acknowledges the importance of students feeling that their identity is valued for their academic and social success (Steele, 2012). Identity safety in a classroom context needs to take into account the following four components: positive relationships within the classroom, student-focused pedagogy, classroom management, and diversity used as resource for teaching and learning. Thus, identity-safe classrooms describe stereotype-free spaces in which all students feel equally respected and valued (Zirkel, 2008) and in which their diverse identities, experiences, and backgrounds are endorsed (Steele, 2012).

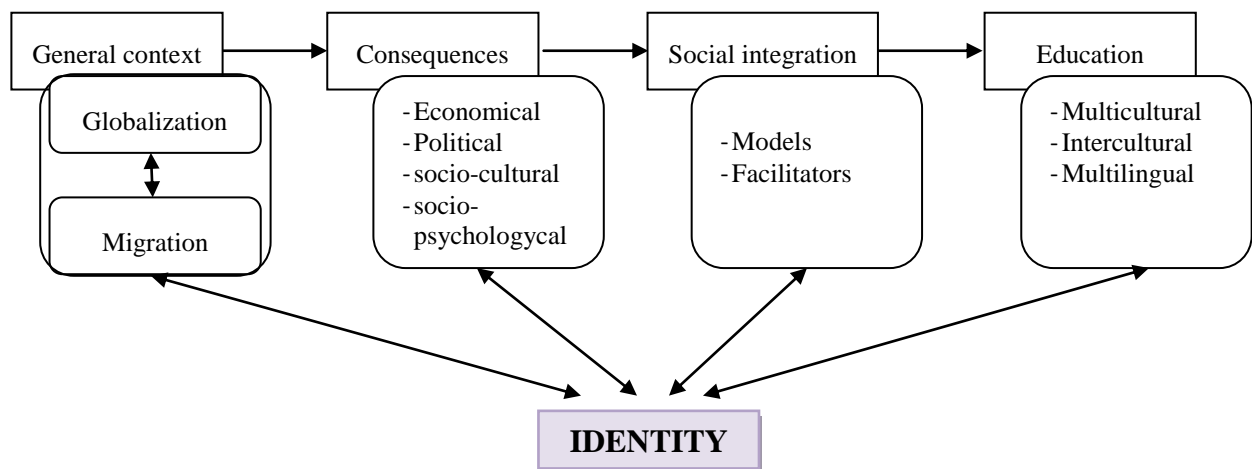
In the light of the above statements, it becomes apparent that classrooms are more than a space in which to carry out instruction; they are complex social environments. By taking part in the social practices within the classroom, children learn not only educational, but also socially relevant content, such as information about their status within the classroom group and that of the social status of their heritage cultural and linguistic resources. In this manner, children construct and negotiate identities, which in turn affect their relationship with school communities and, later on, with society as a whole (Toohey et al., 2007). Students will affirm their identities, with positive consequences for their academic results, when teachers show that they respect the heritage language and the cultural luggage which they bring to the classroom and when the educational process is centred on helping students learn new things and act on the social realities which affect their lives (Cummins, 2001).

Moreover, it is important to stress once more, in agreement with Saint-Jacques & Giles (1979) that the loss or acquisition of a language has consequences for the identity of a person. Hence, in a migration context, which leads most of the times to societal bilingualism, and referring strictly to migrant students enrolled in multilingual education programs, we should note that while competence in the official language is considered a prerequisite for integration and educational success (Heckmann, 2008), maintaining the first language of students is critical for their individual and group identity (Tollefson, 2007). Hence, it is important to allow the child access to his mother tongue in order for him or her to value experiences which are encoded in that language (de Jong, 2011), particularly given the existing empirical evidence which endorses the positive effect of maintaining the mother tongue on the developmental outcomes for migrant youth (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001).

Taking pride in one's linguistic and cultural heritage leads to strong identity associated with the culture of origin (Cohen, 2008). By maintaining the first language in the instruction process, the educational system acknowledges its status within the wider society, stimulating children to form a positive self-image as bilinguals, rather than a negative self-image based on limited proficiency in the majority language (Cummins & Davison, 2007b). Not maintaining the use of the students' first language may also result in subtractive bilingualism, with its negative consequences, such as negative self-concept or loss of identity (Carder, 2007). This has led to the development of special programs of migrant education in a number of migrant host countries (e.g., Spain,

Germany, France), which include classes on the language and culture of the country of origin (Jacobs, 2013).

Hence, in an attempt to outline the general frame of the present work and briefly summarizing the current chapter, we note that up to this point it was painted a general view on some important phenomena which characterize the world at present, while also showing how identity could be interrelated within this context (Figure 1). More specifically, in the wider context of globalization and worldwide migration, both determining important consequences at economic, politic, socio-cultural and socio-psychological levels, one of the facets which need to be taken into account is that of the social integration of newcomers. As a result, an important aspect of this chapter was to present the most common models of social integration, together with its facilitators. Here was stressed the important role played by education for the integration of young migrants, the target population of the research, together with the importance of feeling valued and respected in the society of settlement. For each of the aforementioned processes it was underlined the potential impact on identity – the central concept of this dissertation, which we will further expand on in order to gain a more insightful perspective.



**Figure 1. Schematic representation of the concepts within the first chapter:
Situating identity in a multicultural and multilingual society**

2. IDENTITY CONCEPTUALIZATION AND SELECTION OF PREVIOUS EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

As introduced in the previous chapter, the importance of studying identity issues proves to be highly relevant in a multicultural context if we consider that migratory flows are continuously increasing both in size and numbers. Understanding the psychology of multicultural individuals appears to be critical if there is an interest in the successful integration of such individuals (Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, & Wong, 2002). This applies particularly to adolescents and emerging adults, as the concept of identity highlights issues related to personal development and social relationships, the understanding of which is vital in order to comprehend the processes associated with their passing into adulthood and their social and cultural experiences (Buckingham, 2008).

At the same time, understanding identity in a multicultural context can help gain a more insightful perspective on the social, economic, and political issues affecting today's society, as this concept is used to explain both individual and collective action at these levels (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, & Martin, 2001).

Moreover, as acknowledged by many authors (e.g., Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, & Martin, 2001; Buckingham, 2008; Fearon, 1999; Hammack, 2015; Wetherell, 2010), there has been a “veritable discursive explosion in recent years around the concept of ‘identity’” (Hall, 1996, p.1), given that it represents “perhaps one of the most important ideas the social sciences have investigated in recent years” (Côté & Levine, 2002, p. xi) and that it continues to be indispensable in spite of its elusiveness and difficulty to define (Wetherell, 2010).

2.1. Defining identities from different perspectives

Identity is therefore a concept which has attracted the interest of researchers from many disciplines of study within the field of human sciences. It has been approached in philosophy, psychology, sociology, history, anthropology, gender and sexuality studies, cultural studies, politics, literature, and economics, showing that the profound interest regarding this concept spans the borders of disciplinary thought and inquiry (Buckingham, 2008; Hammack, 2015). This has led to the development of a large number of definitions (Kuo & Margalit, 2012), some

of which are presented in **Table 1**, and various theoretical models of identity (as explained also in [section 2.2.](#) of this work).

The definitions selected in **Table 1** have been extracted following an extensive review of the existing literature, both from theoretical models and from empirical research analysing identity. Even a cursory examination of these definitions reveals a number of key similarities at conceptual level. As Fearon (1999) points out, almost every definition of identity “evokes a sense of recognition, so that none seems obviously wrong, despite the diversity” (p. 6). Although at a first glance this could be surprising, the author argues that given the concept’s use in the everyday language it would be much more unusual if, regardless of the theoretical perspective, the definitions given to the concept didn’t resemble what we understand through identity at intuitive level.

A different view, however, is expressed by Maalouf (1996), who described identity as “one of those false friends. We all think we know what the word means and go on trusting it, even when it's slyly starting to say the opposite” (p. 12). Thus, in spite of the similarities, we can also note the wide differences existing between these definitions, as well as their complexity, which reflects the diverse theoretical backgrounds. The matter is further complicated by the fact that certain authors define identity in a manner which helps them reach their research goals, leading to variations in how this construct is conceptualized (Fearon, 1999). This, obviously, leads to some ambiguity regarding the meaning of “identity” (Vignoles, Schwarz, & Luyckx, 2011; Wetherell, 2010), some authors even arguing that given its very broad meaning the term could lack utility (Brubacker & Cooper, 2000; Gergen 1991; Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005). Therefore, as Gleason (1983) suggests in his review of the semantic history of identity, “this term can legitimately be employed in a number of ways” (p. 930), this signalling the necessity to approach the concept of identity with care.

Analysing the definitions listed-in **Table 1** and in the light of the theoretical models which will be presented in the next section of this chapter, the consulted academic literature in the field of identity reveals certain areas of importance in determining the meaning of this concept, which we discuss further: the link between identity and the self, the levels of inclusion of identity, its stability in time, and whether it is discovered or constructed over time.

Table 1. Definitions of identity

Authors (Year)	Definitions of identity (identities)
James, W. (1890)	[Personal identity represents] the sense of a sameness perceived by thought and predicated of things thought-about. These things are a present self and a self of yesterday. The thought not only thinks them both, but thinks they are identical (p. 332).
Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, T. (1966/1991)	Indeed, identity is objectively defined as location in a certain world and can be subjectively appropriated only along with that world. ... [A] coherent identity incorporates within itself all the various internalized roles and attitudes (pp. 152–153). Identity is a phenomenon that emerges from the dialectic between individual and society (p. 195).
(Erikson, 1968)	ego identity [...] is the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods, the <i>style of one's individuality</i> , and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's <i>meaning for significant others</i> in the immediate community (p. 50).
Tajfel, H. (1972)	[Social identity is] the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership (p. 292).
Turner, J. C. (1982)	[Social identification is] the process of locating oneself, or another person, within a system of social categorizations or, as a noun, to any social categorization used by a person to define him- or herself and others (pp. 17-18).
Waterman, A. S. (1984)	[Identity is] a clearly delineated self-identification comprised of those goals, values, and beliefs to which the person is unequivocally committed. These commitments evolve over time and are made because the chosen goals, values, and beliefs are judged worthy of giving a direction, purpose, and meaning to life (p. 331).
Baumeister, R. (1986)	An identity is a definition, an interpretation, of the self (p. 4).
Weinreich, P. (1986)	One's identity is defined as the totality of one's self-construal, in which how one construes oneself in the present expresses the continuity between how one construes oneself as one was in the past and how one construes one-self as one aspires to be in the future (p. 317).
Hall, S. (1989)	Identity emerges as a kind of unsettled space or an unresolved question in that space, between a number of intersecting discourses (p. 1). [...] We have now to reconceptualize identity as the process of identification, and that is a different matter. It is something that happens over time, that is never absolutely stable, that is subject to the play of history and the play of difference (p. 4).
Taylor, C. (1989)	My identity is defined by the commitments and identifications which provide the frame or horizon within I can try to determine from case to case what is good, or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what I endorse or oppose. In other words, it is the horizon within which I am capable of taking a stand. (p. 27).
Weis, L. (1990)	[...] identity can be defined as a sense of self in relation to other. (p. 3).
Connolly, W. E. (1991)	My identity is what I am and how I am recognized rather than what I choose, want or consent to. It is the dense self from which choosing, wanting, and consenting proceed. Without that density, these acts could not occur; with it, they are recognized to be mine. Our identity, in a similar way, is what we are and the basis from which we proceed (p. 97).

Wendt, A. (1992)	Identities are relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self (p. 397).
White, H. (1992)	Identity is any source of action not explicable from biophysical regularities, and to which observers can attribute meaning. An employer, a community, a crowd, oneself, all may be identities (p. 6).
Deaux, K. (1993)	[...] social and personal identity are fundamentally interrelated. Personal identity is defined, at least in part, by group memberships, and social categories are infused with personal meaning (p. 5). Social identities are those roles or membership categories that a person claims as representative. Personal identity refers to those traits and behaviors that the person finds self-descriptive, characteristics that are typically linked to one or more of the identity categories (p. 6).
Herrigel, G. (1993)	By social identity, I mean the desire for group distinction, dignity, and place within historically specific discourses (or frames of understanding) about the character, structure, and boundaries of the polity and the economy (p. 137).
Bhabha, H. K. (1994/2004)	[...] identity is never a priori, nor a finished product; it is only ever the problematic process of access to an image of totality (p. 73).
Josselson, R. (1994)	Identity is at its core psychosocial: self and other; inner and outer; being and doing; expression of self for, with, against, or despite; but certainly in response to others (p. 82).
Deng, F. (1995)	Identity [...] describe[s] the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture (p. 1).
Jenkins, R (1996)	[Identity] refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities (p. 4).
Jepperson, R. L., Wendt A., Katzenstein, P. (1996)	The term [identity] (by convention) references mutually constructed and evolving images of self and other (p. 59).
Kowert, P. & Legro, J. (1996)	Identities [...] are prescriptive representations of political actors themselves and of their relationships to each other (p. 453).
Maalouf, A. (1996/2003)	My identity is what prevents me from being identical to anybody else (p. 13).
Norton, B. (1997)	[...] the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future (p. 410).
Woodward, K. (1997)	[social] identities in the contemporary world derive from a multiplicity of sources —from nationality, ethnicity, social class, community, gender [...] identity gives us a location in the world and presents the link between us and the society in which we live [...] Often identity is most clearly defined by differences, that is by what it is not (pp. 1–2).
Jansen, W. (1998)	[...] identity is neither a structure nor a context but a property of the ego that organizes experience (p. 75).
Fearon, J. D.(1999)	[Social] identity is just a social category, a group of people designated by a label (or labels) that is commonly used either by the people designated, others, or both (p. 10). Personal identity is a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person thinks distinguish her in socially relevant ways and that (a) the person takes a special pride in; (b) the person takes no special pride in, but which so orient her behavior that she would be at a loss about how to act and what to do without them; or (c) the person feels she could not change

	even if she wanted to (p. 11). An identity is something that fits as X in the sentence “I am an X”. In logical terms, an identity is a predicate that applies (or may apply) to a person, that is, a quality or property of a person (p. 12).
Dubar, C. (2000)	[...] identity is nothing else but a result simultaneously stable and provisional, individual and collective, subjective and objective, biographical and structured, of diverse processes of socialization which at the same time construct the individuals and define the institutions (p. 109).
Stryker, S. & Burke P. J. (2000)	Identities are internalized role expectations (p. 286).
Polletta, F. & Jasper, J. M. (2001)	To avoid overextension of the concept, we have defined collective identity as an individual’s cognitive, morale, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity (p.285).
Lestinen, L., Petrucijová, J., & Spinthourakis, J. (2004)	Identity is a process, neither a priori nor natural, but the current result of interaction between individuals and their surroundings – but also a relatively constant, integrated unity (p. 2).
Ridley, C. R. & Case, A. (2006)	Identity is the definition of self based on the context, salience, meaning, and attachment people give to their combined and interactive personal, social, intragroup, group, and human dimensions (p. 179)
Tracy, K. (2007/2009)	Identities refers to the multiple layers of who a person is, including who he or she wants to be seen as in a given situation (p. 15).
Buckingham, D. (2008)	In these formulations, our identity is something we uniquely possess: it is what distinguishes us from other people. Yet on the other hand, identity also implies a relationship with a broader collective or social group of some kind (p. 1).
Gualda, (2008)	Identity refers to the person who has it and the identification to its recognition. [...] Identification and identity are intertwined, and cannot exist independently, often being considered two sides of the same entity (p. 4).
Barvosa, E. (2009)	Each identity is an internalized identity scheme that it is comprised of complex sets of meanings, values, and practices in and through which the subject interprets, judges, and acts in the world (p. 10).
Castells, M. (2010a)	By identity, as it refers to social actors, I understand the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority over other sources of meaning. For a given individual, or for a collective actor, there may be a plurality of identities. (p.53).
Vignolles et al. (2011)	Identity consists of the confluence of the person’s self-chosen or ascribed commitments, personal characteristics and beliefs about herself; roles and positions in relation to significant others; and her membership in social groups and categories (including both her status within the group and the group’s status within the larger context); as well as her identification with treasured material possessions and her sense of where she belongs in geographical space (p.4).

2.1.1. The link between Self and Identity

The extent of the distinction between identity and self is one of the main issues discussed in the study of identity. The difficulty in analysing this issue is given by the fact that the concept of “self” has received different meanings, often contradictory, from researchers from various disciplines of study (Côté & Levine, 2002; Leary, 2004;).

The two terms, “self” and “identity”, are sometimes used interchangeably (e.g., Burck, 2011). Thus, some authors argued that a distinction between them is artificial (e.g., Roeser, Peck, & Nasir, 2012), although there are others who contend that the constructs can be differentiated (e.g., Côté & Levine, 2002). According to Turner (2013) in the past decades identity has become a way to rethink the self, which is now most of the times seen as a collection of identities organized within the global self-structure, that can be called upon, one or more at a time, in different contexts. These components are not always interlinked, which is why, when more than one identity become salient at the same time, the self-structure creates links between the activated self-concepts. In this way, the self feels coherent as opposed to conflicted (Amiot et al., 2007; Riley & Case, 2006; Rogalin & Keeton, 2011; Turner, 2013). And, as Deaux and Burke (2010) state, when identities are activated their characteristics become manifest and help to define the self to itself and others. Furthermore, as individuals attempt to confirm and strengthen their self-perceptions and the way in which others perceive them, these identities impact how individuals act and interact (Rogalin & Keeton, 2011).

The relationship between self and identity was traditionally analysed at the level of the personal self. Thus, although the importance of the social context for one’s self-definition was acknowledged, social interactions were seen solely as interindividual processes which contribute to one’s self-image through positive feedback received from others, or by fulfilling “a generic need to belong” (Ellemers et al., 2002, p. 162).

In the past few decades, however, scholars have added a new dimension to research in this field, by taking into account the role played by social identities (Swann & Bosson, 2010). For instance, in line with James’ (1890) view that identities represent one part of the self-concept, it was argued that although social identities refer to memberships in groups, they can be considered a component of the global self (Deaux, 1991; Onorato & Turner, 2004).

2.1.2. The different levels of inclusion of identity

The different levels of inclusion of identity were frequently approached in the existing literature. Thus, Riley and Case (2006) consider that an individual can define himself in a certain context at one of five levels which become salient in that specific moment. The first is that of *personal identity*, referring to one's personality and physical traits. The second is that of *social identity*, based on membership in large social categories – such as race, gender, or sexual orientation. A third level is that of *intragroup identity*, which encompasses the role played by the individual within specific groups. A fourth proposed dimension is *group identity*; each group has its own, unique group identity which includes the membership criteria, history, values, and social standing of the group as a whole. Lastly, the fifth level is that of *human identity*, an all-comprising characteristic of the human species. The combined interaction of identity at these five levels creates one's individual identity.

A different classification is suggested by Brewer & Garden (1996), who argue the existence of three levels of the self-concept: *personal* – corresponding to the personal level of analysis of identity, *relational* – corresponding with the interpersonal level of analysis (role relationships), and *collective* – which equates with the concept of social identity introduced in the social identity approach. According to the authors, these dimensions of the self reflect the different levels of inclusion of self-conceptualization, marking “the shift from ‘I’ to ‘we’ as the locus of the self-definition” (p. 84).

This same idea can later be found in the work of Vignoles et al. (2011), who state that identity is generally theorized at one or more of the following levels: individual, relational, or collective (social identity). The first, *individual identity* refers to aspects which one uses to self-identify at individual level. Theories of personal identity place focus, beside the content of identity, on processes at individual level, a frequent element being the role played by the individual in discovering or constructing identity. As an example, neo-Eriksonian theories focus mostly on personal identity (for a comprehensive review see Schwartz 2001; Schwartz, Luyckx, & Crocetti, 2015)

At *relational level*, identity covers the roles of an individual in relation to other people, but also the manner in which one interprets and defines these roles. The literature to date places relational identity processes at interpersonal level, within the family, or within larger systems, such as in

the workplace. Theories discussing identity at relational level (for examples see Owens et al., 2010) share the idea that individuals cannot establish relational identities on their own, recognition from outside being needed.

Collective, or social identity refers to one's identification with the social categories in which he holds membership, the meanings which these social categories carry for them, and the attitudes, beliefs and feelings that result from this identification (de Fina, 2007; Tajfel, 1972). In this sense, the social categories can be both large-sized social groups such as those based on gender or religion, and small-sized groups such as family. Also, theoretical models discussing collective identities approach collective processes, such as how changes in the social context can influence the way in which the individual perceives himself – as an individual, or as part of a specific group (Vignolles et al., 2011).

The distinction between relational and collective identities is given by their level of inclusiveness, as Brewer and Gardner (1996) point out. Nevertheless, some collective identities can also be regarded as relational. Thus, whereas one's profession can be perceived in terms of roles (psychologist – client), it can also be perceived in terms of membership in a social category (psychologist).

Few theoretical perspectives focus on multiple levels of identity, one of these being the Social Identity Approach (Tajfel, 1972, 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), described extensively later in this chapter. According to this theoretical model, identity is defined both at personal level – where it encompasses personal and relational identities, and at social level – which encompasses collective identities. However, research in this theoretical framework has mostly analysed the social, and not the personal, aspect of identities.

Nonetheless, although the distinction between levels of identity is often made in the existing literature, we need to acknowledge the similar elements and the connections between these different levels of identity, in accordance with Deaux' (1993) assertion that the distinctions between personal identity and social identity are arbitrary. Furthermore, the author believes that such a distinction deceives into thinking that the two forms of identity are completely separated, while in fact they are deeply interrelated. Thus, personal identity is in part defined by membership into social groups, while social groups are imbued with personal meaning.

Nevertheless, such a categorization is useful from a theoretical perspective, as well as when studying the processes behind phenomena such as identity salience (Vignoles et al., 2011).

2.1.3. The complexity and multiplicity of identity

The above also stands proof to the complexity and multiplicity of identity. As Jones and McEwen (2000) point out, the interest in multiple identities stems from the growing awareness regarding the complexity of the space in which individuals live, and in which they construct and perceive their individual identities.

In agreement with Abrams (2009), we contend that there are numerous examples in the existing literature which support the idea that people have multiple group memberships and affiliations (Deaux, 1993; Stryker, 2000; Tajfel, 1974, 1978), self-categorize along multiple criteria (Crisp & Hewstone, 2006; Crisp, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2001; Crisp, Walsh, & Hewston, 2006), and have social identities which vary in their degrees of complexity (Hornsey & Jetten, 2004; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). This idea is further developed by Rogalin and Keeeton (2011), who argue that the inclusive conceptualization captures the variety of information which people use in order to define themselves and others, and to evaluate relationships and behaviours.

An example reflecting the variety of categorization criteria is encountered in the comprehensive definition of identity provided by Vignoles et al. (2011) (see **Table 1**). Thus, one's identity is seen as extending beyond the individual, also circumscribing one's social roles and group memberships, but also his valued material possessions and the geographical spaces meaningful to him. In this context, multiple aspects of an individual's identity coexist not independently but in interaction, and more or less salient depending on the social context.

Similarly, Roccas and Brewer (2002) state that individuals are members of multiple social groups formed on different criteria. These memberships, as Owens et al. (2010) argue, motivate and give meaning to their behaviour. Another example in support of identity multiplicity is given by Woodward's (1997) definition, which states that one's social identity is derived from many different sources, memberships in categories such as nationality, ethnicity, or gender.

Although there is wide consensus regarding the multiplicity of identity, fairly few works focused on the relationship between the multiple in-group identities of an individual (Brewer & Pierce,

2005). Some authors have considered that the relationship between one's multiple identities is hierarchical. In this sense, McCall and Simmons (1966/1978) argue that identities are hierarchically ordered in terms of their importance to the individual. At the same time, however, Rogalin and Keeton (2011) explain that although identities of higher importance for the individual are likelier to be used across situations, taking into account only the position within the hierarchy does not provide enough information to determine which identity will be activated in a certain context. A different perspective in this sense is offered by McCann and Kim (2002) who state that one's multiple identities are not experienced hierarchically but simultaneously, and that this simultaneity affects one's personal experience within each situation.

The difficulty in surprising the entire range of personal experiences has determined new research on the relationships existing between multiple identities. One of the most referenced such models in the existing literature on multiple identity is Jones and McEwen's (2000) **model of multiple dimensions of identity** (Abes, Jones, & McEwen 2007). The model discusses the way in which social identity is formed, and how changing contexts affects the possible salience of multiple identity dimensions like race, culture, social class, and so on. Within the model, the dimensions are not conceptualized as isolated from one another, but rather as rings which intersect around a core sense of self. Surrounding these dimensions are contextual elements, such as socio-cultural environment and family, among others. The salience of each dimension varies depending on the context (Jones & McEwen, 2000).

Another concept relevant to the better understanding of these aspects is that of **social identity complexity**, introduced by Roccas and Brewer (2002). The authors suggest that not only the number of one's identities could be important, but also the way in which they subjectively combine and thus determine the inclusiveness of one's in-group identification. Therefore, one's multiple identities can be expressed on a continuum of inclusiveness and complexity. *The lower complexity end* is where the individual creates a very exclusive identity category based on a combination of all of his memberships in social groups, with the in-group defined as being the intersection of these identity categories, and with everyone not fitting the description being considered a member of the out-group. *At the higher complexity end*, the individual acknowledges the variety of the individuals included in the many in-groups associated with his

group memberships, and thus the combined representation of his identities is far more inclusive than any of these identities taken separately.

Similarly, the importance of understanding the configurations of multiple identities is also highlighted by the concept of **intersectionality** which has also received attention in the study of identity. The idea behind this construct (coined originally by Crenshaw, 1989) is that individuals' identities should be analysed both separately and as intersecting, combined components. A very important element implied by intersectionality is that the new, resulting identity is greater than the sum of its parts (Crenshaw, 1991; Schwartz et al., 2015), given that multicultural groups represent spaces with unique social meanings (Cole, 2009).

In conclusion, in line with Deaux and Burke (2010), the multiplicity of identity is asserted by all major identity theories. Thus, the Social Identity Perspective (Tajfel, 1972, 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reichter, & Wetherell, 1987) states that an individual has multiple group memberships, the salience of which changes depending on certain aspects linked to the social context at a given time, whereas the developmental perspective discusses the way in which individuals incorporate multiple dimensions of identity from an early age and into adulthood (Amiot et al., 2007). However, while role identity theories and social identity theory encourage us to think in terms of multiple identities, developmental theories assert that the multiple identifications need to be integrated within a single identity in order to resolve potential conflicts and ensure a healthy personality (Deaux, 2001).

In spite of this differentiation, even within theoretical perspectives which assert that individuals have only one identity, this is at times considered to comprise different components (e.g., Riley & Case, 2006). Similarly, it's not very clear whether the personal, relational and collective levels of identities are separate identities and not components of a unique identity. For this reason, it could be argued that whether one's different self-descriptions are regarded as components of a singular identity or as separate identities is an issue of semantics (Vignoles et al., 2011).

2.1.4. The stability in time of identity

Another subject of reflection in the study of identity is represented by whether it is stable or rather fluctuant (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Oyserman, Elmore, & Smith, 2012). Various

theoretical frameworks approach the issue of identity stability differently. Developmental theories consider identity development to be a process which takes place foremost during adolescence and emerging adulthood. Although many theories acknowledge that identity change can occur later because of either developmental or relational causes, identity is believed to be a relatively stable construct once it is formed. By comparison, social-psychological approaches most often acknowledge contextual fluctuations. For instance, within the social identity approach it is accepted that the salience of various identities fluctuates depending on the context (Gleason, 1983), being also supported empirically (Onorato & Turner, 2004).

One recent overview of this issue is offered by Vignoles et al. (2011), who explain the differences existing between theoretical frameworks by focusing on intra-individual and contextual processes of identity construction, maintenance, and change. Thus, the apparent stability of identity can be a consequence of identity maintenance and identity defence processes (Gregg, Sedikides, & Gebauer, 2011; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). Similarly, the fluctuating salience of identities should not be considered proof of their lack of stability, as research has revealed that salience shifts take place in a predictable pattern based on characteristics of the social context (Turner & Onorato, 1999).

Therefore, the variability of identity manifests across contexts, while within contexts it is stable. This implies that if an individual was to place himself in a relatively stable range of contexts across his lifespan, he would display a similarly stable range of identities across contexts and time (Vignoles et al., 2011). For these reasons, the authors further contend that the difference in views regarding identity stability of the developmental and the socio-psychological perspectives represents mostly a difference in emphasis, and conclude that an analysis focusing on elemental aspects such as the importance of context and individual choices support the view of identity as being both stable and fluid.

This idea is further supported by the work of Kuo and Margalit (2012), who propose that the stability of each identity can be considered on a continuum. On this continuum, at one extreme are situated identities which suffer no changes regardless of the context, while at the other extreme are found identities which are likely to easily change under the influence of context or personal experiences. The authors' experiment showed that subjects' identities— ethnic, national,

or occupational, changed in time, providing support to the idea that identity aspects are less stable than was suggested by the existing literature.

Furthermore, the topic of identity changes was approached from the perspective of long-term, developmental changes, and of that of short-term, contextual fluctuations. Discussing *long-term identity changes* Deaux (2001) argues that there are three ways in which identity change can be experienced. The first implies *the addition of a new identity or the removal of one already held*, a form of identity change which occurs in various instances such as one's becoming a parent, the start of a new career, or a divorce, to give just some examples. The author argues that not all forms of identity change are equally straightforward. For instance, she posits that individuals may go through *change in the meaning of an identity*, which involves "shifts in the attributes and behaviours associated with an identity, while the claim to the identity continues unchanged" (p. 8). Such shifts in the meaning of an identity, according to Stets and Burke (2009) take weeks, months, or even years to happen. Lastly, another subtle way in which identity change can be experienced is represented by a *change in the importance of an identity* for one's self-definition.

Moreover, Deaux (2001) asserts that when taking into account identity change we need to also consider the importance of the modifications which can occur in the physical and social environments. In this sense, she argues that although identities are not completely dependent of a certain physical context, they are often linked. A similar relationship exists between identities and the social environment, as a connection with group members is vital for maintaining a social identity. Thus, the author notes that once relocation to another social environment takes place, individuals will seek local social support in order to replace the one left behind in the old location.

Similarly, linking physical and social contexts with identity, Amiot et al. (2007) argue that identity change at individual level results over time from migration, and transformations at social and political level. This view, according to the authors, is also supported by the developmental perspective, which posits that life changes lead to modifications in self-constructs. Thus, Phinney (1993) argues that there is potential for conflict between different social identities in contexts which bring forth change, as a new country of settlement. In such situations, she notes that it is important to understand how identity conflicts are negotiated and how different identities are organized within the self.

However, equally important are the *short-term fluctuations* of social identities. Each individual has multiple identities, characterized by particular sets of attributes and associated behaviours. Under these circumstances, understanding the way in which individuals switch between identities can help us gain insight regarding how people react to the environment and regarding the choices they make. In this sense, it is believed that there are various factors which influence the results of identity negotiation. Thus, one's social identities and their associated importance, the physical environment, as well as the influence and actions of the people present, can all play an important role in this process (Deaux, 2001).

In any setting, people will be interested in being discerned by others in ways which validate them. However, some contexts restrict the choices one has regarding the identities he can enact. (Rogalin & Keeton, 2011). Thus, although the ideal situation is one in which the context makes salient an identity which is valued, this is not always possible. At times, one may feel that his identity is not valued by the society, or feels stigmatized. Under these circumstances, the individual can choose to employ certain coping strategies, whether they consist in negating or lowering the importance of that identity in the respective context or, on the contrary, they can involve themselves in activities aimed at improving the social standing of their in-group, such as civil rights actions (Deaux, 2001).

2.1.5. Discovery, personal construction, and social construction of identities

Another important topic in the study of identity is the way in which it is formed. A number of authors have argued that the sense of internal selfhood has evolved historically in the Western society (e.g., Baumeister 1986, 1987; Burkitt, 2008, 2011; Gergen, 1991; Taylor, 1989). Thus, Baumeister (1986), contending that “identities exist only in societies, which define and organize them” (p.7), traces the evolution of the self and identity to Medieval Europe, whereas Burkitt (2008, 2011) goes even further back in time, to ancient cultures, where we can find the ideas which later led to the elements characteristic to modern identity.

Perhaps the biggest transformations in the Western society occurred however in the 20th century, when its structures became less clearly defined, leading to ambiguity in the social roles assigned to young people and less support for identity formation from social institutions (Baumeister,

1986; Schwartz, 2002). Previous research (e.g., Côté, 2000; Côté & Schwartz, 2002), focused on understanding the *coping strategies* of young individuals to this new social reality, and so two trajectories of identity formation were identified, each different in terms of the individuals' interaction with their social environments. The first of these trajectories, termed **developmental individualization**, is characterized by deliberate and conscious efforts put in the search of opportunities for development – including here identity options consistent with one's self-perception and self-perceived potential. By comparison, the second – **default individualization**, is characterized by the selection of elements without putting much effort into it and without paying serious attention to the ways in which their current choices may affect their future developmental opportunities or life in general.

While this distinction gives us insight regarding the interindividual differences regarding identity development, it does not provide a description of the mechanisms which are responsible for late adolescence and adult identity formation (Schwartz, 2002). In this sense, we turn to Waterman's (1984) model which attempts to explain the mechanisms that stand at the foundation of identity formation, proposing two possibilities. The first is that *identity is constructed* from the ground up by individuals, by using their interactions within the social environment. The second is that *identity is discovered*, using interactions within the social environment to discover their unique, innate, set of potentials.

From the perspective of **identity development as a process of discovery**, the main resources used in establishing one's identity are the person's latent talents and abilities. Role models, if chosen, are selected based on the individual's perception that they display traits which the individual himself shares in latent form. Furthermore, the individuals are likely to focus on those elements which they feel are consistent with their ideal self, and dismiss suggestions which come in conflict with it. Elements of identity are acquired through information gathering and experimentation. However, the individual is only interested in possibilities which are consistent with his personal inclinations and interests. Identity elements will be chosen based on their intrinsic value, even when the extrinsic rewards derived from it are very small. Although the focus is on intuitive decisions, the person may resort to cognitive processes if all options are perceived as equally favourable.

By comparison, **identity development as a process of construction** views one's latent talents and abilities as playing a less important role than in the discovery hypothesis. Role models, chosen because they are considered successful, are viewed as being more important, their suggestions and feedback playing an important role in one's choices. During information gathering and experimentation, individuals explore a wider range of alternatives, and although choices are made based on both the intrinsic and the extrinsic rewards of an alternative, extrinsic rewards are often considered more important. Rational decisions play the central part, but the person will likely rely on intuition if the choices are judged as equally rewarding (Waterman, 1984).

Although the idea of identity construction may seem to exclude the possibility of having an innate true self, Schwartz (2002) suggests that identity construction and identity discovery are processes which, although independent, overlap. Thus, while some individuals consider that they are either creating or finding their true self, others will consider that they are doing both these things simultaneously. In this sense, *identity construction can represent the pathway to self-discovery*, the attainment of one's true potential, whereas the true self could actually be constructed during one's subjective experiences of identity discovery.

Moreover, discussing the construction of identity, Vignoles et al. (2011) point out a distinction made in the existing literature between what they term **personal construction** and **social construction** of identity. Whereas the first places focus on individual agency, the latter highlights the role played by the social context in determining the set of identities available to an individual. Although the literature to date supported both the personal construction (e.g., Berzonsky, 1986, 1990) and the social construction perspectives (e.g., Burkit, 2008; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1995), the authors propose that identity construction combines both of these two dimensions.

In support of this proposition we briefly present the concept of *possible identities*, which Oyserman and James (2011) link to the *future self*, "that part of self-concept focused on the self one might become" (p. 119). Thus, **possible identities** represent components of this future self, and refer to "working theories of who one may become, based in current assessments of one's own strengths, weaknesses, talents, and characteristics, as well as assessments of what is possible for people like oneself" (p. 119). In other words, the individual establishes possible identities by

evaluating himself and his social environment and this evaluation provides motivation for his future-oriented behaviour. Furthermore, possible identities are not fixed, they are revisited or even dropped based on what the social context allows, forbids, or constrains, and at times these processes are not conscious, nor deliberate.

Thus, it becomes apparent that while the individual plays an active role in establishing his identity, he will do so within the confinement of the social context. Although he may choose to challenge the status quo, it's impossible for him to ignore the contextual constraints he is facing (Vignoles et al., 2011)

2.1.6. What is “identity”

In the attempt to provide a conclusion to the topic under discussion, and with the goal of giving an overview of what identity means, we turn to Vignoles et al. (2011), who try to capture an integrated operational definition of the concept:

Identity consists of the confluence of the person's self-chosen or ascribed commitments, personal characteristics and beliefs about herself; roles and positions in relation to significant others; and her membership in social groups and categories (including both her status within the group and the group's status within the larger context); as well as her identification with treasured material possessions and her sense of where she belongs in geographical space (p. 4).

As the authors explain, the definition represents an exhaustive perspective on identity, trying to encompass its individual, relational, and collective levels. Furthermore, the authors also include in their definition the idea of *material identity*, a concept which they define as referring to one's valued material possessions – content of their bank account, car, home, etc. At the same time, we contend that one's sense of where he belongs territorially can be related to one's territorial identity, a concept discussed in a number of works (e.g., Gualda, 2010a; Knight, 1982; Sellers & Lidström, 2012) and which refers to significant geographical spaces.

Thus, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter and as it became clear from the information presented, identity is a complex concept which involves finding the answer to questions such as “Who am I?” (as a singular individual) or/and “Who are we?” (as dyad, small group, or even

humankind) (Burkitt, 2008). Moreover, Vignoles et al. (2011) also highlight the importance implied by “Who you act as being?” as opposed to “Who do you think you are?” (at personal or social levels) in defining identity. All of these aspects are discussed and emphasized more or less differently according to the theoretical models which approach them.

2.2. Theoretical models on identity

In this sense, it should be said that identity research is one of the fastest growing areas of research within the field of social sciences (Côté, 2006). Also proof to the amplitude and richness of the theoretical and empirical work on identity stands the impressive volume of literature presented in several handbooks published since 2000 (e.g., Elliot, 2011; Leary & Tangney, 2003; Fishman, 2001; Fishman, & García, 2010; McLean & Syed, 2015; Schwartz, Luyckx, & Vignoles, 2011; Wetherell & Mohanty, 2010;). The fragmentation in identity literature is also highlighted by Schwartz et al. (2015), who notes the existence of approximately 20 different theoretical frameworks used to guide research in this field, most of these not referencing one another.

Nevertheless, certain authors attempted to provide an overview of the existing theories from the interdisciplinary field of identity studies, by proposing different typologies. One example in this sense (also, see Côté, 2006 ; Côté, 2015) is Kroger’s (2000) perspective that the various research traditions stemmed from one of the five major directions of understanding the meaning of identity, listed below:

- *The historical approaches* which took into consideration historical factors that helped stimulate the preoccupation for identity. These approaches note that identity became an issue of interest especially in the case of adolescents in the western world in a time when Europe and North America became increasingly industrialized and wealthy. As a result, an increasing number of middle and upper class teenagers continued their education instead of starting work, which led to the identities of childhood becoming obsolete. In this way, theorists aligned to this school of thinking argue their position by asserting that the concern regarding identity emerged only in Western societies as a reaction to traditional values and

ways of self-definition coming into question. The main limit of this model is the fact that it has difficulty in accounting for inter-individual differences in terms of identity.

- *The structural stage approach* focuses on the changes which occur in the internal structures during ego development. Through these changes, the individuals interpret and assign meanings to their experiences. These internal structures represent psychological barriers which the individual eliminates sequentially – in a predictable manner – as he develops in time, allowing him to form increasingly complex ways of understanding his life experiences. Models within this broad category have viewed identity in different ways, but they share the idea that across his lifespan an individual will undergo a developmental process, the results of which are the significant changes taking place at ego structure level. Thus, the developmental process doesn't just mark the addition of new information, but rather marks changes in the structures used by the individual to make sense of the world around him. The structural stage approach is believed to be limited by its reduced ability to explain the mechanisms through which the context can inhibit development.
- *The socio-cultural approaches* are perceived in this classification as placing extensive focus on the role played by the social context, and less on intrapsychic processes in the task of self-definition. The main contribution of these approaches is the emphasis on the social context and the important role played by the feedback and expectations of those around us in shaping our identities. At the same time, however, this line of work has been criticized for the tendency to regard identity as an ever changing, unstable product of social demand – which does not explain the inter-individual differences manifesting within the same social context. The limits of the socio-cultural approaches are linked to their difficulties in explaining individual differences regarding identity.
- *The narrative approaches* focus on language, which is seen as the medium through which identities are constructed, maintained, and explained. Theorists resort to biography analyses in order to understand the way in which people make sense of their lives and assign meaning to their experiences. It's a method which tries to bring together intra-individual psychological processes and the social context, emphasizing on the entire life of a person and on the way in which she integrates her life experiences. As a limit of the narrative approaches are the difficulties in generalizing the identity principles beyond the level of individual description.

- *Psycho-social approaches* try to integrate the processes taking place at social and intrapsychic levels, as well as the biology of the individual in order to explain the development and maintaining of one's identity. From a psycho-social point of view, identity changes across one's lifespan because not only does the social environment demand different things of him – such as to assume various roles, but also because one's biology, cognitive processes, and psychological defences undergo changes. Thus, one's sense of ego identity is reshaped throughout adolescence and adult years. At the same time, however, psycho-social theorists consider that for a harmonious development of identity one needs to maintain a stable sense of self across time and social contexts. The main limit of psycho-social models is represented by the insufficient attention they give to the role played by intrapsychic structures.

Moreover, noting the strong link between the concepts of identity and that of self, Hammack (2015) argues that the theoretical models of identity were developed following one of two general directions of theorization of the self. These are the theories of James (1890) and Mead (1934), which we will briefly presenting next.

Further on, given the focus of the present thesis, we present two theoretical models on identity of distinct importance in the research to date. The first, Erikson's (1950/1987, 1959/1994, 1968) developmental model, was the earliest theoretical model explicitly approaching the process of identity formation and the problems which can arise during its most critical phase, adolescence. Referenced in many of the papers studying identity, Erikson's developmental perspective also represented the inspiration for later theoretical models, including models of ethnic identity formation – important to our research due to their contribution towards a better understanding of the identity development process of young migrants in a multicultural context.

The second, Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Approach (Tajfel, 1972, 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reichter, & Wetherell, 1987), is the model most often used in elaborating empirical psychological research, given its comprehensive nature . Furthermore, as a social psychological analogue of multiculturalism (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), it can also provide valuable insight into multicultural contexts, owing its importance to the emphasis it places on the concepts of social categorization and in-group and out-groups

differentiations, as well as on the relationships which can be established between these groups and how an individual places himself in relation to the group.

2.2.1. The foundations of identity theories. James' (1890) and Mead's (1934) theories of the SELF

One of the most notable early views on identity comes from American philosopher and psychologist William James (1890), who considered that “in its widest possible sense, [...] a man’s self is the sum total of all that he can call his” (p. 291). The empirical self theorized by James has four constituents: *a material self* – comprised of our bodies, our close family, and our property, *a social self*, the recognition one gets from those around him, *a spiritual self*, representing a person’s psychic faculties, and *the pure Ego*, the central, stable part of the self. These constituents arouse self-feelings in the individual – most of the time feelings of self-complacency (which prompts the individual to self-preservation), or self-dissatisfaction (which in turn prompt the individual to self-seeking, whether bodily, spiritually, or socially).

In the context of social self-seeking, James notes that the **social self** is formed through our interactions with others, and argues that “a man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind” (1890, p. 294) – or, given the fact that objects in the social environment have a tendency to fall into classes, “as many different social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinions he cares” (1890, p. 294). In this sense, social self-seeking is reflected in the desire to be recognized by those around us, an instinctive desire the strength of which is not proportional with the “worth of the recognition computed in sensational or rational terms” (p. 308).

James also links self to personal identity, which for him represents a matter of “consciousness of personal sameness” (p. 331). Establishing sameness implies bringing different objects together for comparison. In this context, James asserts that the feeling of personal identity represents “the sense of a sameness perceived by thought and predicated of things thought-about. These things are a present self and a self of yesterday. The thought not only thinks them both, but thinks they are identical” (p. 332).

In this sense, the difference between the self as object and the self as subject becomes apparent. In the words of James, “personality implies the incessant presence of two elements, an objective person, known by a passing subjective Thought and recognized as continuing in time. Hereafter let us use the words ME and I for the empirical person and the judging Thought” (James, 1890, p. 371). Thus, the “me” is the empirical self, the self as object, whereas the “I” represents the subjective thought process which assigns meaning to the empirical sense (Hammack, 2015). These two aspects of the self are intertwined, and the Jamesian self is viewed as an elaborate system of values, beliefs, feelings, goals, and expectations. The system is dynamic, continuously evolving, and guides the process of interpreting the information around us (Morf & Koole, 2012).

In conclusion, James (1890) placed focus on the internal experience of the person, the development of identity at individual level, and the internal-external negotiation of identity. His work inspired a large volume of empirical research in the field of development and personality psychology, as well as empirical works in social and cultural psychology focusing on narratives. At theoretical level, the model inspired Erikson’s (1950/1987, 1959/1994, 1968) theory of identity crisis, as well as its ulterior developments.

The idea of a multiple, social constructed self later appears in Cooley’s (1902) concept of *looking-glass self*, according to which the self-image of individuals is reflected back to them during social interactions from many others’ “mirrors”. If the feedback which the individual gets from those around him does not match his self-image, he can either try to change his behaviour and the others’ view of him, or take on a new identity in accordance to what the others see him. Thus, according to this perspective, our personal identity is a social construct, being constructed and modified through social interaction.

The focus on the role played by social context is further stressed by Mead (1934/1967). Although the distinction between the “I” and the “me” also appears in Mead’s work, while the distinction made by James (1890) referred to a social world in which identity was negotiated through individual cognition, Mead’s conceptualization lacks the primacy of the cognitive processes. Thus, in Mead’s view “the ‘I’ is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others; the ‘me’ is the organized set of attitudes of others which one himself assumes” (Mead, 1934/1967, p. 175). Or, in other words, the ‘me’ is the object, one’s attitudes towards him, whereas the ‘I’ is

the subject, the dynamic aspect of the self, the actor which chooses to either respect or challenge the system of meaning present in that group (Hammack, 2015).

Mead (1934/1967) believes the essence of the self to be cognitive, as “it lies in the internalized conversation of gestures which constitutes thinking, or in terms of which thought or reflection proceeds” (p. 173). However, given that the conversation of gestures – which as Hammack (2015) suggests, gives rise to the sense of sameness and difference that determines “identities” – takes place in a social context, Mead argues that the self “is essentially a social structure, and it arises in social experience” (p. 140) and, furthermore, that “the origins and foundations of the self [...] are social” (p. 173). He also states that: “When a self does appear it always involves an experience of another; there could not be an experience of a self simply by itself” (p. 193).

According to the author, the self emerges during two stages of development, the stage of the play and that of the game. During *the play stage*, children use basic role-taking and their language skills as a way of understanding themselves based on how others perceive them through the specific social acts in which they take part together. As the children progress into the game stage, they are able to integrate, beside these individual attitudes, the attitudes of their social group – or the generalized other, as Mead (1934/1967) calls it. Thus, the development of the self takes place by systematizing the individual attitudes of group members into a system of group attitudes which he internalizes.

The focus on social interaction in the development of the self has opened the path for theories which focus on the relational dimension of identity and on the role played by social context (Hammack, 2015). Some of the most noteworthy examples of models that fall in this theoretical line are: The theory of stigma (Goffman, 1963); Symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969/1986); The role-identity model (McCall & Simmons, 1966/1978); The identity theory (Stryker, 1968); The social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986).

2.2.2. Erikson's theory - Emphasis on identity development throughout adolescence

Erik Erikson was one of the pioneers of identity research in social and behavioural sciences (Deaux & Burke, 2010), and the current complex significance of the concept of identity is derived mainly from his work in the 1950s and 1960s (Faeron, 1999).

His main interest was understanding the development process of identity conceptualized as a sense of coherence manifested through a stable self (Wetherell & Mohanty, 2010). His psychosocial approach explained identity by focusing on the interaction between the individual's *biology*, his *psychology*, and the *social context* – all three equally important elements in the development of identity (Kroger, 2000). He also proposed that human development took place during one's entire lifespan, in so doing moving away from the psychodynamic perspective on development popular in that period, which suggested that personality is formed during childhood and doesn't change afterwards (Meeus, 1992).

Erikson's psychosocial theory considered that *a person's lifespan is divided into eight development stages*, in each of these the individual being faced with a developmental task. The degree in which individuals managed to overcome these developmental blockages was believed to affect their development in later stages (Crocetti, Meeus, Ritchie, Meca, & Schwartz, 2014).

Identity formation was an important subject for Erikson (1950/1987, 1959/1994, 1968), who described its life-long evolution, starting from early childhood. The sense of identity was not believed to be achieved easily. He viewed identity as a never completed task, a permanent struggle, a *search*, linking it with terms such as *anxiety* and *crisis*. This pointed to the idea that some, particularly members of marginalized or persecuted groups, may in fact never successfully complete this quest for identity (Wetherell & Mohanty, 2010).

Particular focus was placed on the fifth stage of development, “**Identity vs. Role confusion**”, which occurred in adolescence – a time when individuals begin considering issues related to their identity for the first time (Hammack, 2015). During this stage, adolescents are experiencing the *physiological revolution* (Erikson, 1950/1987, p. 235) of puberty and are starting to become aware of the tasks of adulthood that await them. As “all samenesses and continuities relied on earlier are more or less questioned again” (p. 235), they are concerned mainly with the

discrepancies between the way in which they see themselves and the way in which they feel others view them, and with their social roles, namely “how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the occupational prototypes of the day” (p. 235).

It is in the context of the changes brought by this stage that Erikson’s concept of *identity crisis* was used. However, *crisis* in this sense is not perceived by Erikson as an imminent catastrophe. Instead, it marks a turning point in the life of a person, in which the individual needs to change his developmental course in order to evolve at all (Buckingham, 2008; Kroger, 2003/2006).

Erikson therefore viewed adolescence as a period in one’s life in which identity becomes a matter of concern (Hammack, 2015; Sokol, 2009). He believed that the possible outcomes of the developmental task were best described by a bipolar dimension, with an optimal sense of identity at one pole and identity confusion at the other (Hammack, 2015; Schwartz, 2001; Schwartz, Mullis, Waterman, & Dunham, 2000). Different facets of the mosaic defining who one is – such as career, religion, romantic or political preferences among many others, come together and, the more complete this mosaic is, the closer we are to *ego identity synthesis* (Schwartz, 2001). In most cases, identity confusion – which was thought to range from *mild* to *aggravated* and *malignant*, and which was outlined as suggesting “a split of self-images [...], a loss of center and a dispersion” (Erikson, 1968, p. 212), does not represent a major obstacle in the developmental path of adolescents, who manage to solve these problems and move on to later stages of development (Sokol, 2009).

Erikson (1968) terms identity as *ego identity* because of the central role played by the ego in its development. In his words, ego identity “is the result of the synthesizing function on one of the ego’s frontiers, namely, that environment which is social reality as transmitted to the child during successive childhood crises” (p. 211). In this sense, ego identity was defined as “the accrued confidence that one’s ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity (one’s ego in the psychological sense) is matched by the sameness and continuity of one’s meaning for others” (p. 94). At the same time,

An optimal sense of identity [...] is experienced merely as a sense of psychosocial well-being. Its most obvious concomitants are a feeling of being at home in one’s body, a sense of “knowing where one is going”, and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count (Erikson, 1968, p. 165).

Thus, while identity is partially developed by the individual through a self-reflection and self-definition process, the social environment, through interaction with others who recognize and validate the individual's identity, plays a vital role (Buckingham, 2008; Deaux & Burke, 2010). In this manner, Erikson (1959/1994, 1968) seems to integrate the cognitive perspective of James and Mead's view of the self as social product, approaching them however from a psychoanalytical angle which stresses the role played by the ego (Hammack, 2015). Nevertheless, although Erikson believes that identity is constructed and modified throughout one's life through interactions with the social environment, he also argues that one's sense of self will maintain its continuity across the stages of his life cycles.

Erikson's *multidimensional concept of identity* covers cognitive, social and cultural aspects of identity (Kroger, 2003/2006; Schwartz, 2001). Additionally, his theory also offers insight into the relationship between individual psychology and social change. Erikson considered identity as the psychological process essential to understanding social change, because *through identity social norms are maintained, modified or created*. This hints to the developmental nature of his theory, not only in terms of individual development but also regarding the ideological framework of the wider society (Hammack, 2015).

In spite of its obvious value, Erikson's theory was not free of **criticism**. One of the critiques most often received was that he based his theory mostly on personal observation and intuition (Crocetti et al., 2014; Schwartz, 2001). Although many of these observations provided valuable insight in the developmental processes, he was criticized for his subjective and vague style of writing, a fact to which Erikson (1950/1987) himself admits. This lack of scientific rigor and empirical focus, as Crocetti et al. (2014) conclude, makes it difficult to extract definitions and operationalize even the basic concepts within his theory.

Nevertheless, his seminal work had a significant impact on later developments in the field of psychology and psychoanalysis (Douvan, 1997). Over the past 50 years, researchers have attempted to operationalize and provide an empirical basis for Erikson's developmental concepts (Crocetti, Rubini, Luyckx, & Meeus, 2008). In general, attempts to examine and develop on Erikson's fifth psychosocial task followed three general directions, either studying the place held by this stage in Erikson's eight stages scheme, focusing on the fifth stage alone and

conceptualizing it in bipolar terms, or more generally, focusing on the study on one or more of the ego identity's dimensions as outlined by Erikson (Crocetti et al., 2014; Kroger, 2003/2006; Schwartz, 2001). Arguably the most important development was **Marcia's (1966) identity status model**, on which a significant part of the impressive volume of neo-Eriksonian research on identity formation is based (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Wang, & Olthuis, 2009; for further reading, see Schwartz, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2015).

2.2.3. The social identity perspective (Tajfel and Turner) – Emphasis on social identity

Although Erikson was one of the first to popularize the concept of identity within the social and behavioural sciences, he mainly placed accent on the integrity of the self-concept, and not on the links between the self and others. Although he acknowledged the social dimension of identity, Erikson put focus on the individual in relation to the group, whereas the social identity approach focuses on interpersonal interactions in which, however, individuals often act as members of a specific social group (Tajfel, 1978a). For this reason, social psychology literature mostly uses as reference Henri Tajfel's Social Identity Theory and its later development by Turner et al. (1987), the Self-Categorization Theory (Deaux & Burke, 2010; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). These two theories are commonly referred to in the existing literature as the *Social Identity Perspective*. Presented at first mostly for a European audience, the social identity perspective has been constantly refined over the years, and its popularity grew in the early 1990s. Today, it is considered to be one of the most prominent theories approaching intergroup processes. (Hogg, 2006; Hornsey, 2008).

2.2.3.1. The social identity theory (Tajfel)

The social identity theory emerged in the early 1970s, in the context of wide debate regarding the direction which research in the field of social psychology, and especially group processes and intergroup relations, had taken. Its ideas were welcomed as ambitious and comprehensive, in clear contrast with the reductionist tendencies of intergroup theories of the time.

Whereas social theories at that time explained intergroup processes as being linked to personality traits and the differences between individuals, or as interpersonal processes between more than two people (Hogg, 2006), the social identity model was based on the idea that social behaviour can be visualized as spanning on a continuum ranging from *purely interpersonal interactions* to *purely intergroup interactions*. Purely interpersonal interactions depict situations in which interactions between two or more people are determined by their personal relationship and their personal characteristics, without any awareness of social categories. By comparison, purely intergroup interactions represent situations in which individuals interact solely as members of their groups – their individual traits being overshadowed by the salience of their group membership at that moment (Tajfel, 1978a; Turner, 1982).

As Tajfel (1978a) argued, the entirely interpersonal extreme is very unlikely to be encountered in the real world, as it's impossible for a social encounter not to be affected, at least minimally, by membership in any categories. Similarly, entirely intergroup interactions are, although possible, relatively rarely encountered, because even in intergroup contexts the individual characteristics of the members of the other group will be taken into account to some extent.

Therefore, the perceived position of an interaction on the continuum is important, as it affects social behaviour towards members of the in-group and members of the out-group (Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel, 1978a). Thus, the closer to the intergroup extreme an interaction is perceived, the more similarly will individual in-group members treat members of out-groups. By contrast, the closer to the interpersonal extreme we are on the continuum, the more will treatment of out-group members vary across individual in-group members. Furthermore, the closer to the intergroup extreme a social interaction is the more will in-group members tend to view out-group members as prototypes of their group (Tajfel, 1978a).

Moreover, the distinction between social identity (mapping on group and intergroup processes) and personal identity (referring to interindividual and individual processes), was then made by Tajfel following the finds of the so called minimal-group studies. Within the *minimal group paradigm*, Tajfel and collaborators showed that categorizing participants randomly into minimally defined groups led them to assign more resources to members of their own group than to members of other groups. This was done without participants' knowledge of whether their friends and classmates were assigned to their group or not, and without gaining any personal

benefit from the allocation of resources. Moreover, research showed that in order to ensure that the groups gained more than the out-groups, participants were willing to sacrifice their personal self-interest (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971).

2.2.3.1.1. Defining social identification and social identity

Hence, the social identity theory approaches the way in which people's self-concept is associated with membership to social groups and categories, and with group and intergroup behaviour. The focus is therefore shifted away from personal to social identity (Hogg, 2010).

In this context, **social identification**, defined by Turner (1982) as “the process of locating oneself, or another person, within a system of social categorizations or, as a noun, to any social categorization used by a person to define him- or herself and others” (pp. 17-18), is seen as a key process in establishing a connection between the individual and the group (Spears, 2011).

According to Turner (1982), through social identification, the individual obtains information regarding who he is and who he is not. The sum of social identifications which an individual uses to define himself describes that person's **social identity**, a concept explained by Tajfel (1972), as representing “the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership” (p. 292). Consequently, as Tajfel (1978a) later points out, “**group identifications** are the more likely the stronger are the evaluative and the emotional components of one's notion of the in-group and of one's membership in it” (p. 29).

2.2.3.1.2. Social categorization, groups, prototypes, psychological salience, and stereotypes

In this sense, group memberships represent collective self-constructs – “we” or “us”, and “them” (Hogg, Abrams, Otten, & Hinkle, 2004). This is achieved through **social categorization**, which can be defined as “the ordering of social environment in terms of groupings of persons in a manner which makes sense to the individual” (Tajfel, 1978b, p. 61). Through the process of categorization, the distinctions existing between one's own category (**in-group** – broadly defined

by Allport, 1954/1958, as “any cluster of people who can use the term ‘we’ with the same significance”, p.35) and other categories (**out-groups**) are made salient.

Thus, it becomes apparent that through social categorization, the social world is divided into distinct classes or social categories (Tajfel, 1972). Social categories are therefore the same as **social groups**, defined by Turner (1982, p. 15) as “two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category”. Similarly, Hogg et al. (2004) define the social group as being a

collection of more than two people who have the same social identity – they identify themselves in the same way and have the same definition of who they are, what attributes they have, and how they relate to and differ from specific out-groups. (p. 251)

Hence, in this process, individuals are believed to conceptualize their social identifications and the social groups they encounter through complex series of **meaningfully related attributes** (perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviours) which are called **prototypes**, and which can simultaneously designate the *similarities* within the social category, and *differentiate* from groups of people outside the group (Hogg, 2006; Tajfel, 1959).

Thus, through the partition of the social environment into in-group and out-groups, the way in which people see themselves and those around them changes. In this manner, the members of a category are perceived as possessing all the attributes characteristic to the prototype of their group. It is this context in which **Tajfel’s categorization law** applies (Turner, 1982): Just as in the case of categorizations of physical objects, *people will perceive greater similarity between objects in the same category, and greater dissimilarity between objects in different categories* (Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel, 1978b). The difference between the categorization of social and physical stimuli, respectively, lays however in the association of **positive or negative values** to the different categories relevant to the individual in a certain categorization context. *The value significance allocated further increases the differences perceived between the categories* (Turner, 1982).

The prototype of a group thus describe categories and identities (Hogg & Smith, 2007) by capturing varied aspects relevant for the group, such as beliefs, behaviours, attitudes, customs (Hogg, 2006, 2010). Furthermore, they prescribe the behaviour which group members should have, as well as the attitudes that they should hold. Prototypes of a certain group will vary based on the groups it is compared with and the relevant dimensions for the comparison. Furthermore, any of the attributes can become value-laden given certain social-psychological conditions (Tajfel, 1974). More clearly, *prototypes maximize the perception that a category is cohesive and distinct to other categories*, and also follow the metacontrast principle, *by maximizing the ratio of intragroup similarities and intergroup differences* (Hogg, 2006; Tajfel, 1959). In other words, members of the same group are seen as more similar to one another than to members of other categories (Tajfel, 1969). Nevertheless, by being focused away from out-group prototypes, in-group prototypes tend to rather capture ideal and not actual attributes, which may result in intergroup biases (Abrams & Hogg, 2010), discussed in the [next section](#).

Tajfel's categorization law also offers a good explanation for **social stereotyping**. For this reason, Turner (1982) states that social stereotyping can be conceptualized as the application of Tajfel's law in the context of social group perception. Thus, *through social stereotyping members of groups are depersonalized*. The individuals are perceived no longer in terms of their personal traits; instead, they are seen as an embodiment of their group's prototype (Hogg, 2010; Turner, 1982). Stereotyping, however, can also apply at in-group level where, among others, by accentuating the perceived similarities between the group members, it can contribute to create social cohesion (Turner, 1982).

Thus, social identity perspective links group homogeneity, applied to both in-groups and out-groups, to social identity processes (Brown, 2000). However, for social categorization to lead to behavioural response it must become **psychologically salient**. As Tajfel (1978b) explained, the salience of memberships *varies temporally and across contexts*. Later on, Turner et al. (1987), and particularly Oakes (1987) conceptualized salience as based on *accessibility* and *fit*. In this sense, **accessibility** refers to the fact that in order to rapidly understand their social environment and their place within it, people will draw on social identities which are accessible to them. The degree in which one internalizes his membership and the importance given to it determine its accessibility (Turner et al., 1987). *Chronically accessible* social categorizations are identities

which are valued, important, and which frequently become salient (i.e. gender, race, age group, profession and religion). Besides, categorizations can also be easily accessible if they are perceptually obvious in a given situation.

The fit of a categorization in a certain situation, or **structural/comparative fit**, accounts for how well it explains the similarities and differences between the people interacting. Besides, the cognitive system can also verify the degree in which a categorization, or its prototype, fits the behaviour of the persons in that specific context.

In order for a categorization to become salient, it has to provide an *optimum level of fit*. In this purpose, the individual cycles through accessible categorization until one acceptably fit for the situation is found. If two categories are equally fit, the more accessible one will become salient, whereas if two categories are equally accessible, the fittest will become salient. Although most of the times automatic, this process can be deliberately, or even strategically directed by people's motivations in a certain context (Hogg, 2010; Turner et al., 1987).

2.2.3.1.3. Social comparison. Motivation and strategies for a positive social identity

As Tajfel (1978b) asserted, although we are aware of our social identifications and we attach to them positive or negative values, they attain meaning primarily through social comparison with relevant out-groups. In this context, **social comparison** *represents the process through which an individual evaluates his group by comparing it with relevant groups, on relevant dimensions* (Hogg, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In-group favourable comparisons provide group members with subjective status and prestige, and lead to **positive social identity**. In contrast, negatively discrepant comparisons mean low prestige and lead to a **negative social identity**. As we are interested in maintaining a positive self-concept, we are also motivated to think and act in manners which will allow us to attain and maintain a **positive distinctiveness** between our in-group and the out-groups – “a belief that we are better than them in every possible way” (Hogg, 2006, p. 120), in order to build a meaningful social identity (Abrams & Hogg, 2010). Thus, as Tajfel and Turner (1979) explain, *the goal of social comparison is to establish, maintain or increase the positive distinctiveness of the in-group in comparison with out-groups*.

The fact that individuals associate value significance to social categories has deep consequences for any instances of social categorization in which the subject's in-group is contrasted or compared with out-groups (Tajfel, 1978b). This aspect, which is considered to lead to *intergroup discrimination and out-group derogation* in the real world, is also known as **the in-group / out-group bias** (Hornsey, 2008).

The results of the social comparison depends on the position of the group in the social hierarchy in terms of social status, which refers to the group's perceived prestige (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When the results of social comparison are not favourable for the in-group – that is to say when the individual realizes that his in-group has a low social status in comparison to the other groups, the individual can still employ a number of **strategies to regain a positive social identity** (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). These strategies are discussed in detail by Tajfel (1978a), as presented below:

- *If the individuals perceive their group's inferiority as stable and just*, they will try to regain a positive self-image independently, by either comparing themselves with other members of the in-group (instead of comparing themselves with members of the superior out-group), or by leaving the in-group and trying to join superior status groups (sometimes this can involve modifying one's values, behaviour and habits in order to increase similarity with the superior group). A prerequisite for this strategy, however, is for the system to be permeable, allowing individuals to move from one group to another.
- *If their group's inferiority is perceived as unstable* – that is to say the in-group members are aware of cognitive alternatives, Tajfel (1978a) suggests they can use four different group strategies in order to regain a positive social identity. The first is *the cultural and psychological assimilation of the group as a whole within the superior group*. The second is focused on the *redefining, as in minimizing the importance, of those negatively evaluated characteristics*. The third strategy is to *select new dimensions on which, through social comparison, the in-group can achieve positive distinctiveness*. Lastly, the fourth strategy is for the group *to compete directly with the dominant group*. In some situations, this last strategy can generate animosities between the two groups, as the actions aiming at social change of the inferior group will be answered in kind by the superior group which tries to conserve status quo.

From this point of view, the social identity model represented the first theory analysing intergroup relations which acknowledged the fact that at society level groups hold different status, and that intergroup behaviour is motivated by individuals' ability to find alternatives to the existing status quo (Hornsey, 2008).

2.2.3.2. Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1987)

Following Tajfel's death in 1982, Turner and his colleagues further refined the theory of social identification, more specifically its cognitive element – the categorization process. This was done with the aim of widening the focus of the Social Identity Theory to also include intrapersonal processes. The results of their work, published in 1987, were argued to represent a different theory altogether, which the authored labelled as the *Self-Categorization Theory*.

Whereas the Social Identity Theory mainly addressed intergroup processes, Self-categorization Theory discusses both intragroup and intergroup processes. Furthermore, unlike Social Identity Theory, which considered a continuum ranging from interpersonal to intergroup in order to explain how memberships become salient, the Self-Categorization Theory proposed that **self-categorization takes place at three different levels** relevant to an individual's self-concept: the supraordinate level of *self as human*, the ordinate level of *self as member of social groups* defined in contrast with other social groups, and the subordinate level of *personal self-categorization*, based on interpersonal comparison. Within the theory, it is assumed that as one of these categories become salient, the other two categories become less salient (Hornsey, 2008; Turner & Reynolds, 2012). Turner et al. (1987) argue that although only the in-group – out-group level of categorization was “referred to as social, because it reflects socially shared similarities and differences between people, there is no implication that the human and personal levels are not also social in terms of their content, origin and function” (p. 46).

Another important contribution of the Self-Categorization Theory is in the field of **depersonalization and stereotyping**. When membership in a social group becomes salient, group members see themselves and their peers less as individuals and more as interchangeable components of the group, defined by the prototype. Thus, one's social identification gives information on the meaning of being a member of the group, and on the attitudes, behaviours,

and emotions which a member of the group is expected to display in a certain context. Whereas the Social Identity Theory analysed stereotyping from an intergroup perspective, the Self-Categorization Theory also focuses its analysis on the **intragroup level**. In this sense, it theorizes that the consequences of depersonalization are the various phenomena of group behaviour, such as group cohesion, interpersonal attraction, and ethnocentrism (Turner et al., 1987).

Group cohesion is defined in this context by Turner et al. (1987) as “mutual attraction between ingroup members” (p. 57), while **ethnocentrism** is seen as “ingroup members’ positive evaluation of the group as a whole” (p. 57), and **interpersonal attraction** as “favourable attitudes towards an individual person (including one’s personal self) or towards people as unique, differentiated persons” (p. 57).

In order to explain **interpersonal attraction**, Turner et al. (1987) propose the existence of what they call the “ideal self”. More specifically, they argue that in any context in which an individual evaluates himself or others, he will use an “ideal self” – the closest entity to the prototype of the self-category, as the standard for interpersonal comparison. And, in this context, interpersonal attraction directly depends on a person’s similarity with the ideal self. Interpersonal attraction and group coherence are considered here to be “conceptually distinct forms of attraction that co-exists within a social group predominating according to the relative salience of in-group – out-group and interpersonal categorizations” (p. 60). In this sense, how attractive members of the in-group are believed to be depends on their perceived prototypicality compared to that of other in-group members. The perceived prototypicality mainly results from one’s behaviour, namely the extent to which he conforms to the norms of the in-group, or manifests valued characteristics of the membership. The perceived attractiveness of an individual does change however, depending on the in-group membership used for reference, the prototypicality of the specific members they are compared to, and also on the dimension used for comparison.

Turner et al. (1987) explain **ethnocentrism** through the prism of interpersonal attraction, but “at one level of categorization higher” (p. 61). Thus, ethnocentrism is believed to depend on the relative prototypicality of the in-group (which implies social comparison with relevant out-groups) in terms of a valued self-category which is used in the intergroup comparison. As in the case of the perceived attractiveness of in-group members, the attractiveness of an in-group

changes according to the dimensions employed in the intergroup comparisons, the supraordinate self-category used as frame for comparison.

The relative prototypicality of the group on valued dimensions of the intergroup comparison is viewed by Turner and his colleagues as equating **positive distinctiveness**. The authors argue, however, that people are motivated to seek positive distinctiveness at every salient level of self-categorization. For this reason, they will create and enhance differences between themselves and in-group members when the categories of reference are intragroup differences and between in-group and out-groups when the dimensions of reference are intra-human differences.

In conclusion, Self-Categorization Theory differs from the Social Identity Theory in a number of aspects. Most importantly, the Self-Categorization Theory is more general. It focuses not on specific group behaviours, but rather on the interpersonal and intragroup processes which allow and motivate individuals to act as a group in the first place. In this sense, social identity is seen as a “higher level of abstraction in the perception of the others” (Turner et al., 1987, p. 42). In spite of the fact that the Self-Categorization Theory does not offer a clear-cut motivational analysis to explain intergroup behaviour, the cognitive contrasting of in-groups and out-groups is implicitly understood as a strategy which advances perceptual and delimitation clarity, as well as social meaning. Therefore, we could say that Self-Categorization Theory places focus on the role played by individual cognitive processes in social categorization (Hammack, 2015; Hornsey, 2008).

2.2.3.3. *Limits and critics*

The social identity perspective, which includes both the social identity theory and the self-categorization theory, has inspired a large volume of empirical research, well beyond the disciplinary boundaries of social psychology. Nevertheless, that is not to say that it did not elicit its share of criticism. Drawing from the works of Turner (1999) and Brown (2000), we further distinguish between five main issues that raised the most concerns:

- The first refers to the the relationship between strength of group identification and in-group bias. Studies found modest support for a connection between the two. Nevertheless, Turner

(1999) dismissed this critique, highlighting that such a connection was never explicitly or implicitly mentioned in the original theory as published by Tajfel.

- A second point of concern refers to the relationship between self-esteem and intergroup discrimination. The social identity perspective asserts that intergroup discrimination is motivated by the desire to see one's group in a more positive light. Nevertheless, this hypothesis was not supported by research finds.
- Another aspect analysed refers to the positive and negative asymmetries in intergroup discrimination. Thus, research in the minimal group paradigm showed that when rewards was replaced by negative outcomes the phenomenon of group discrimination disappeared. Furthermore, the asymmetry between positive and negative outcomes in terms of intergroup discrimination seems to also be encountered between evaluative ratings using positive and negative phrased items. While no generally accepted conclusion was reached as to why this takes place, several explanations were offered in this sense (see Brown, 2000).
- The fourth aspect which draws attention referred to group similarity. According to the social identity perspective, groups which hold similar status or which are similar should be motivated to display higher intergroup differentiation (Turner, 1978). Nevertheless, at practical level finds showed mixed support for this hypothesis. Thus, while some research found that groups perceiving themselves as similar showed higher intergroup attraction, others found that intergroup similarity led to greater intergroup differentiation.
- A last aspect refers to identity maintenance strategies. Within the social identity perspective were presented several possible strategies which members of low status groups could employ in order to protect their identities. The theory offered little in terms of predicting which strategy would be used by members of the low status group, however. Research hasn't been much more successful in determining the factors behind strategy choice. This is seen as a weakness of the social identity theory framework (Brown, 2000).

However, in spite of these limitations, the social identity perspective achieved wide influence not only within the field of psychology but also across other disciplines of study. Therefore, the group identity approach brings an important contribution to the understanding of this concept across disciplinary boundaries. Moreover, at theoretical level, the ideas and principles of the social identity perspective were used to generate new theoretical developments which allowed it to gain additional insight in specific areas or phenomena (Spears, 2011).

2.3. Dimensions of social identity

If in sections [2.1](#) and [2.2](#) the accent was mostly placed on the individual in defining identity and its processes, at this stage we consider it is important to shift our focus on the definition and the significance which identity categories carry on their own, taking into account Wetherell's (2010) affirmation that "the group as a whole could be said to have an identity" (p. 8)

A distinction between the sociological and the psychological perspectives on collective identity would help us better understand the processes involved. Although, as discussed in [section 2.1](#), psychologists often refer the terms collective identity and social identity interchangeably, sociologists differentiate between the two concepts, collective identity focusing on the group as entity (Owens et al., 2010). As Polletta and Jasper (2001) conclude, collective identities describe the similarities between people sharing a category. Therefore, a collective identity does not exist without the group's members (Joseph, 2004). At the same time, however, collective identities are "never simply the aggregate of individuals' identities" (p. 298). This idea was also argued by Wetherell (2010) who, observing the connections between sociologic and social psychology research, notes that one of the conceptions the two perspectives share is that the social group represents more than the sum of its parts.

For a definition of collective identity from a socio-psychological perspective, we turn to Taylor and Whittier (1992), who define this concept as "the shared definition of a group that derives from members' common interests, experiences and solidarity" (p. 105). Similarly, Abdedal, Herrera, Johnston and McDermott (2009) define collective identities as representing social categories which vary on two dimensions – in terms of meaning and in terms of the consensus between members regarding its content. A more ample definition is provided by Kashima (2010), who defines a group's identity as a set of meanings regarding the group and group membership. As the author describes,

these meanings include information (a) that the group exists (usually in contrast to other groups); (b) that it has a unique past, some current state, and potential continuity into the future; (c) that some individuals (but not others) are group members; (d) that there is a way to determine group membership (and the rules by

which membership is determined); and (e) that to be a member of the group means to have certain psychological and behavioural characteristics (p. 177).

Hence, the entire range of social categories which are available to an individual in any given social context, as well as their associated meanings, are constructed through social processes over historical time (Burkitt, 2004). In this sense, identity categories which are often considered to be natural, such as nationhood or gender, are in fact human constructs which can be altered and deconstructed – an example being the way in which gender roles have shifted in Western societies in the past decades (Vignoles et al., 2011). Similarly, Castells (2010a) discusses the construction of social (collective) identities, stating that

[it] uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations. But individuals, social groups, and societies process all these materials, and rearrange their meaning, according to social determinations and cultural projects that are rooted in their social structure, and in their space/time framework (p. 7).

The attributes and borders of social categories are defined and constructed through cultural differences. These differences are manifested on the one hand through cultural practices (symbols, rituals, and heroes), and on the other hand through values (feelings with an added positive or negative valence) which lay at the core of culture (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Cultural differences can be analysed on various dimensions, as also shown by the models which were developed in this sense. One example is that of Hofstede and colleagues who extended their four-dimension model to include five, and later six dimensions (see Hofstede, 1980/1984, 1986, 1994, 2011; Hofstede & Bond, 1984, 1988; Hofstede et al., 2010). According to their model, the culture in which one constructs his identity can be characterised by *power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism or collectivism, masculinity or femininity, long term or short term orientation, and indulgence or restraint*. Although it inspired other studies on the topic, this dimensional paradigm of culture differences was not free from criticism (see Baskerville, 2003; Hofstede, 2003), and various scholars propose through their work other dimensions which again highlight the complexity of the cultural context in which one shapes his identity. In this sense, Schwartz and colleagues distinguish between seven possible dimensions

of cultural analysis: *conservatism, hierarchy, mastery, affective autonomy, intellectual autonomy, egalitarianism, and harmony* (see Schwartz, 1990, 1994; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz & Ros, 1996).

Moreover, based on the premise that the social construction of identity takes place in a context characterized by power relationships, Castells (2010a) distinguishes between three different ways in which collective (social) identity is constructed, which in turn lead to different outcomes at societal level. The first, *legitimizing identity* is introduced by the dominant social institutions as a way to expand and rationalize their domination over individuals. The second, *resistance identity* is created by individuals who are marginalized or in a position of inferiority in their social system. Through resistance identity, individuals maintain principles which are different than those of the dominant social structures. Lastly, *project identities* are enacted by social actors as they construct a new identity which helps them reshape their position in the wider society. In so doing, they seek to challenge the status quo and to transform the existing social structures.

Therefore, as a conclusion, it may be inferred that identities are a product situated at the intersection between personal and social both in terms of their content and of the way in which they are formed, maintained and changed over time (Vignoles et al., 2011; Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991). As Castells (2010a) argued, the symbolic content attached to a group's identity determines its meaning for the group's members. On the other hand, however, just as "individual behaviour influences collective practices and is shaped by them" (de Fina, 2007, p.389), an individual may alter the meaning of an identity as perceived in his local culture in order to construct a 'personalized' identity description, and that might even lead in time to altering that identity's meaning in the local or wider social environment. Nonetheless, one can't entirely dismiss the way in which an identity is defined in the social context he's a part of (Vignoles et al., 2011).

Moreover, given the complexity of contexts marked by culture clashes, mixing, and integration, the understanding of the way in which individuals develop a sense of community around ethnic and national group memberships becomes of particular importance (Baumeister, 1986; Phinney, 1999). This has given rise to an increased interest in empirical questions related to processes concerning migrants, one of the important areas of research being the construction and

reconstruction of different types of social identity relevant in their case, such as ethnic and national identity (Spillman, 2007).

2.3.1. Ethnic and national identities

Identity construction, from the perspective of the social identity theory, is a cognitive process which helps to define the self and to create a link with a group of reference through the use of a wide range of social categories (Deaux, 2001; Sanders Thompson, 2006). In this context, culture, ethnicity, and nation represent examples of such categories.

The reviewed literature paints the image of a very complex relationship between these concepts and their corresponding types of identity, respectively (Rodriguez et al., 2010). Thus, in some works cultural identity is seen as a supraordinate concept encompassing one's national and/or ethnic identities (e.g., Hall, 2000; Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Phinney et al., 2006; Schwartz, Donnellan, et al., 2013; Schwartz et al., 2012; Schwartz et al., 2010; Sabatier, 2008), considering that there is no group without culture and no group identity without reference to the group's culture (Aguirre, 1998). At the same time other authors view cultural identity as a component of ethnic identity (e.g., Trimble 2000), and others equate between the two types of social identity (e.g., Cross & Cross, 2008; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002).

Similarly, the relationship between ethnic and national identities is also pictured as varying across contexts. As Deaux (2001) states, the two can be considered as highly overlapping at times (e.g., Steltl & Seligman, 2009), while often they represent distinctive ways of self-identification.

Thus, in ethnically homogenous countries, ethnic and national identities are considered to be fully overlapped concepts. Ethnic identity, through its content, provides meaning to one's existence, as well as a purpose and a link with ancestors and descendents, whereas national identity implies loyalty to one's country. However, in the real world there are differences between the content of the two identities, as national identity is a more complex concept than ethnic identity, and has less clearly delineated boundaries than the latter (Sabatier, 2008).

Furthermore, concepts like citizenship, nationality, and dual citizenship deepen the complexity of the relationship. For this reason, in the context of the intensification of migration in the first

decade of the 21st century, which led to countries being regarded as less ethnically, culturally, and racially homogenous, the ethnic and national identities of migrants began attracting increasing attention. In this sense, it was acknowledged that the role played by one's identification with a group, whether national, ethnic or religious could greatly influence the way in which an individual acts in his host country (Constant & Zimmermann, 2012).

2.3.1.1. Ethnicity and ethnic identity

A first link is drawn between identity and ethnicity. The term *ethnicity* entered in use relatively recently in the academic literature, slowly replacing the concept of race, which had gained negative connotations (Sanders Thompson, 2006). Following a review of the existing literature, Wan and Vanderwerf (2009) point to the various ways in which ethnicity is viewed in different areas of the Globe, based on the specifics of the socio-cultural context there. The most common approach is to see ethnicity as developing from one's relationship with a certain ethnic group (Sanders Thompson, 2006; Wan & Vanderwerf, 2009).

Membership in an ethnic group is determined by social definition, both in terms of the members' self-definition as components of the group and in terms of how they define other groups. In this sense, a number of factors can contribute to the formation of an ethnic group, such as a common language, a territory, a common occupation, as well as loyalty or values towards a specific form of organization (Saint-Jacques & Giles, 1979).

The factors taken into account also influence the meaning assigned to ethnicity. At a *narrow* level, its meaning focuses on the national origin and unique cultural models, whereas at a *broader* level, it focuses on cultural aspects such as tradition, language, and history, different aspects that set the group apart, or physical traits shared by its members, which bring it close to the concept of race (Sanders Thompson, 2006).

Given that *ethnicity* represents a central construct for the self-definition of many (Deaux, 2001), we further discuss the different approaches of this concept. In this sense, we distinguish between three major theoretical perspectives – the *primordialist*, the *instrumentalist*, and the *constructivist*, which reflect the changes in ethnicity studies that have taken place in the past 20 years as a result of globalization (Wan & Vanderwerf, 2009).

According to *the primordialist perspective*, which was popular until the 1970s, society is comprised of distinct social groups. At birth, one automatically gains membership into one of these groups, and ethnic identification “is based on deep, ‘primordial’ attachments to that group, established by kinship and descent. One’s ethnicity is thus ‘fixed’ and an unchangeable part of one’s identity (p. 9). Ethnicity is seen therefore as permanent throughout one’s lifespan (Wan & Vanderwerf, 2009).

The primordialist view was criticized for the fact that members of ethnic groups may not identify themselves as such at all. Furthermore, it was claimed that in time both the content and the boundaries between categories change. This idea was developed by Barth (1969), who disagreed with the view that the social world is made up of distinct groups. He argued that an ethnic group’s identity emerged from the group’s interactions with other social groups, and that this identity was maintained “when members interact with others” (p. 15). Thus, ethnicity was viewed as based on a subjective dichotomization of others, and not on objective distinctions actually existing in the social context. In this sense, boundaries between ethnic groups are seen primarily not as territorial but as social, although corresponding territorial boundaries may exist. Cultural elements, such as lifestyle, language, religion signal the boundaries of a group. In time however, these cultural traits can change, and the group boundaries will change together with them. For this reason, Barth (1969) argued that focus should be placed on the boundaries between the ethnic groups and not on the content of the group itself. Thus, ethnicity is regarded as being both relational and situational, the ethnic aspect of a social interaction being dependent on the specific context (Eriksen, 2001).

This change in emphasis led the way to the development of instrumentalist (focused on politics) and constructionist (focused on ideology) theories which have been the dominant perspectives in approaching ethnicity. The first, *instrumentalist theories*, consider that ethnic identity can be changed, constructed, or manipulated with the goal of obtaining political or economical gains (Eriksen, 2001). The second, *constructionist theories*, view ethnicity as something we construct during our daily experiences, a process which is never finalized (Isajiw, 1992).

These theories place focus on the issue of boundaries and how they affected identity. For these reasons, definitions of ethnicity in line with these perspectives avoid terms like category, boundary, or group, which could lead one to think of a fixed identity (Wan & Vanderwerf,

2009). Nevertheless, one's ethnicity may inform regarding one's ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor, 2011), highlighting the strong link between the constructs.

With reference to *ethnic identity*, the literature to date also reveals the difficulty in reaching consent regarding the significance of the concept (Dimitrova et al., 2013; Phinney, 1990). Reviewing existing definitions of this notion, Phinney (1990) observes that many of them failed to provide a clear image of the concept. She concluded that while scholars appeared to agree on the broad, general understanding of ethnic identity, they placed emphasis on different specific aspects, which may be determined by the theoretical approaches employed and by the divergence in research goals.

Generally, ethnic identity is conceived as being based on the cultural or physical criteria which distinguish the group from others (Bhugra, 2004; Stelzl & Seligman, 2009; Zenner, 1996). A great number of researchers within the social sciences view ethnic identity as a vital landmark for one's self-concept and for the proper psychological functioning of individuals. The importance of ethnic group identity stems from its assumed influence on the individuals' social behaviour (Sanders Thompson, 2006; Phinney, 1990).

However, individuals will not identify to the same extent as members of their ethnic group, which will also not be equally salient or meaningful to them. Thus, while some individuals display positive emotions and a clear sense of commitment towards their ethnic group, others have conflicting feelings regarding their ethnicity and wish they were part of another group. Similarly, whereas some people value their ethnic identity and show interest and involvement in their ethnic and cultural heritage, others show little if any interest, and feel their ethnicity is not very important to them. These inter-individual differences are not stable, they shift with time, and they shape the way in which the individuals behave, interact with members of out-groups, and see the society they live in (Phinney, 1996), highlighting the complexity of ethnic identification (Sanders Thompson, 2006).

Therefore, in order to cover most of the elaborated discourses on the complexity of ethnic identity, we will further refer to its formation by pointing out important insights provided by the

different approaches to ethnic identity construction, namely *social identity perspective*, *developmental approach*, and the *acculturation framework*.

A social identity perspective

Much of the research on ethnic identity draws on social identity theory (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2011; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Umaña-Taylor, 2011). In this sense, ethnic identity is perceived as a part of one's self-concept, derived from one's knowledge of his ethnic membership, together with its associated emotional significance (Tajfel, 1978). According to this perspective, one's social identity plays an important role in the way in which one perceives himself. The strength of the self is derived from the social status of the in-groups, and from the way in which the members of the out-groups are evaluated (Trimble & Dickson, 2005).

Thus, the social identity approach posits that intergroup processes focus on intergroup differentiation. Through the process of social comparison, individuals aim to activate or maintain a positive ethnic identity. For this purpose, the ethnic in-group is evaluated positively and the differences between the groups compared are exaggerated. As a result, hostile inter-group attitudes and discrimination may ensue (Majstorovic & Turjacanin, 2013). However, the individual may not always be able to attain a positive ethnic identity through the process of social comparison. When that happens, one may engage in an identity negotiation process. Tajfel and Turner (1979) propose three strategies which members of subordinate groups can use in order to restore their positive distinctiveness:

- *Individual mobility*. Members may choose to leave, or wish to leave the subordinate group in favour of a higher status, or threatening, group. When physically leaving the group is impossible, such as in the case of ethnic groups, individuals may *psychologically leave* the group, by dissociating with it. This can result in further *psychological complications* for themselves (Trimble & Dickson, 2005).
- *Social creativity*. Individuals will attempt to redefine or change the elements of the status comparison (such as the dimensions used for comparison, the associated values, or the out-group used in the comparison). Ethnic identity development itself in the case of minorities

could be a form of social creativity, as individuals redefine the meaning of the identity and no longer allow society to do so for them (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006).

- *Status competition.* The members of the low status group may choose to enter in direct competition with the high status out-group. This can lead to *intergroup conflict*, however, if the groups are competing for scarce resources.

Moreover, according to the social identity approach the strength and salience of the ethnic identity differs based on interindividual differences. Thus, although all adolescents – including those from the majority ethnic group – have the potential to develop a sense of ethnic identity, this social identity will be particularly salient for members of ethnic minorities (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2011; Phinney, 1990). This assertion was supported by empirical data such as that of Roberts et al. (1999), whose findings show that members of ethnic minority groups score significantly higher on ethnic identity measures than members of the ethnic majority group. According to Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) this could happen as a result of the discrimination and marginalization they experience at community and institutional levels.

A developmental approach

Whereas the social identity approach helps to offer a general conceptualization of this construct (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2011), the developmental perspective analyses the processes of ethnic identity formation throughout one's lifetime. From this perspective, although components of ethnic identity begin to emerge in early childhood and continue to do so throughout the lifespan, developmental models focus on the adolescence and young adulthood developmental stages (Phinney, 1996).

The interest in understanding ethnic identity emerged as a result of the increased racial and ethnical diversity in the United States. Although a fairly large body of theoretical work resulted, the two most influential theories in the field of racial identity development were Cross' Nigrescence Model (1978) and its revised version in 1991, and Helms'(1990) White racial identity model. More recently, introducing the concept of ethnic-racial identity (ERI), Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) argues that just as personal identity emerges during adolescence (Erikson,

1968), ethnic identity development progresses during adolescence based on the ethnic-racial self-identifications which the child elaborated during childhood (Table 2).

Table 2. Ethnic and racial identity components

	Early childhood	Middle childhood	Adolescence	Young adulthood/ Emerging adulthood
Processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Differentiation of self and other - Cognitive development applied to ethnicity and race 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Awareness of bias - Understanding of social hierarchy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contestation - Elaboration - Negotiation - Internalization of cultural values - Exploration/search - Collective - Self-verification. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Further elaboration, narrowing, and continuation of adolescence processes - Transformation (new possibilities)
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethnic labeling - Ethnic knowledge - Ethnic constancy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Salience (triggers) - Centrality (importance) - Affect Own/in-group Other/out-group - Public regard 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Public regard - Ideology - Affect (affirmation, private regard) - Salience - Centrality - Importance - Understanding of common fate/destiny - Identity self-denial - Certainty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Same as adolescence

Note. Adapted from “Ethnic and racial identity revisited: An integrated conceptualization” by A.J. Umaña-Taylor, S. M. Quintana, R. M. Lee, W. E. Cross Jr., D. Rivas-Drake, S. J. Schwartz, M. Syed, T. Yip, E. K. Seaton, and Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group, 2014, *Child Development*, 85, p. 2. Copyright 2014 by the Society for Research in Child Development, Inc.

Regarding the development of youth from minority groups, we further present Phinney’s (1989) model of adolescent ethnic identity development, developed based on the two major approaches to identity, the social identity perspective and the neo-Eriksonian models. According to this model, the development of ethnic identity for this youth as a response to two issues they are confronting. The first is *the presence of stereotypes and prejudices* towards their group, while the second is *the presence of contrasting systems of values in their new social surroundings*. In order to attain a successful ethnic identity, the individuals must successfully manage stereotypes and prejudice, and either align themselves with one of the existing value systems or create a new one (Ridley & Case, 2006).

This is done, according to Phinney (1989) in a three stages 'evolution', from an unexamined ethnic identity, to an exploration stage, and finally to an achieved ethnic identity. This evolution is thought to take place as one moves onwards through life. However, individuals may need to revise aspects related to their ethnicity at some point in life and thus may return at an earlier stage (Parham, 1989).

1. The first stage is referred to as the *unexamined ethnic identity stage*. People in this stage can be early adolescents or even adults who have not encountered ethnic identity issues yet, and are characterized by a lack of interest in their ethnic identity, or even by a preference for the dominant culture. In some cases, parents could be the source of internalized positive attitudes towards their ethnic identity, although these are not the result of personal thought.
2. The second stage is marked by the *exploration of one's ethnicity*, the result of an experience which makes the individual aware of his ethnic identity. Exploration of one's ethnicity takes place through sustained participation in heritage cultural activities. An indirect result sometimes encountered is the rejection of the values characteristic to the majority culture.
3. Lastly, the third stage represents the successful outcome of this process, in which individuals understand and value their ethnicity. The *ethnic identity achievement* has a different significance for various individuals and groups, given their different histories and personal experiences. Thus, for instance, not all individuals at this stage show a high degree of ethnic involvement.

The importance of the social context in identity formation

Moreover, the development of one's ethnic identity is shaped by a number of different factors at family, group, and societal levels (Phinney, 1990). Hence, social context is believed to play an important role in the development of ethnic identity. During early childhood, children exposed to a multiethnic context will learn aspects related to the in-group, such as the name and the language, or the customs of their ethnic group. They will also begin to attach meanings to their ethnic group. In spite of the role played by the family and ethnic community, these meanings will largely depend on the wider social context in which they reside (Phinney, 2005) as they are most often shared socially and constructed through interactions with others, and with other ethnic groups (Kiang & Baldelomar, 2011).

The contextual messages received are many times negative, and the children may internalize these stereotypes, become unhappy with their group, or even wish to leave it. Thus, minority children will reach adolescence holding an array of both positive and negative attitudes towards their group. (Phinney, 2005). During adolescence, as individuals also begin to understand how ethnicity may impact one's social experiences and life opportunities (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), their task, in order to develop a secure sense of ethnic identity, becomes to explore the meanings associated with their ethnicity for themselves and to resolve internal conflicts (Phinney, 2005).

The most important role in identity development during early adolescence is played by the family (Kroger, 2000). Within the family, children learn values and behaviours needed to adapt to a certain context (Parke & Buriel, 2006). However, although less researched, it's important to also acknowledge the role played by other factors, given the increasing amount of time that adolescents will spend outside the home, such as at school, with peers, or at work. The influence of the educational context is notable in the formation of ethnic identity, especially in terms of the ethnic composition of schools (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Thus, a context which exposes the individuals to ethnic diversity may increase the importance of ethnic identity for early and mid-adolescents (Huang & Stormshak, 2011).

In terms of peer influences, Kiang and Fuligni (2009) and Kiang et al. (2007) found that minority youth displayed stronger ethnic identity when interacting with same-ethnicity peers than when interacting with different-ethnicity peers. It should be noted, however, that young adolescents are likely to rely more on peers in the ethnic identity construction processes than older adolescents do. As adolescents grow older, they become more independent in their decision making, which may lead to them choosing to rely more on exploring their ethnicity than give in to peer pressure influences. In conclusion, higher level of socialization outside the family, together with the transitions and increased social expectations during adolescence are likely to increase the salience of ethnicity for adolescents (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

An acculturation framework

Additionally, another approach which provides us with important insights concerning ethnic identity is the acculturation framework. The implications of ethnic identity for young migrants

from an acculturation perspective will only be discussed briefly here, as the topic will be resumed in **section 2.4**.

Thus, for migrant youth, the importance of ethnic identity may lay in the role it plays in keeping them psychologically connected to their culture and community of origin (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). In this sense, Phinney (1990)'s **ethnic acculturation model** links the possible ethnic identity outcomes to Berry's (1997) acculturation theory, arguing that adolescents can employ one of four strategies in order to resolve identity conflicts, from maintaining their heritage culture and also embracing the host culture, to rejecting both of them (i.e., integration / biculturalism, withdrawal / separation, assimilation, and alienation / marginalization). Therefore, ethnic identity can be used as a way to measure how well integrated migrants are (Schwartz et al., 2013).

In short, the study of ethnic identity allows us to understand the identity of groups living in a multicultural context without using stereotypic descriptions of those groups. In turn, understanding the ethnicity of others living in the same social context can lead to better relations at intergroup level (Phinney, 1996), which explains the increasing interest given to this topic in the past decades.

Not surprisingly, given that the ethnic identity of minority members is best understood when considered in relation to their national identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007), as the issue of ethnicity began receiving intensified attention in the academic literature, questions of national identity began receiving more interest as well. At empirical level, reviewing the research papers in journals on ethnicity, Fenton (2011) argues that national identity, especially in the context of migration hub countries in Western Europe, North America and the Pacific, represents one of the leading themes approached in these journals. Thus, one of cardinal concepts analysed together with ethnic identity in a migratory context is that of national identity. The main reason is represented by the close connection between the concepts of ethnicity and ethnic identity on the one side, and those of nation, nationalism, and national identity on the other.

2.3.1.2. *Nationalism, nation, and national identity*

The academic literature on *nationalism* covers a number of disciplines, such as history, sociology, or political sciences. However, in spite of the different perspectives used in approaching this concept, there is a certain level of agreement between the views on the nature of nationalism, considered to refer to how a political community is represented (Anderson, 1983/2003). Nationalism is believed to manifest itself in different ways. One major difference lies in the manner in which the borders of the national groups are drawn, perhaps the most common distinctions being that between *ethnic and civic nationalism* (Ignatieff, 1993; Smith, 2010), which we will expand later in this section.

Moreover, the people (or nation) plays a central part in nationalism, being considered the object of loyalty and the rightful holder of political power (Pehrson & Green, 2010). In other words, *nations* are forms of political communities which, as it has been commonly argued, vary regarding the mixture of the traits that provide the foundation of their national unity and national identity (Shulman, 2002).

There are several perspectives regarding the origins of nations, and we can distinguish between four basic categories: nationalist theories, perennialist theories, modernist theories, and postmodernist theories.

Nationalist theories are based on a primordialistic perspective on ethnicity and on the idea that “it is part of being human to seek to make nations” (Wan & Vandewerf, 2009, p. 16). Similarly, *perennialist theories* consider ethnic groups to be solid units of social cohesion. Thus, the first nations of Europe were created around ethnic cores dating before modern times. These cores were labelled by Smith (1991) as *ethnie*, or *ethnic community*. According to the author,

We may list six main attributes of ethnic community (or *ethnie*, to use the French term): 1) a collective proper name, 2) a myth of common ancestry, 3) shared historical memories, 4) one or more differentiating elements of common culture, 5) an association with a specific ‘homeland’ and 6) a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population (p. 21).

Nations, from this perspective, are seen as a natural evolution of an ethnic community due to better communication, education, and a feeling of collective cultural identity with the others who

speak the same language. However, not all ethnic groups will become ethnies, and not all of these ethnies will result in nation-states (Smith, 1991; Wan & Vandewerf, 2009).

A more nuanced differentiation is made by Esman (1994), who presents the concepts of *ethnic communities* and *ethnic nations*. The former represents “a group of people united by inherited culture, racial features, belief systems (religions), or national sentiments” (p. 26), whereas the latter represents “a politicized ethnic community whose spokesmen demand control over what they define as their territorial homeland [...] a people which demands or actively exercises the right to self-determination – political control within their homeland” (p. 27 – 28)

Within modernist and post-modernist theories nations are considered to be artificially constructed. The leading representative of *modernist theories*, Gellner (2008), argued that the ideas of nation and nationalism represent modern concepts which originated after the French Revolution, as a consequence of industrialism, education, better communication, literacy, secularism, and capitalism. Nationalism thus represents a “new form of social organisation, that is based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures each protected by its own state” (p. 46).

The *post-modernist* view on the concept of nation is best described by Anderson (1983/2003), who defines it as:

an imagined political community — and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined [...] Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity or genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined (p. 6).

Anderson’s view of nationalism is similar to that of Gellner (2008) in terms of its modernity, a perspective also shared by Spencer (1996/2002) who defines *nationalism* as the modern idea “that humanity can be divided into separate, discrete units (nations or peoples) and that each nation should constitute a separate political unity (a state)” (p. 391). This idea can be considered as representing a nation-state theory, as nation-states are believed to be entitled to create their own laws and develop their own institutions in order to reach the social, cultural, and economic goals of their people (Wan & Vanderwerf, 2009).

In line with this illustration, and drawing from Smith's (1991) work, *nationalism* represents an artificially built construct, inventing or creating nations "where they do not exist" (p. 71). At the same time, however, the author highlights that *national identity*, "perhaps the most fundamental and inclusive" (p. 143) social identity, is not something which can be "easily or swiftly induced in a population by artificial means" (p. 14).

In spite of the limited research on national identity (Rodriguez et al., 2010; Sabatier, 2008), some conclusions can nevertheless be drawn from the existing literature. Thus, national identity is not considered to be a unitary construct (Schildkraut, 2003, 2005), and it is agreed that its meaning differs across contexts and historical periods (Rodriguez et al., 2010).

The concept is used to describe both identity at a group level, namely the instance where a collective of people has identified and internalized national symbols in the same manner, and at an individual level, or as expressing the extent to which one identifies with the society in which they live, their feelings of belonging and their commitment towards it (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

Thus, it becomes apparent that national identity has a subjective dimension, linked to the self-identification of the individuals as members of their community and to the perceived importance of the nation for their identification (Lewin-Epstein & Levanon, 2005). Furthermore, given the fact that members of nations do not get to know all of their co-nationals, their association ultimately relies on the ability of national ideologies to move individual experiences at an abstract level (Eriksen, 2004).

National identity is not something one is born with; it is formed and transformed with and within cultural representations. In this sense, Hall (2000) lists the five main elements which describe how the history of the nation is told and, implicitly, how national identity is constructed. The first element represents the *narrative of the nation*, as presented by the nation's history and literature, and by media and popular culture. A set of images, stories, events, rituals and symbols which represent the shared positive or negative experiences that give meaning to the nation is thus provided. The second element is represented by the *emphasis on origin, continuity, tradition, and permanence*. National identity is eternal, primordial, and unchanged through history, although at times it may be in slumbering, awaiting to be awakened. A third aspect Hall describes is based on Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) idea of *invention of tradition*, according to

which traditions believed to have been around for generations may be in fact recent, and in some cases invented – practices which attempt to popularize certain values and norms by repetition, in so doing suggesting historical continuity. A fourth element discussed is the *foundational myth*, which presents the history of the nation or that of the people as starting so early in time that it shifts into the realm of myth. Finally, the fifth and final element is an idea on which national identity is often based on, that of *an original, pure people*, in spite of reality showing that this primordial folk rarely persists until the present day or gets to exercise power.

Together, these elements suggest that the discourse of the national culture constructs identities placed between past and future, on the one hand attempting to return to a glorious past and, on the other to head, into modernity (Hall, 2000).

Moreover, on the way in which national identity is constructed also depend the attitudes displayed towards national out-groups (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). As mentioned before, immigrants' national or ethnic identities are shaped in different manners. Hence, whereas the heritage cultural identity is developed within the family and community, the host national identity is learned within the wider society, through interactions with social institutions such as school or media (Stelzl & Seligman, 2009). Thus, reviewing the existing literature, Barrett, Wilson and Lyons (1999) note that children develop their knowledge of national territories during their first years of schooling, a period when they also develop positive or negative attitudes towards groups of foreigners – often without having any real knowledge of these groups.

However, once formed, one's identity may be either maintained or reconstructed, which brings into question the attributes associated with these identities, and particularly in terms of ethnic and civic attributes, given that in-group definition has a critical stance in determining intra-group relations.

2.3.1.3. Ethnic and civic attributes of social identity

The ethnic – civic dichotomy was usually related in the existing literature to national identity, corresponding to the ethnic and civic models of nationalism (Pehrson & Green, 2010; Smith, 2010). In this sense, *ethnic nationalism* sees the national group as linked to aspects of ethnicity,

which are elements ascribed to an individual at birth. *Civic nationalism*, by comparison, defines the group based on non-ascribed elements. Moreover, within this research field emerged a classification distinguishing between ethnic, or cultural nations, and civic, or political and territorial nations - the difference consisting in the fact that whereas the ethnic model of nations views nations as natural entities, the civic model views them as politically constructed, based on the participation in social activities and citizenship (Pehrson & Green, 2010).

Nonetheless, given the overlap between the concepts of ethnic and national identity, we will describe the *ethnic and civic constructs as two distinctive categories of attributes* of a social identity. In other words, we will distinguish between one's rather *civic conception* (considered to be more inclusive) and one's rather *ethnic conception* (considered to be more exclusive) of a certain group identity.

The aforementioned distinction is based on a review of the existing literature made by Hansen and Hesli (2009). The authors argue that in the last four decades more tolerant and inclusive attitudes were linked to civic national identity, while disruptive and exclusive attitudes were associated to ethnic identity. This assumption was supported by empirical research, which has found that a more ethnic national identity corresponded to higher prejudice or exclusion towards foreign groups, whereas a more civic national identity corresponded to higher tolerance and less prejudice towards the national out-groups (e.g., Heath & Tilley, 2005; Pehrson, Brown et al, 2009; Pehrson, Vignoles et al., 2009; Wakefield et al., 2011).

As previously discussed, research associates an *ethnic perception* of national identity with attributes preassigned to an individual, such as origin (ancestry) and birthplace, or with attributes acquired early in life – such as history, traditions or religion. In short, group membership, from an ethnic conception, is conditioned by a common genealogy and by cultural uniformity. In contrast, a *civic perception* of national identity is associated with certain characteristics which can be described as voluntary and potentially attainable by anyone, such as possession of citizenship and respect for the state institutions (Diez Medrano & Koenig, 2005; Hansen & Hesli, 2009; Heath & Tilley, 2005; Meeus et al., 2010; Pehrson, Vignoles et al., 2009).

In conclusion, a group perceived as rather ethnic will be considered to be less inclusive than a group perceived as rather civic since, as Manzo (1996/1998) stresses, membership in a national

group is given, from a civic conceptualization, as a token of loyalty and not based on membership in closed categories such as ethnicity.

While these definitions offer a clear distinction between ethnic and civic attributes, we should point out the debates in the existing literature concerning language. In some studies, we find it described as an ethnic attribute (Pehrson, Vignoles et al., 2009; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), while in others it is operationalized as a civic attribute (Heath & Tilley, 2005). This ambivalence can be explained by the fact that language as a category is not as clearly inclusive as citizenship, nor as clearly exclusive as ancestry (Pehrson, Vignoles et al., 2009). Alternatively, Diez Medrano (2005) suggests that certain attributes such as language or place of birth will be “alternatively described as ethnic or civic” (p. 137) depending on the country analyzed. However, this issue will be further expanded in the [section 2.3.2.](#), where we will provide a review on the relationship between language and ethnic and/or national identities.

Nevertheless, these two views of one’s national in-group are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Pehrson, Vignoles et al., 2009), and a person’s model of nationhood can include both ethnic and civic elements (Diez Medrano & Koenig, 2005). In this line, previous research has found positive correlations between items measuring civic and ethnic attributes of a certain group (Heath & Tilley, 2005; Meeus et al., 2010).

The debate concerning how one defines one’s in-group, in terms of ethnic or civic attributes, plays an even more important role in determining intra-group relations when extended at a migratory context. In this sense, individuals who define their national in-group using ethnic criteria may see immigrants as a threat as they do not fulfil the demands posed by their definition of the group. For this reason, it is likely to oppose immigration. By comparison, regardless of their strength of identification with the nation, individuals who have a rather civic view of national identity will be more likely to accept immigration, not seeing it as a threat to their identity (Pehrson, Vignoles et al., 2009).

Likewise, the research of Wakefield et al. (2011) on the consequences of in-group identity conceptualization, for instance, revealed that the way in which the national in-group was perceived affected the treatment of a Scottish citizen of Chinese heritage. These results outline the importance of analysing social identity in relation to immigrants, given that how an identity

is defined can include or exclude, determining who is considered an outsider and what this entails (Pehrson, Vignoles et al., 2009; Reicheir, 2012).

2.3.2. Identity and language

In order to further understand identities, we turn to Cohen's (2008) assertion that they are always constructed within a social context, and through language. Moreover, language is believed to be used by individuals to create "a sense of self within and across different contexts at different times" (p. 423) – that is to say individuals use language to legitimize, negotiate and challenge identities.

However, language represents an important topic by itself (Crystal, 1987). Language usage has often been considered to be the most important aspect of being human (Bakker, 2007; Saint-Jacques & Giles, 1979). In this sense, Wittgenstein (1922/2003) asserts that "the limits of my language mean the limits of my world"(p.119), a statement which is in line with the more recent idea that "to speak a given language means to embrace a given vision of reality, because languages differ not just in signs and phonemes, but in worldviews" (Lestinen, Petrucijova, & Spinthourakis, 2004, p. 4). This idea has been supported by social psychology research, which has shown that successfully acquiring a second language leads to gradually adopting behavioural aspects which characterize other linguistic groups (Saint-Jacques & Giles, 1979).

2.3.2.1. Language - definition, attributes, and functions

We use the term language to refer to a large variety of human codes which are shared at societal level, and to the behaviours, attitudes, functions, and conventions regarding their use (Fishman, 1968/1977, 2010). However, defining what 'a language' represents is not as easy (Gupta, 2002). Aronin and Hufeisen (2009) describe a perspective on language as being "a group of behaviours which result in utterances produced and received by a community of speakers" (p. 16). However, this approach to language only works for monolinguals and monolingual communities. For the languages of multilingual individuals, because of the importance of cross-linguistic influence, differentiating between languages becomes difficult.

Sociolinguists have attempted to understand the attributes which delimitate and differentiate between languages, and there have been a variety of attempts to establish a proper set of criteria to help classify languages (Haugen, 2001). One such attempt is that of William Stewart (1968/1977), who proposed a classification of languages based on the absence or presence of four **attributes**: *standardization* (the internal uniformity of the language among educated speakers, which includes grammar and spelling uniformity, as well as a uniform punctuation system), *autonomy* (the intragroup and intergroup assessments regarding the uniformity of varieties of language used within the group – these assessments can differ), *historicity* (whether or not the language has a long, distinguished history), and *vitality* (the belief that the language has enough speakers, readers, and people who can understand it).

Another topic of interest for sociolinguistic research was the **functions of language**. All languages are considered to fulfil a double function: *communicative* and *participative*. The first describes the situation in which messages are transmitted between two or more subjects. The second refers to the situation in which the symbolism of the language evokes the feeling of belonging in a group or collective, serves to express types of belonging, or to describe characteristics related to the groups and collectives (Rocher, 1968).

Moreover, Perez-Agote and Tejerina (1990) argue that the relationship between the two functions is not a symmetrical one, in the sense that while the participative function requires communication – albeit a simple form, the communication function doesn't necessarily include a subjective feeling of belonging (which characterizes the participative function). However, because in some cases the message transmitted in a language calls upon the membership in the group using the language (such as a conversation regarding the status of the language and what it says about the members of the group), the authors suggest that participative symbols are included in the communicative function at latent level.

Following, given the complexity of the messages which the language can transmit about someone, Perez-Agote and Tejerina (1990) discuss two dimensions of language from the perspective of the social actors: *language as instrument* and *language as object*. The first represents the instrumental dimension of language – the actors use the language to communicate their values and attitude. The second represents the object dimension – the actors maintain values and attitudes about the language. When language is seen as the object, we refer to the issue of the

social status of the language which, in a wide sense, is reflected through attitudes, images, and valuations. These are necessarily observed through behaviours, whether linguistic (using the language, or speaking about the language) or non-linguistic (such as attending classes in order to learn the language). Furthermore, these behaviours can be either natural or induced (as in the case of filling questionnaires regarding one's attitudes and values regarding the language).

Contending that in the analysis of a concrete social reality the valuations of social actors regarding the language should be paid special consideration, particularly in multilingual cases where language valuations have a higher social relevance, the authors further identify three areas of fundamental language valuation:

1. *Pragmatic valuation.* The language can be valued in a pragmatic way in terms of being a social integration medium (meaning it allows generalized communicational exchanges or provides access within specific social groups) or in terms of providing better opportunities on the job market (representing a prerequisite for obtaining a certain job or position).
2. *Prestige valuation.* The language can be valued in terms of both social and cultural prestige. It should be said that differentiating between pragmatic and prestige valuations is difficult, as both types are in fact pragmatic – the language is used as an instrument to acquire something. However, whereas pragmatic valuations refer to the perceived utility of knowing a language, prestige valuations refer to the desire to learn, or to the rejection of a language, which is seen as a symbol of something – such as *social status*. The social prestige of a language is directly related to its speakers' group of reference, and refers to the social power of a language and its recognition, defined in linguistic, social, and political terms.
3. *Political valuation.* Political valuations can refer to ethnic solidarity with a political value, and they can also be seen as a status value of solidarity with one's language own status. Political valuations are particularly relevant in those social contexts marked by social conflict or tensions in which linguistic aspects hold relevance, that is to say in contexts where multiple languages are competing for the same social function and the weaker language is in danger of disappearing.

Furthermore, drawing from Dunbar's (1996) work on the origins and function of language, Joseph (2004, 2006) argues that a third primary function of language can be added to the two which were traditionally ascribed to it. Thus, he states that language exists primarily with the

intent of *reading the speaker*. This function, according to him, antedates and in many ways encompasses the other two.

The way in which people read one another can provide insight into the relationship between language and identity. Sociolinguists, in this sense, focus on two different aspects. The first refers to the interpretation of the message in the particular context in which it is addressed. The second refers to the way in which the speaker is interpreted by his audience – the identities which they attribute to the speaker based on what he says and the way in which he says it. This process is complicated by the fact that the speaker's message and how he addresses it are based on the way in which he reads his audience (Joseph, 2004, 2006).

2.3.2.2. Language in relation to ethnic and national identities

The functions of language reveal its relationship with identity. Besides, in the post-modern era, when identity is, more than ever, multiple, dynamic, and conflicting., language is considered to play an increasingly important role in constructing and expressing one's identity (Warschauer & de Florio-Hansen, 2003), and to represent one of the most important identity boundary markers (Giles & Johnson, 1981/1989; Lapresta, Huguet, & Suils, 2004; Schöpflin, 2001).

In fact, the importance of language was highlighted ever since the self was first theorized. Mead (1934/1967), for example, considered the self a social construct, and that language – verbal gestures, provides the mechanisms needed for it to emerge. Similarly, Baumeister (1986) contends that as identity consists of meaning, the self cannot exist without language or the linguistic ability to process meaning. The necessity of using language in order to understand the social context was also argued by Allport (1954), who states that “without words we should scarcely be able to form categories at all” (p. 174).

Also pointing to the importance of language in the understanding of the social environment is Fernández (2000). The author argues that because the greatest part of our linguistic conduct is represented by linguistic use, and as within the groups we belong to our main method of learning is observation, it can be concluded that linguistic uses represent sources of social identity. Furthermore, he argues that languages, with the exception of the unlikely case in which speakers

of the same language are not in contact with one another, always and necessarily represent on the one hand the result of social identity acts, and the source of social identities on the other.

While the connection between language and social identity has been highlighted in numerous works, there are also a number of cases in the literature to date where this relationship is questioned, describing situations in which language may not represent the source of an ethnic or national identity, although it may represent the source of other types of social identity (Fernández, 2000). This points to the idea that the content of social identities spread by languages is first and foremost linguistic, in the sense that we are part of a social group which speaks a certain language. This type of social identity directly linked to language, called *linguistic identity*, does not necessarily coincide with an ethnic, cultural, or national identity, but could exist on its own (Fernández, 2000; Lapresta, 2008; Lapresta & Huguet, 2006; 2008).

However, the role which language plays within ethnic groups should not be underestimated (Giles & Saint-Jacques, 1979). For this reason, and given that the present research is located within a migratory context, in which ethnic and national identities represent important aspects, we continue by discussing the relationship between language and ethnic, national, and cultural identities.

People are thought to naturally group themselves into differently speaking communities of monolinguals, their languages in this case becoming the basis for their grouping (Fishman, 1998). However, although at political level the modern nation-states are often presented as territorial entities with one common identity and one common language, geographical borders do not follow the exact linguistic borders. This is why most European states include regions where minority languages are used in parallel with the official ones, and in such multilingual situations we encounter various combinations of identities at national, ethnic and linguistic levels. Under such circumstances, language can be used to attest group membership, reveal group boundaries, and to include or exclude (Tabouret-Keller, 1998).

The key role played by language in the expression of ethnicity within multilingual communities is an acknowledged fact in sociolinguistics (de Fina, 2003, 2007). For instance, Fishman (1977) argues that language represents a powerful symbol of ethnicity, which he defines in terms of

three dimensions. The first dimension is that of *paternity*, understood as a hereditary cultural fact, transmitted across generations. The second dimension is that of *patrimony*, the legacy of the group, its behaviours and conceptions which, although surpass the limits of the linguistic, are built and defined in relation to national language. Lastly, the third dimension is that of *phenomenology*, which refers to the meaning attributed to our descent as members of a community. Thus, language is not only symbolic for ethnic collectives but also instrumental, being used in order to sustain other ethnic experiences.

A similar relationship has been drawn between language and national identity. For instance, arguing that social identities are primarily labels, and that the process of identity construction represents a process of giving meaning to those labels, Joseph (2006) states that language has always been considered a key ingredient of national identity construction for five reasons, which are linked together and reinforce one another:

1. Groups which occupy adjacent territories and see themselves as having similar interests will develop ways of speaking which are unique to them over long periods of time, differentiating them from groups from other geographical regions or perceived as having different interests.
2. The concept of national unity has endorsed the view that nations are real because its members share a feeling of cultural unity, which was most often perceived as the consequence of a common language.
3. Language represents the main environment through which texts of national identity are constructed. The components of a national identity have a correspondent in the national language, and these concepts are embodied in important national literature works, such as the national anthem.
4. With the adoption of universal education within a nation, the standards of the literary language take a central role. While on the surface this is done with the goal of protecting the national culture, the use of proper language is most times seen as proof of being a proper member of the community.
5. The view of nations as constructs points to the fact that the process of nation building includes arbitrary divisions. Language proficiency in this context can represent one of the most evident standards by which to decide if a certain individual is a member of that nation or not.

2.3.2.2.1. Historical views of language in relation to national and/or ethnic identities

Further, we shortly present two opposing ideological discourses addressing the link between language and ethnic and/or national identity, which have determined the present day importance of language in the construction of a social identity in some collectives.

The first represents the **French model**, based on the idea of voluntary political construction of a nation. Conceptualized by philosophers of the *Enlightenment tradition* and put in practice after the French Revolution, this model focused on the linguistic assimilation of regional languages speakers living in the French republic. Given the cultural and particularly linguistic diversity on its territory, this spread of the French language had both an obvious functional goal, and a politic goal – that of constructing a feeling of national belonging among the French citizens (Dieckhoff, 2005; Nadal, 2007). With the French Revolution, people were expected to see themselves not as Bretons, Catalans, or Normans, but as members of the French nation, *la patrie*. In this sense, the possession of the national language, became a symbol for acquiring this new social identity (Nadal, 2007).

The second model, in contrast, did not see the nation as a political construct, but as a reflection of social reality, basing itself on the belief that nations represented a superior stage in the natural evolution of a historical community (Dieckhoff, 2005; Greenfeld, 1992). Founded on the ideas of the *Romanticism period*, it is thought to mainly represent the **German model** of nationalism, and its main advocates were Herder, Fichte and Humboldt (Greenfeld; 1992; Huguet, 2003). German romantics argued the unique character, qualities and purity of the German people. Each individual was considered to be invariably linked to *Volk* – the people – and *Vaterland* – the nation. Language in this conception represented a reflection of the *Volkgeist*, a term describing the unique spirit of the people, preceding the birth of the specific individual (Espinosa, 2000).

While both these two models highlight the importance of the language in the development of the nation, the way in which language and its role are perceived differs. For the *Enlightenment tradition*, language represents an instrument to be used in the construction of an ethnic and/or national entity, the possession of a common language representing a way in which to create a feeling of unity and belonging at group level. By comparison, in the *Romantic tradition* language

is considered to predate the ethnic and/or national entity, representing the foundation on which identity emerges (Siguan, 1996).

The influence of these ideas has a contemporary relevance, as can be seen from the different ways in which cultural diversity is approached in today's societies, which many times try to find a balance between the two perspectives (Lapresta, 2004, 2008).

2.3.2.2.2. Linguistic community and ethnolinguistic vitality

Within multilingual contexts which characterize today's culturally diverse societies, sociolinguistic research classifies the groups of individuals based on the language they speak. One of the concepts proposed in this sense is that of *linguistic community*, which describes a social group of varied size which can be either monolingual or multilingual (Gumperz, 1968).

This concept is further linked to social identity by Tejerina (1992), who suggests that a linguistic community can be *described* in two ways. The first refers to the possession of a common trait (e.g., language, dialect) by all the members of the community. In this case, the author notes that we can differentiate between subdivisions of the community (those who know the language, those who speak it or write it, etc.). A second way to define the concept focuses on more than the knowledge of a language, also including the feelings which those knowing the language harbour towards it.

Thus, whereas the first definition refers to the communicative function of language, the second definition points to its participative function – allowing us to differentiate between those individuals who know but do not use the language or see it as a means to a goal, and those who value it positively or negatively (Tejerina, 1992). This view provides support to the idea that, within a group, language represents more than a medium of communication; it represents that which unites a culture and its maintenance is a requirement for the survival of the culture. (Saint-Jacques & Giles, 1979).

However, language maintenance in a multilingual context is a complex phenomenon. In some cases, small languages disappear, while others, in what appear to be similar conditions, carry on and are transmitted to future generations. This leads to the idea that whether a language survives or not does not depend solely on the size of the community or on circumstances outside the

control of the speech community, but also on the attitudes of the speech community (Ehala, 2010).

In order to analyse ethnic minority linguistic contexts, a number of different typologies of language use have been proposed (Yagmur, 2011), one of the most well known being the **model of ethnolinguistic vitality** of Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977). The model was conceived as a way to integrate the influence of socio-structural variables in intergroup relation and cross-cultural communication, second language acquisition, language maintenance, language shift and loss (Yagmur, 2011). The concept of *ethnolinguistic vitality* of a group was seen as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles et al., 1977, p. 308).

The low, medium, or high ethnolinguistic vitality of a group was considered to be dictated by its assessed strengths and weaknesses on three dimensions: status, demographic, and institutional support and control. The *status* dimension refers to the social, economic, and language status of the group within the wider society. *Demographic* variables refer, beside the distribution of the members of the ethnolinguistic group in a certain territory, to birth rates, number of mixed marriages, and immigration and emigration patterns. The *institutional support and control* factor refers to the degree in which the language group is represented, formally and informally, in the institutions which exist at community level (mass-media, government services, education, industry, religion, culture, politics), and thus to the degree of control which the group has over the institutions which can ensure the survival of its language and culture in that particular multilingual social context. The higher the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group, the likelier it is for it to remain a distinctive linguistic group in a multilingual context. In contrast, groups with low vitality are likelier to be assimilated linguistically (Giles et al., 1977).

2.3.2.2.3. Implication for young migrants

The connection between language and identity is very strong, especially in the case of adolescents, for whom language constitutes a vital component of their sense of identity (Gerin-Lajoie, 2005). Starting on the assumption put forward by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), that identity can be placed within three different categories – imposed identities, assumed identities,

and negotiable identities, Cohen (2008) presents the impact of language on the construction of these identities, using examples referring to children and adolescents in the context of migration:

- *Imposed identities* represent identities which have been imposed on people. Because language represents the first thing based on which the listener makes an impression of the speaker in a conversation, people will impose an identity on others based on their language skills, regardless of the accuracy of their assessment. This is the case of immigrant children with a mother tongue different than the national language, who are often looked down upon by peers and teachers because they are considered less intelligent due to their limited knowledge of the language of instruction. After multiple interactions with people who see them this way, although the real issue is that they lack the ability to express themselves, immigrant children begin to view themselves as less intelligent as well, which can in turn lead to negative school-related behaviours such as absenteeism, or even dropping out.
- *Assumed identities* are those which are usually held by members of the dominant group. These individuals are interested in maintaining their identities which provide them with certain benefits (rights and privileges). At the same time, often without the members of the dominant group being aware of it, this is also perceived by those with limited proficiency of the majority language. The author further indicates that, as shown in previous literature, this strongly influences these individuals, which, again, is particularly visible for immigrant children. Thus, previous research has found that whereas initially children are proud to speak their native language within the family, as they begin to study in the national language only, they understand that knowledge of it is valued and that its speakers hold social power in the society. Under these circumstances, children begin to consciously avoid using their native language with friends and family, in order to avoid a negative identity. This, according to Cohen (2008), profoundly affects the individual's identity, and can also potentially lead to academic failure.
- Lastly, *negotiable identities* refer to identity options which are resisted, challenged, or negotiated by individuals. The author states that immigrants have the right to choose the aspects of the host culture they wish to integrate, and many choose to bring up their children as bilinguals, placing focus both on the national and the heritage languages. Children raised this way will have a strong affiliation to their heritage culture and language, and research has

shown that this influences their academic results positively compared to those cases in which they are assimilated into the host culture.

Thus, language can be seen as an important tool for understanding the world around us, but more importantly as an important tool for expressing who we are and maintaining relationships with others. It is through language that parents and the community teach children the values and norms of the group, and create a feeling of belonging and identity (de Jong, 2011; Hansen & Hesli, 2009). At the same time, however, being a more flexible concept than race and ethnicity language allows people to express multiple identities – consciously or not, through the linguistic choices they make in their everyday interactions. Hence, language choices serve as a tool for people to “make and remake who they are” (Warschauer & De Florio-Hansen, 2003, p. 158).

Language is therefore critical in the development and reconstruction of identity, and thus, as previously stated, it is important that young migrants are provided access to their mother language in host countries through special education programmes, particularly considering the positive role of harbouring a strong heritage cultural identity on attitude towards multiculturalism.

2.4. Identity threats and multicultural identity management

As earlier mentioned on several occasions, it is a widely accepted idea that the identity of migrants is likely to undergo changes as a result of the fact that they come in contact with individuals, institutions and cultural practices of the host society and, moreover, acquire new languages (Schwartz et al., 2006). The magnitude of the change is related to the degree to which the individual maintains heritage culture values, beliefs, and customs, and to which degree achieves values, beliefs, and customs of the host culture (Phinney et al., 2001), but also to the degree of discrepancy between the two cultures (Rudmin, 2003).

Furthermore, given that, as previously argued, social integration also has an identity component (Bosswich & Heckmann, 2006), the way in which individuals integrate their multiple cultural identities may influence how they will integrate socially, especially in the case of young migrants. For this reason, there is a growing interest at present regarding the way in which bicultural individuals integrate their multiple identities (Cheng et. al, 2008).

This topic will be further developed as it contributes to a better understanding of self-identification in a multicultural context and sheds light on the way in which individuals reconcile their dissimilar identities.

In this sense, discussing identity integration in a migratory context, Tendayi and Williams (2013) state that it requires a perceived compatibility between the respective cultural identities. Nonetheless, in order to gain a better perspective regarding the dynamics involved by the process of acculturation it is necessary to take into account the nature of the identity threats experienced by migrants and majority group members in the host society (Schwartz et al., 2014), some of which have already been mentioned before.

Thus, according to the social identity perspective, a group identity can influence one's behaviour only if that identity is made salient. In this sense, perceived identity threat represents a certain way to increase the salience of an identity (Schwartz et al., 2012). Being exposed to another culture juxtaposed to one's own at the same time and in the same context can be perceived as a threat to identity, which can trigger the need for security and also exclusionary judgements (Morris et al., 2011).

Identity threats may be perceived at both majority and minority group levels. The existing theoretical frameworks provide different views as to what can constitute a *threat to the identity of the majority culture* (Schwartz et al., 2014; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). More specifically, Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory proposes a pattern based on the principle of positive distinctiveness, according to which the majority group feels threatened by similar minority groups and strives to maintain distinctiveness. In contrast, integrated threat theory suggests that the majority group will feel threatened by groups dissimilar to their own, for which reason they may even require minority groups to assume assimilatory acculturation strategies in order to make them more similar (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, Martínez, Schwarzwald, & Tur Kaspa, 1998).

Although these differences make it unclear as to the types of minorities and minority behaviours which will be considered a threat by the majority in terms of in-group distinctiveness, the very presence of migrants may be perceived as a threat to the in-group's continuity, as it may lead to the perception that the existence of the cultural majority in-group is in danger. Thus, allowing foreigners in is perceived as a potential threat to national identity and cohesion, as the dominant

group is likely to lose the most from such identity changes (Constant & Zimmermann, 2012; Lewin-Epstein & Levanon, 2005). Thus, the presence of migrants is often considered to result in a clash of cultures and to possibly alter the cultural identity in the future. Moreover, the degree of perceived threat seems to increase if the migratory flows seem to be dominated by a single cultural group, an example here being the negative reaction in Europe to the immigration of Muslims (Schwartz et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, given that ethnic identity is often viewed as an obstacle to national cohesion and integration, one of the issues brought under the spotlight was how a nation may maintain its integrity and at the same time foster the ethnic identities which their citizens choose for themselves, allowing them thus to be fulfilled and productive members of the society (Constant & Zimmermann, 2012; Lewin-Epstein & Levanon, 2005). Furthermore, the importance of developing a feeling of belongingness to the host nation is also discussed by Gellner (2008), who argues that without a sense of national identification one will experience a deep feeling of subjective loss. While the notion of identity threat may conjure the idea of a reflex negative reaction towards newcomers, reviewed empirical data is showing that majority groups can display different types of responses to identity threat (Schwartz et al., 2014). Such methods include identifying with a super-ordinate category which includes both the majority and the minority groups (Wenzel et al., 2007) or treating minority group members as individuals and not based on their affiliation (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997).

By comparison, members of cultural *minorities* are confronted with *identity threats* affecting both the positive distinctiveness and continuity of their cultural identities, and their feelings of belonging and self-continuity. As majority groups often set in place assimilationist policies for acculturating minority groups, the members of the latter are expected to give up or to alter their identification with the home country in order to be accepted by the majority group, and in so doing the minority group's distinctiveness is threatened. Furthermore, these important and often unwelcomed changes can threaten the feelings of continuity of the individuals' cultural identities. These changes may lead to members of minority groups becoming uncertain regarding what being a member of their group entails in the new social context, which may affect the sense of meaning which they would otherwise derive from their cultural identity (Schwartz et al., 2014). For second generation migrants, the issue of national identity becomes even more important, as they often feel pressured to choose between identifying with their country of origin

and identifying with the settlement country (Constant & Zimmermann, 2012). Likewise, if the individual identifies with a group which is dominated or subjugated by the majority group, one's ethnic and national identities will come into conflict, as stated by the *social dominance theory* (Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004).

In order to respond to these identity threats, individuals can employ different strategies. It has become increasingly acknowledged that migrants can maintain a dual identification, or create a combination between the two different identities by adapting their heritage identity to the ones existing in their host country (Constant & Zimmermann, 2012; Deaux, 2001). Further, we present several influential models that discuss **identity management strategies** in which minority group members can engage.

Acculturation theory

Acculturation leads to socio-psychological and cultural adaptation between the two or more groups and their members, but the ways in which individuals and groups acculturate as well as the degree in which they successfully adapt, vary. The strategies employed in the acculturation process, according to Berry (1997), depend on two major aspects, namely *cultural maintenance* (describing the degree in which they perceive their cultural identity and traits as being important to them and wish to maintain them) and *contact and participation* (referring to the extent in which they interact with and within other cultural groups as opposed to mainly doing so within their cultural group).

Based on the responses to these two issues, Berry (1997) developed a conceptual framework, delimiting four acculturation strategies. Thus, when the individuals have no desire to preserve their cultural identity while pursuing frequent interactions with other cultures, it is considered that the *assimilation* strategy is employed. In contrast, high desire to preserve one's cultural identity and no desire in pursuing interactions with other cultures is considered to be a sign that the *separation* strategy is used. The *integration* strategy, also termed as *biculturalism* (Berry, 2005; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008) is used when the individuals are interested in both preserving their cultural identity and becoming involved with the other group, whereas little

interest in maintaining one's cultural identity (or not being able to) combined with little interest in interacting with other groups (sometimes for fear of rejection or discrimination) is seen as *marginalization*.

Although cultural exchange takes place at the level of minority group members, cultural diversity and the existing lack of homogeneity are clear indications of the fact that separation and marginalization are commonly employed strategies (Berry, 2005). Research has shown that migrants engage in any of the four strategies in significant numbers (Berry et al., 2006), and there is no consensus in the existing research regarding the most adaptable strategy which individuals can resort to. Although there are those who believe that integration (or biculturalism) could represent the most beneficial strategy (e.g., Berry, 2005; Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown, & Zagefka, 2014), others argue that there is no proof suggesting that biculturalism is the most adaptive choice. Thus, Rudmin (2003) asserts that biculturalism could potentially lead to a situation in which one feels pressed by the receiving cultural community to give up his or her heritage culture, and at the same time feels dissuaded by the ethnic community from embracing the receiving culture.

These strategies are labelled in this manner in contexts where individuals from the acculturating group can choose the strategy which to employ. That is not always the case however, as sometimes the policies of the dominant group encourage or impose a certain strategy. For this reason, a third dimension can be added to the model, namely the role which the dominant group plays in establishing the way in which acculturation is expected to take place. In such cases, forced separation becomes *segregation*, forced assimilation is termed *melting pot*, and imposed marginalization is seen as *exclusion*, while integration, when cultural diversity is encouraged at society level, is termed *multiculturalism* (Berry, 2005).

However, the validity of Berry's bidimensional model has come under great scrutiny in the past, and there is still wide debate in the existing research regarding this issue. A substantial body of research exists which supports its validity (see Berry & Sabatier, 2011), among which the work of Berry et al. (2006), who extended the application of the model to immigrant youth in an international study which spanned 13 countries. The study, using a cluster analysis, found that subjects fit into one of four integration profiles, matching the acculturation strategies depicted by the model.

At the same time, however, there is also a significant volume of work contesting Berry's model in a number of ways. Thus, the validity of the model is primarily questioned based on the boundaries of the strategies it proposes. For instance, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) identified distinctions between multiple forms of biculturalism, which leads to suggest that the integration strategy as defined by Berry could include multiple subtypes. Another example in this sense is provided by Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008). The authors tested Berry's model using latent class analysis. Overall, their results supported Berry's model, although the analysis yielded six different acculturation classes instead of four, suggesting that some of the categories in Berry's model may have multiple subtypes. Furthermore, results showed that these six types of acculturation were not as independently demarked as Berry's model suggested. Moreover, marginalization did not appear as a standalone class being in consistence with previous critique which questioned the possibility that migrants could develop their cultural identities without employing elements from neither the culture of origin, nor the host culture.

Building on the model of Berry and other important contributions in the field of acculturation, Navas et al. (2004) developed *the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM)* which brings two innovative ideas to the study of acculturation. The first is represented by the differences drawn between *the real and the ideal planes* in regard to acculturation strategies. Thus, the model differentiates between what strategies the immigrants would like to use and the strategies that the natives would prefer them to use (*ideal plane*), and the self-reported strategies which immigrants employed in the host society and those which the natives consider that the immigrants have used (*real plane*) (Navas , Rojas , García , & Pumares, 2007).

The second innovative idea which RAEM brings to focus is the fact that individuals can employ *more than a single acculturation strategy at a time*. This is because the complex integrative process is conceptualized as involving multiple areas – more specifically seven, grouped in three categories: peripheral elements (political, work, economic), intermediate areas (social, and family relationships), and symbolic representation (religion beliefs and customs, and ways of thinking or principles and values). For this reason, it is possible that individuals show preference for different acculturation strategies in different areas (Navas et al., 2007).

Migrant youth integration: The Segmented Assimilation Theory

Numerous other models in addition to the models of Berry and that of Navas were developed and used to explain the process of integration of young immigrants. Further, is presented the segmented assimilation theory, first suggested by Portes and Zhou in 1993, given that it offers a different perspective on the various paths which children of immigrants take to cultural integration in the stratified American society. Thus, the authors highlighted the changes taking place in the American society and the consequences this entailed for immigrant youth, pointing out that while in the past assimilation ensured subsequent social and economic mobility, at present it would offer no such guarantee. In fact, maintaining one's ties with their ethnic community could, under these new circumstances, lead to better chances of successful educational and economic mobility thanks to the opportunities it presents them with (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

According to this model, as a result of the assimilation process becoming segmented, migrant youth can assimilate into different sectors of society, with effects on the outcome of the acculturation process. More specifically, children of immigrant origin can culturally integrate into the wider society by following one of three patterns. The first is an *upward mobility pattern*, associated with assimilation and the integration in the ranks of the middle class, while the second is a *downward mobility pattern* which can be associated with assimilation in the underclass, and poverty. One of the reasons behind downward assimilation is believed to be the social context that immigrant youth encountered in the host society, which may encourage certain harmful outcomes such as engaging in criminal activities, academic failure, or substance abuse. Under these circumstances, the third path, *selective acculturation* – a combination of economic integration in the host society and intentional preservation of the values and customs of the community of origin, is a strategy which can potentially protect immigrant children (Xie & Greenman, 2011; Portes & Zhou, 1993).

The segmented assimilation theory was further extended through the *addition of socio-economic predictors*, namely human capital, the context of reception into society, and family structure. Thus, *human capital* refers to the parental skills and aspirations for their children, which in turn influence the children's opportunities and aspirations. *The context of reception* is influenced by the government policies and the general attitude regarding the group of national origin, as well as

by the presence of resources which can be accessed in the migrant community. Upward mobility is much harder to achieve in the context of hostile reception. Lastly, *family structure* plays an important role as well, as two-parents families have a significant edge over single parent families in encouraging their children to focus on school and stay away from illegal activity.

Looking at the ways in which these factors affect the life paths of immigrant youth a pattern begins to emerge, as it becomes apparent that children in families with high social capital and who had a positive context of reception are much likelier to engage in upward mobility than those coming from families with low social capital or living in a hostile context of reception. In the latter case however, selective acculturation can offer a path to success, by providing them with more opportunities (Aparicio & Portes, 2014).

In conclusion, the segmented assimilation theory suggests that assimilation takes place differently and has different outcomes for different individuals. Furthermore, this approach takes matters one step further by trying to determine the factors that may determine the social sector into which migrants will assimilate, focusing on the interactions between demographic and contextual factors (Algan, Bisin, & Verdier, 2012).

Drawing from these models, it becomes apparent that individuals today, and especially adolescents and young adults, have a wide range of cultural identity options to select from, and personal agency may play an important role in the development of an identity. Thus, although family can influence one's decisions, young adults can make choices regarding the extent to which they wish to conserve their heritage culture, whether they are members of the dominant culture or a minority culture (Schwartz, Donnellan et al., 2013).

Given that biculturalism, which is equivalent to Berry's integration acculturation strategy, is often considered to have the most beneficial outcomes (e.g., Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Phinney, Berry, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008), recent work in the field of acculturation has focused on the way in which bicultural and multicultural individuals integrate their different cultural belongings at personal level in order to maintain a cohesive sense of self (Schwartz et al., 2014; Yampolsky, Amiot, & de la Sablonnière, 2013).

For instance, the majority of migrants seem to internalize (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) or maintain (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992) several identities which keep them connected with more than one national culture at the same time. In this sense, a number of types of biculturalism were theorized or identified empirically (Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008), the main distinction between these forms being the way in which an individual is able to integrate his multiple cultural identities (Schwartz et al., 2014).

One example in this sense is the **ethnic pluralism model**, according to which individuals can form and maintain a positive identity with their host nation and at the same time preserve their ethnic (heritage) identity (Phinney, 1996). Ethnic pluralism is based on the concept known as **bicultural efficacy** (La Fromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993), which refers to the idea that an individual can live simultaneously within an ethnic minority context and a wider national context and maintain a cohesive self (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). In support of this model, research suggests that migrants are best integrated when they manage to combine their ethnic and national identities within a supra-ordinate bicultural identity which encompasses both identities (Schwartz et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002).

In addition, Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) describe a situation in which individuals shift between their dual identities based on what they consider to be appropriate in the social setting. The existence of this type of bicultural identity, also labelled **alternating biculturalism**, was backed by psychological research which has shown that individuals may possess multiple cultural identities and can switch between the different cultural meaning systems as the social context dictates (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000; Noels, Pon, & Clement, 1996; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

Another contribution on this issue was that of Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) who, reviewing the literature on acculturation concluded that while all bicultural individuals identify with both the majority and their heritage cultures, they will perceive the relationship between these identities differently. Based on the idea that whereas some consider their identities to be compatible and integrated, others will see them as oppositional and difficult to integrate, it was proposed that the way in which individuals view the relationship between their identities can be operationalized on a continuum which describes the individuals' **bicultural identity integration level** (BII). High BII individuals will tend to consider their dual identities as compatible, while low BII individuals

will tend to see them as opposing (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002). This model was later on expanded to multicultural contexts (containing more than two cultural streams), and results showed that while integrating multiple cultural streams is more difficult, the same processes as in the case of bicultural identity integration apply (Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi, & Cree, 2004; Downie, Mageau, Koestner, & Liodden, 2006).

Drawing on previous work on bicultural identity, Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith (2007) propose the **cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration**, which provides information on how individuals cognitively combine their multiple cultural identities at personal level. The authors propose four possible types of configurations at intra-individual level. The first, *anticipatory categorization* is a self-preparatory stage, occurring before any contact has been made with the new culture, and before any change has taken place. The second type of configuration, *categorization*, describes a situation in which the individual's self-description is characterized by the dominance of a single cultural identity over all others. The third type of configuration, labelled *compartmentalization*, refers to a situation in which the individual identifies with all the cultural groups, but perceives them as independent parts of his self-concept and enacts them based on the context, and rarely activated simultaneously. Lastly, *integration* describes a configuration in which one identifies equally and simultaneously with multiple cultural identities, well-being also being maximized. This is accomplished by resolving the conflicts existing between identities by understanding the similarities between them and by perceiving the differences between identities as way to enrich and complement one another.

Besides providing information on inter-individual differences, the cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration also offers insight into the way in which different and perhaps conflicting cultural identities change in time and become integrated. Thus, the four stages can also be approached developmentally. At first, identity change is anticipated and attempts are made to understand what it implies, following which multiple identities emerge. These identities become important to one's self-descriptions in different contexts. Next, the integration of these multiple cultural identities takes place, allowing them to simultaneously be important for one's sense of self. Hence, according to the model, multiple identities are integrated when they are simultaneously and equally important for the individual (Amiot et al., 2007; Roccas and Brewer, 2002).

An alternative perspective regarding identity change is that as multiple cultures co-exist in the same social context it may lead to processes of interconnection and hybridization. This implies that traditional practices and beliefs are altered, which at individual level translates less to the construction of a bicultural identity and more to that of **hybrid identities** (Arnett, 2002; Hermans & Kampan, 1998). In the past decade, the idea of hybridity began attracting increasing attention in social research, particularly in works focusing on second-generation immigrants (Verkuyten, 2005). Drawing from the existing literature, Jaspal & Cinnirella (2011) note that the concept of hybridity has been used to describe the way in which “elements, meanings and forms are mixed and blended” (p. 19), creating new ones and deconstructing notions of intergroup boundaries. Thus, from this perspective, as Harris (2006) argues, in an immigration context we do not find disparate, homogenous cultures, “but a continuous flow of everyday life and cultural practices” (p. 1) in which at all times are present elements derived from both the heritage and the host cultures.

In conclusion, here we have argued that in a multicultural and multilingual context the strategies which migrants, and particularly young migrants, adopt in the identity integration process can be multiple. The choices made depend to some extent on individual characteristics, but also on the options afforded to them by the majority group and on the identity threats which they perceive in the process of acculturation (Schwartz, Unger, et al., 2010). Hence, the identity patterns we may encounter vary, given that intergroup dynamics between immigrants and members of the majority groups differ both within and between countries (Pehrson & Green, 2010). This motivates taking into consideration the particularities of both the host society and those of the minority group under scrutiny for a more accurate understanding of identity dynamics.

2.5. Measurement of identity and selected empirical research

2.5.1. Measurement in the study of social identity – general overview

Given that up to this point we have reviewed a number of key conceptual issues regarding identity, the present section is dedicated to the presentation of the methodological alternatives available to researchers in the field of social identity study. A few general considerations are discussed to start with, following which the most used methods are briefly listed.

Taking into account the complexity of the concept of social identity, the question of how to measure it is one of particular importance (Deaux, 2001). Different methods have been developed in this sense, some of which we discuss in the following.

Research often focuses on the effects of identity on certain variables important in the respective studies. Using identity in this manner is based on the idea that better measurement techniques will help assess more accurately the identities which individuals hold. At the same time however, even techniques which are expected to lead to more reliable results can fail to do so, as people may not particularly identify with any of the groups or categories included in the research (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, & McDermott, 2009). For this reason, special attention needs to be given to which categories are included in the research, keeping in mind that knowing the importance of an identity for an individual helps to predict how it will influence his beliefs and behaviours (Deaux, 2001).

Another important issue is that identity is often encountered as both an independent variable and an outcome variable. For this reason, the way in which identity is measured plays an important role in reaching the objectives of the research, whether the goal is to investigate the effect of identity on a certain variable, or the factors which lead to an individual adopting a certain identity (Abdedal et al., 2009).

As specified above, researchers have at their disposal various techniques to measure identity. Some of these methods are quantitative, while others are based on qualitative data analysis. Both of these types of methods have their own advantages. Among others, quantitative methods allow to compare between the strength of identification with various groups, while qualitative methods help explore intersectionalities – the ways in which an individual's various identities are combined, and how these relationships change temporally and spatially (Deaux, 2001). In their

survey of the existing literature on identity, Abdelal et al. (2009) concluded that the most used methods in the assessment of identity are surveys, content and discourse analysis, followed by cognitive mapping and experiments. Mixtures of these techniques are sometimes used, such as surveys and interviews, or surveys and experiments. Below we briefly describe the measurement techniques most often employed in social identity research:

Experiments. The experimental method played an important part in the development of the social identification theory, being employed by Tajfel in his studies in the 1970s and early 1980s. The minimal group experiments (Tajfel et al., 1971), where social identity was assigned arbitrarily to participants, represent an important part of his work, shedding light on issues of identification and in-group and out-group bias.

Experiments provide several advantages. One of the most notable is that it does not require direct access to the population under study, instead simulating the conditions of the group under scrutiny. Furthermore, it provides the researcher with the benefits of experimental control and random assignment of participants to experimental groups. The latter helps to establish a causal relationship between the variables of the study, by ensuring that the experimental manipulation is the only systematic difference between the experimental groups (McDermott, 2009; Sylvan & Metskas, 2009). In spite of the advantages it carries however, the experimental method is not flawless. Thus, one question often brought to attention is that of the external validity of results obtained through this method, that is to say whether the manipulation influences the participants the same way as it would influence those who possess those identity characteristics. Although these issues can be partially addressed by ensuring that participants understand their task very well, or by estimating the potential effects of lack of external validity, they can represent a serious issue which needs to be taken into consideration (Sylvan & Metskas, 2009).

Surveys. As mentioned earlier, the existing literature indicates that surveys are one of the most used tools in the measurement of social identity (Abdelal et al., 2009). Survey methods allow researchers to collect data from large samples taken from the general population. Furthermore, they permit the reuse of these measures in future studies, although using existing surveys has both advantages and disadvantages. Thus, on the one hand it limits the researcher in terms of the

wording of items and questions, and possibly excludes certain information which the researcher may be interested in. On the other, it permits comparisons with the scores of other populations which the researcher may not have access to, as well as allowing to conduct longitudinal studies through repeated applications of the instrument at different intervals of time (Sylvan & Metskas, 2009). Depending on the type of question asked, two types of surveys are encountered – open-ended surveys and structured interviews, and closed-ended surveys. Both types of methods are briefly presented below.

Open-ended surveys and structured interviews. Open-ended surveys and structured interviews are used in a variety of areas of research, as they provide access to data which would otherwise be difficult to obtain. In identity research, they have the advantage of providing access to ample responses which are not limited by a classification previously created by the researcher and potentially influenced by bias or personal interpretation. Furthermore, they allow the researchers to ask specific questions about the identity of the respondents (Abdelal et al., 2009).

Besides providing participants with the possibility of describing their identity instead of choosing one of the predetermined alternatives which they might feel does not portray them, open-ended questions give the researcher access to the participants' explanation regarding their answers. Researchers may find that participants in the same identity category have different reasons for their answers, and that these reasons may not be the ones they expected. In this manner, open-ended questions can help generate new hypothesis and new research directions, refine arguments, or establishing the causality in a theory. These advantages come at a cost however, as analysing the answers of a large sample of participants becomes a time consuming task (Sylvan & Metskas, 2009).

Closed-ended surveys. A large body of research in the field of identity turns to close-ended survey methodology in order to measure identity. These surveys consist of closed-ended questions, which provide the advantage of simplifying the process of data analysis for large samples, as well as allowing to compare between the answers given by different subjects to the same questions. Although closed-ended survey have the disadvantage of assigning participants to identity categories which the researcher has predefined, the use of scales (through either the Likert method or through the Osgood semantic differential method) instead of dichotomous items provides a partial solution to this issue, as it allows participants to express the degree in

which they identify with a certain group (Sylvan & Metskas, 2009). Means and the dispersion of scores are used for inter-group comparisons and to measure the degree of identification (Abdelal et al., 2001).

Further, in Table 3, we present some examples of the scales utilized in the literature reviewed, given that there is little agreement concerning how identification should be conceptualized or measured (Ashmore et al., 2004; Leach et al., 2008) and that single-item scales could be as useful as multi-dimensional instruments (Burisch, 1984; Postmes, Haslam, & Jans, 2013).

Table 3. Examples of instruments measuring social identification.

	Author(s) (year)	Scale name	Dimensions (components)	Total items	Examples of items (scale type)
Unidimensional scales	Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears (1995)	Group identification measure	Items cover cognitive, affective, and evaluative components of identification	4	- I identify with other psychology students. - I am glad to be a psychology student. (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
	Benet- Martínez & Haritatos, 2005	Cultural identification	–	1	- How much do you identify with [group] culture? (1 = very weakly identified, 6 = highly identified)
	Lapresta, et al., 2012; Ianos, 2014; Lapresta et al., 2014; Janés et al., 2015	Self- identification	–	1	- To what extent do you feel Catalan/Spanish/[group of origin] (1 = not at all, 4 = to a great extent)
	Postmes, et al., 2013	Single-item measure of social identification (SISI)	–	1	- I identify with [my group] (1 = fully disagree, 7 = fully agree)
Multi-dimensional scales	Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998	Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI)	1. Salience 2. Centrality 3. Regard (private, public) 4. Ideology (assimilation, humanist, oppressed minority, nationalist)	56	- My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people. - I am happy that I am Black. - Blacks who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism. - Blacks should learn about the oppression of other groups. - Black people should not marry interracially. (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)

(table continues)

	Author(s) (year)	Construct	Dimensions (components)	Total items	Examples of items (scale type)
Multi-dimensional scales	Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999	Social identity dimensions	1. Group self- esteem 2. Self- categorization 3. Commitment to the group	10	- I think my group has little to be proud of - I identify with other members of my group - I would like to continue working with my group (1= not at all, 7 = very much)
	Roberts, Phinney, et al., 1999	Revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)	1. Ethnic identity search 2. Affirmation, belonging, and commitment	12	- I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group. - I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group (1= strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree)
	Cameron, 2004	Three Dimensional Strength of Group Identification Scale	1. Cognitive centrality 2. In-group affect 3. In-group ties	12	- Being an (in-group member) has little to do with how I feel about myself in general. - I often regret being an (in-group member). - I have a lot in common with other (in- group members).
	Leach et al., 2008	Items Measuring In-Group Identification	1. Self- definition (individual self- stereotyping, in-group homogeneity) 2. Self- investment (solidarity, satisfaction, centrality)	14	- I have a lot in common with the average [In-group] person. - [In-group] people have a lot in common with each other. - I feel solidarity with [In-group] - I am glad to be [In-group] - The fact that I am [In-group] is an important part of my identity (1= strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)
	Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, & Eidelson, 2008	The Measure of Identification with Groups	1. Importance 2. Commitment 3. Superiority 4. Deference	16	- Belonging to this group is an important part of my identity. - I like to help this group. - Other groups can learn a lot from us. - It is disloyal to criticize this group. (1= strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)

Content analysis. While the previous two methods focused on the way in which participants answered the questions asked of them, content analysis methods are based on interpreting and coding information retrieved from text in order to assess identity (Sylvan & Metskas, 2009).

The texts analysed can originate from either individuals or collective entities (Neuendorf & Skalski, 2009). The authors of the analysed text receive varying degrees of attention within the research. Sometimes the texts are analysed independently, without taking into account who authored them (Sylvan & Metskas, 2009), the desired outcome being a summarization of the important messages they contain (Hardy, Harley, & Phillips, 2004; Neuendorf, 2004).

Of great importance in content analysis is to establish an elaborated coding scheme, drafted in great detail in order to ensure that reliability is high among the coders. The coding scheme allows to easily identify, index, and retrieve content. Once this is done, the content of interest can be subjected to either quantitative or qualitative analysis. Content analysis can complement open ended surveys, and is also useful in work with qualitative techniques such as focus groups or interviews, providing a scientific method for the analysis of data gathered this way (Kondracki, Wellman, Fada, & Admundson, 2002).

In short, although less often used than surveys or discourse analysis, content analysis methods are employed in order to analyse the frequency of use of statements associated with one or more group identities, and their semantic characteristics (Neuendorf, 2002; Roberts, 1997, 2000).

Discourse analysis and Ethnography. In a broad conception, discourse analysis represents a qualitative and interpretative analysis of the language used by social actors to describe social phenomena, while ethnography is a form of discourse analysis which involves the researcher being located within a social context and immersed through language use and social practices (Abdelal et al., 2009; Bruner, 1990; Esteban, Nadal, & Vila, 2008). Importantly, these methods study the public presentations of identities and not the private opinion of participants, and are based on the idea that discourse and the changes in discourse, are an important way to understand the identity of individuals and the changes undergone by the identity definitions (Lauerbach, 2006; Sylvan & Metskas, 2009).

Discourse analysis is carried out based on structured or semi-structured interviews, or on informed interpretation of various types of texts, such as policies, newspaper articles, political speeches, or minutes of meetings. Of critical importance for discourse analysis are the researcher's social knowledge and his ability to interpret the data. Furthermore, the criteria for the selection of texts must be clearly specified in order to permit other researchers to replicate the study. Just like content analysis methods, discourse analysis and ethnography are based on the analysis of text, and not on the answers of individuals. It's a less cognitive method than the experiment or survey, but it has the advantage of allowing participants to express their identities in their own language. At the same time, the amount of knowledge required to select texts and interview participants, or the level of detail and effort required to analyse the data represent drawbacks of using these methods (Hardy et al, 2004; Sylvan & Metskas, 2009). Furthermore, another limit of discourse analysis is the fact that it doesn't provide a clear way of understanding behaviour in a generalised fashion. Discourses can be contradictory, incoherent or, in certain contexts, strategic or normative. For this reason, identity discourse may prevent researchers from coming up with a consistent explanation of group behaviour in the way posited by social identity theory (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, & Martin, 2001). Nevertheless, both discourse analysis and ethnography represent important instruments in the study of social identities (Sylvan & Metskas, 2009).

Cognitive mapping. Cognitive mapping represents an alternative to content analysis or discourse analysis methods. This method focuses on describing the explicit or implicit causal relationships in a text presenting a decision making process, and consists in dividing the text into the component cause-effect relationships, following which the researcher verifies whether these causal relationships are positive or negative. Using this technique can help understand the structure of arguments used within the text, and these maps can later be compared within the identity group or, after creating an aggregated map it can be compared with that of out-groups, in order to see which maps they share, and the extent to which they share them. However, it has the downside of not providing information regarding the intensity of identification with a certain group (Abdelal et al., 2001). Cognitive mapping, carried out either by hand or with the help of computers, is a method relatively little used in identity research, but has nevertheless a lot of potential (Abdelal et al., 2009).

Implicit measure of identity. Further, in accordance with Abdedal et al. (2009) who argue that one of the issues which need to be taken into account is that the real identity is not always the same as the one reported, we next turn to Devos and Vu (2014), who discuss the relevance of the implicit social cognition framework in the study of multicultural identities. The authors argue that while to this point work on multicultural identity has employed mostly self-report measures, advances in the field of implicit social cognition show that psychological processes linked to identity are often outside conscious control. Moreover, self-report measures may be influenced by social desirability or demand characteristics, as members of minorities may feel pressured to minimize the importance they associate to their identification with the host culture or that of origin.

Implicit measures help in this sense, as they can bypass self-presentation issues. The fundamental principle of these measures is that results can be assessed based on how easily participants complete a task. Individuals have little control over their answers, and often the task includes two repeated performances which are compared. The speed of the response, as well as the error patterns are used to assess the strength and the direction of the association between the constructs (Devos & Vu, 2014).

Sequential priming procedures (Fazio, 1986; Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell, & Kardes, 1986) and the Implicit Association Test or IAT (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) are two of the methods most often employed in implicit measurement studies (see Nosek, Hawkins, & Frazier, 2011 for a list of implicit measurement procedures). Nevertheless, sequential priming procedures focus on the automatic association of a positive or negative evaluation to a stimuli, and rarely on identity or aspects related to the self concept (Devos & Vu, 2014).

The IAT is based on the assumption that if two concepts are strongly associated then categorization will be faster and the response time will be lower. In doing so it minimizes the influence of intention and conscious control, and eliminates the need for introspection (Devos & Vu, 2014; Lane et al., 2007). The test was successfully used in the investigation of patterns of identification of bicultural individuals (e.g., Devos, 2006). Nevertheless, it has certain limitations which can pose an issue in the study of multicultural identities. Thus, as the method is based on relative associations between pairs of concepts, the fact that certain concepts have complementary concepts makes them instantly be compared to one another. This can pose an

issue for that research where the association with just one notion is preferable. Additionally, although the IAT can easily be used to compare between the strength of two identifications, in order to compare strength of identification more independently a third point of reference, neutral or less relevant, must be used (Sherman, Rose, Koch, Presson, & Chassin, 2003).

In conclusion, researchers in the field of identity have at their disposal a variety of techniques. As seen, each of these methods has their strength and weaknesses, which determined their use in specific research contexts, based on the scope and goal of the research, as well as the resources available

2.5.2. Selected empirical research

The array of methods at the disposal of researchers in the field of identity is also made apparent in the following section, where we summarize a number of studies in the existing literature. More specifically, information regarding the variables investigated, the methodology used, and the results obtained by each of these studies are provided, and are included in this chapter with the purpose of gaining insight and a better understanding of the present research.

We begin by discussing a selection of studies on identity conducted in Spain and Catalonia on immigrant population, and afterwards we continue by describing a number of researches conducted across Europe on Romanian migrants.

Lastly, results of previous work highlighting the relationship between identity and other variables of interest to the present research are presented. Some of the studies are further synthesized, and organized chronologically, in **Table 4**. Information is provided regarding the variables investigated, research context, participants, and method employed to gather the data. Additionally, the table describes the results of the study in relation to the self-identification of the participants and to the relationship found between identification and other variables of interest included in the present research.

2.5.2.1. Research conducted in Spain and Catalonia approaching the identity of autochthonous and immigrant population

Given its socio-demographic background and ethno-linguistic diversity, discussed in previous sections of this paper, Spain represents an ideal context for research in the field of identity. This holds true particularly in areas such as Catalonia, where the large influx of migrants in the past decades has raised new issues regarding belongingness. Further are presented some studies conducted here in the last decade which are the most relevant to the present work, although we are aware of the considerable volume of research on identity and migrants carried out in Spain and Catalonia (for additional examples see Esteban & Vila, 2010; Esteban, Oler, & Vila, 2012; Esteban, Nadal, & Vila, 2007, 2008; Girfe, Monreal, & Esteban, 2011; Navas, López, & Cuadrado, 2013; Navas et al., 2004; Newman, Trenchs-Parera, & Ng, 2008; Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2009).

A first study we discuss is an ample investigation carried out by Gualda (2010b) and collaborators on a sample of 413 young migrants, and sons of migrants enrolled in the Secondary Education in Andalucia. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. Data was collected through interviews, discussion groups, and a questionnaire. Among the variables investigated, the studies also analysed the sense of belongingness of the young migrants. In this sense, the results of Hernández (2010) show that while significant percentages of participants identify solely with either the place of origin or with the place of destination, nearly half of the sample reported a dual identification, with both the place of destination and the place of origin. However, a closer look at the data by length of residence of the participants indicates that as length of residence increases, fewer participants identify only with their place of origin while an increasing number of young migrants identify with both their place of origin and the host society, but also with a supranational, global identity. According to the researcher, the results suggest that young migrants seek acceptance in the host community and understand the necessity of integrating in the one of settlement.

Similar results are described by Gualda (2010a), who notes the high prevalence of multiple identifications within the sample. The author also highlights the important role which length of residence plays regarding the way in which migrants identify themselves, with higher length of

residence leading to an apparent weaker identification with the place of origin and to an increase in the likelihood of encountering multiple forms of territorial identification. Nevertheless, within the same series of studies, Rodríguez (2010) notes that, overall, young migrants display high levels of identification with the Spanish society, and manifest relatively normal levels of social integration.

Similarly, Gualda (2010c) found that participants strongly felt part of Spain. Furthermore, nearly half of the sample reported high affiliation with the host country. By conducting binomial regression, the author concluded that the incidence of greater sense of belonging to the host country was likely to increase among participants of lower age with higher Spanish competences, and who wanted to remain in Spain. This likelihood decreased for participants who did not consider Spanish as a language in which to educate one's children, who considered to have fewer opportunities of finding housing or employment in Spain, who had few – as opposed to many – Spanish friends, who distrusted Spanish people, and who had little life satisfaction.

Furthermore, in an ample longitudinal research the results of which were published in several studies (Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Portes, Celaya, Vickstrom, & Aparicio, 2012; Portes, Vickstrom, & Aparicio, 2011), the changes in the self-identification patterns of second generation migrants in Spain were analysed at both individual and group levels. A total of 6,905 Secondary Education students of migrant origin, aged between 13 and 14, took part in the study, as well as 1,843 of their parents. Data from students was collected through a questionnaire which was applied again, four years later. Data from parents was collected through questionnaire and phone interview. Results indicated that, overall, approximately one third of the students self-identified as Spanish during the first phase of the study (Portes et al., 2011), while the second phase of the study showed that four years later the number of participants who considered to be Spanish had increased, accounting for nearly half of the sample. There were also found considerable differences by place of birth – the percentage of students identifying with the receiving country was twice as high for participants born in Spain than for those born abroad. Nevertheless, the percentage of students born abroad who identified with Spain doubled in a four-year interval (Aparicio & Portes, 2014). Another interesting result concerning children born in Spain was that migrant youth brought up in Barcelona were significantly less likely to report positive attitudes towards Spain, which was interpreted as a sign that they might have internalized the critical stance towards Spain which many Catalans display.

Through binary logistic regression several determinants of the children's self-identification were found. Parental related factors were family length of residence, parental place of birth, acquiring nationality, and family socio-economic status. Among the characteristics of children which influenced self-identification were place of birth, length of residence in Spain, and studying in a private school, while place of origin did not influence in most cases identification with Spain. For participants born outside of Spain, age and gender were also found to influence identification with the host country, older respondents and female participants being less likely to identify with it (Portes et al., 2011).

In a Catalan context, Lapresta (2004, 2008) analysed the process of Aranese collective identity construction on a sample of 374 participants aged 16 to 65, autochthonous and immigrants living in the valley of Aran – a region in Catalonia. Data was collected using questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The variables which were found to influence self-identification were age, place of birth, family background, length of residence (for immigrants), and own language. No significant differences were found for gender. Thus, results indicated that younger participants manifested a self-identification pattern different than that of older participants. Furthermore, results pointed to a tendency of the sample to identify with the cultural ambit in which they had been born. In the case of immigrants, for higher length of residence a higher percentage of migrants were found to identify with the Aranese cultural ambit and less with the Catalan or the Spanish ones. Moreover, the participants' own language was also found to play a role in self-identification, a majority of participants identifying with the cultural ambit which was characterized by their own language.

In a more complex study, Lapresta and colleagues (2009) used both quantitative and qualitative methods in an investigation on 456 autochthonous students and 225 immigrant Secondary Education students in the Catalan regions of Osona and Lleida. In relation to the main focus of the research, which was to investigate the linguistic attitudes of the migrants, one of the aspects taken into consideration was the relationship between participants' attitudes and their self-identification and integration in the host society. In this sense, results of the qualitative phase of the study, which consisted of 16 interviews on migrant students, indicated that participants developed a variety of identifications and multiple identifications patterns, in which references to

the area of origin usually predominated. Participants were found to greatly value their mother tongues and cultures of origin, and for a majority of them were also identified positive attitudes towards Catalan. Furthermore, they displayed high levels of integration in the Catalan society, and reported satisfaction with life in Catalonia.

Also using qualitative means, Vila, Esteban, and Oller (2010) analysed the self-identification of a group of 13 young migrants of approximately 15 years of age, of different backgrounds and with different lengths of residence in Catalonia. Data collection was carried out through two focus groups. Participants considered their country of origin to be an important element of their identity regardless of their place of birth. Furthermore, those who identified as Catalans or Spanish associated that identification not with language, but with social exchanges with native peers. Language was recognized mainly as an instrument of communication, and only indirectly as one of identification.

More recently, Lapresta, Huguet, Sansó, and Ianos (2012), through the use of quantitative means, analysed the self-identification of young descendants of migrants. The participants to the study were 550 migrants between 12 and 19 years of age, enrolled in Secondary Education in Catalonia. As a general tendency, results indicated that participants identified more with a different territory than with Catalonia. Nevertheless, significant differences by place of birth were revealed, in the sense that, on average, participants who were born in Spain or Catalonia identified stronger with the host society than those born abroad. Furthermore, the origin of parents also influenced the self-identification of participants who were born in Spain and Catalonia. Thus, participants who had only one migrant parent identified significantly more with Catalonia than those whose parents were both of migrant origins. For participants who were born abroad, age of arrival in the host country did not influence identification.

Further, Clots-Figueras and Masella (2013), using data from a 2001 survey of the “Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas” on the political and social attitudes of residents of Catalonia, attempted to determine the effect of exposure to the bilingual education system on the participants’ identification with Spain and Catalonia. With this goal in mind, participants were grouped in cohorts based on the number of years of compulsory education in Catalan, but also on parental origin and place of birth. Results indicated that higher exposure to teaching in Catalan increased the likelihood to identify more strongly with Catalonia. This effect was found for all

participants, but correlated with their origin and with that of their parents. Thus, Catalan identification was found to be the strongest among those participants born in Catalonia from Catalonia-born parents, and the weakest among those born abroad.

Lastly, we discuss the finds of Lapresta, Huguet, & Poalelungi (2014), who analysed by quantitative means the construction of multiple self-identifications and the relationship between these co-identifications in the case of migrants, as well as the explanatory power held by self-identification with Spain and area of origin regarding self-identification with Catalonia. The research was conducted on a sample of 1,074 (437 migrants and 637 autochthonous) Secondary Education students in Catalonia, of ages 14 to 16. Results highlighted differences in the self-identification of migrants and autochthonous students. For the former, results revealed multiple self-identifications – the highest was with their country of origin, followed by that with Spain, and then by that with Catalonia. Moreover, there were also differences between the self-identification of migrants by area of origin (European Union, Maghreb, and Hispano-American). In most cases, there was no correlation found between the migrants' identification with their area of origin and that with Catalonia; when such a correlation was found, the relationship was negative. At the same time, identification with Spain predicted identification with Catalonia. In the case of autochthonous students this relationship was negative, while for migrants the relationship between the two variables was positive. The difference between migrants and natives regarding their self-identifications was suggested to represent a possible obstacle in the integration of newcomers and thus a potential impediment in achieving a cohesive society in Catalonia.

2.5.2.2. Research conducted worldwide approaching the identity of autochthonous and immigrant Romanian population

Given the increasing number of Romanian immigrants throughout Western Europe, it is not surprising to find a sizeable body of literature focusing on the immigrant Romanian population living in EU member-states. While the majority of these works do not approach identity related issues, some studies relevant to the present research are discussed in the following. We begin by presenting a number of studies conducted in a European context, following which the presentation focuses on research carried out in Spain and particularly Catalonia.

Research conducted in Europe. A first study we discuss is that of Badea, Jetten, Iyer, and Er-Rafiy (2011). The investigation was conducted on 138 Romanian migrants living in France. Through the use of questionnaires, the researchers collected information regarding the participants' sense of belonging and the acculturation strategies employed. Their results indicated that the participants' identification with the country of origin was higher than that with the host country, and that no significant correlation existed between the two self-identifications. Furthermore, the level of identification with the host country and with that of origin, respectively, predicted the endorsement of three acculturation strategies, namely integration, assimilation, and separation. Thus, integration was positively predicted by identification with the host society and identification with the country of origin, assimilation was negatively predicted by identification with the country of origin and positively by that with the host society, while separation was predicted by identification with the country of origin. Marginalization was not found to be related to identification with either the host or the origin country. Given these results, the authors noted the importance of taking into account the migrants' self-identification with Romania when attempting to understand their acculturation orientation in their new country. Moreover, the researchers suggested that it is also important to understand the "broader intergroup relations and historical context" (p. 594) when trying to determine the role played by identification in acculturation strategy choice.

A wider research which focused on the needs of Romanian child migrants living in Spain and Italy encompassed two qualitative studies, one carried out on Romanian migrants in Italy, and the other carried out on Romanian migrants living in Spain. Within the first study, Valtolina, Colombo, Colombo, Fenaloni, and Papavero (2013) attempted to identify the factors which helped or impeded the integration of Romanian young migrants who had reunited with their families in Italy. Data was acquired through 16 focus groups conducted with Romanian adults and children living in Italy. Each focus group consisted of 12 participants, either adults or children. The data collected was then treated using content analysis methods. Results indicated that many of the participants expressed pride in their origins and identity. In this sense, preserving their cultural and religious traditions, and particularly using their mother tongue, was seen as strategies to maintain one's identity roots.

More recently, in an investigation carried out also on autochthonous Romanian students, Dimitrova, Buzea, Ljubic, and Jordanov (2013), applied questionnaires to two sets of

participants: one of Bulgarian autochthonous students, and one of Romanian autochthonous students. The Romanian sample included 211 students enrolled in the public education system. The items of the survey assessed the strength of national identification, gender differences within the sample, as well as the link between strength of identification and well-being. Results showed that among Romanian participants female students reported higher strength of national identification than male students. Furthermore, a positive relationship was found between strength of identification and the participants' well-being, higher strength of national identity leading to greater well-being for Romanian participants.

Research conducted in Spain and Catalonia. As also observed by Marcu (2014), there is a scarcity of studies approaching the issue of the identity of Romanian migrants in Spain. The existing literature on this population mostly focuses on topics related to the motivation and causes for emigration (Bleahu, 2004), the history of Romanian migration to Spain and Catalonia, socio-economic and demographic aspects of Romanian immigrants (Bernat & Viruela, 2011; CEPS Projectes Socials, 2011; Stan, 2009), characteristics which differentiate the Romanian group from other immigrant groups (Marcu, 2011), or their perception regarding mobility through Spain and the European Union (Marcu, 2013).

Nevertheless, a first set of results regarding the self-identification of young Romanian migrants can be found within the line of investigations coordinated by Gualda (2010b) and collaborators, where a differentiation regarding the feelings of belongingness of participants based on their nationality is made. More specifically, Rodríguez (2010) indicates that Romanian young migrants living in Spain developed strong links with the Spanish society, which they also notably identified with.

Furthermore, as earlier mentioned, in a wider research on the needs of Romanian children migrants in Europe, Heras, Fabra, Gil, Martin, and Berne (2013) focused on young Romanian migrants living in Spain. Data was gathered using a total of 16 focus groups with adult and children participants, members of Romanian families residing in Madrid, Catalonia, and Romania (Romanian participants were children who had re-migrated to Romania after residing in Spain). Through content analysis methods, the authors investigated various aspects related to the integration of the young migrants in Spain. Among the results obtained, it was highlighted that

children living in Spain manifested significant levels of attachment towards the host country. Nevertheless, although the older they were the less they visited their country of origin, they continued to significantly identify with Romania as well. In fact, the authors highlight that the members of the families participating to the study, regardless of age of arrival to Spain, displayed a strong sense of identity with Romania and a great interest in maintaining the elements of the native culture, and particularly the language and customs.

Next, turning to the work of Marcu (2012), we find that through the use of in-depth interviews on a sample of 25 young Romanian immigrant adults, the researcher found that, generally, the subjects displayed a fluid identity which combined elements characteristic to the host country and elements pertaining to that of origin. Moreover, the background of participants was found to influence their feelings of identity. In other words, migrants who had studied in Romania and had emigrated to Spain in search of employment declared they had a Romanian identity with added Spanish elements acquired during their stay in Spain, while migrants who had immigrated to Spain with their parents as infants considered themselves to be first of all Spanish, and second of all Romanian.

A subsequent research conducted in 2014 by the same author analysed the process of identity reconstruction of Romanian migrants in Spain. Through the use of semi-structured in-depth interviews, Marcu (2014) acquired data from 30 Romanian migrants who had arrived in Spain over the past 20 years. The discourse analysis employed by the researcher allowed her to differentiate between the sense of belonging of migrants who arrived in Spain before 2002 (when visas were required to travel in the Schengen area), that of migrants who had arrived between 2002 and 2007 (the year of the accession of Romania to the EU), and that of migrants who had arrived in Spain after 2007. The author concludes that the marginalised status of migrants who arrived to Spain during the first stage did not allow them to add any Spanish elements to their Romanian identity. As such, they reported a Romanian identity. By comparison, immigrants who arrived here during the second stage identified with both the country of origin and with the host country. At the same time, as the author observes, they were more interested in integrating in the host society and more involved in overcoming obstacles in this sense. For migrants who arrived here after 2007, Marcu noticed the manifestation of a mobile, global identity, as opposed to the transnational identity displayed by the other two categories of migrants. While the other migrants

felt caught between two belongings, these migrants did not link their identity to a certain place. Instead, they viewed it as the freedom of choice, and flexibility.

2.5.2.3. Identification in relation to various variables

Furthermore, as revealed by the theoretical and empirical works presented in [Chapter 1](#) and [Chapter 2](#), the existing literature highlights certain variables which are often interrelated with self-identification processes. Following, the relationship between identity and several such variables, relevant in the context of our investigation, is presented. More specifically, along with a few theoretical aspects where needed, we also reference some of the existing empirical works which have documented the connection between the variables considered with identity. A synthesis of relevant studies is further included in **Table 4**.

Identification and gender. Overall, the existing research provides inconclusive results as to the influence of gender on youth identity construction. Early observations made by Phinney (1990) in her review of the academic literature on the relationship between ethnic identity and gender highlight an overall tendency of female migrants to identify with their cultural group more strongly than male migrants.

More recently, gender differences were also encountered within an investigation carried out on Romanian autochthonous youth by Dimitrova et al. (2013), who found that girls displayed stronger national identification than male participants. In addition, within a larger investigation carried out on migrant youth in Spain, Portes and colleagues (Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Portes et al., 2012; Portes et al., 2011) found that female participants were less likely to identify with the host society than male participants. Nevertheless, in a second stage of the study these differences were no longer found, adding to the volume of research which did not document gender differences in the construction of identity (e.g., Gualda, 2010b; Lapresta 2004, 2008).

Identification and length of residence/age of arrival. A sizeable body of research conducted in a migratory context found a positive link between length of residence and identification with the host country (e.g., Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Berry et al., 2006; Brown & Sachdev, 2009; Grant,

2007; Lapresta 2004, 2008). Furthermore, also documented in the existing literature is the relationship between length of residence and identification with the society of origin. Thus, while research such that of Gualda and collaborators (2010b) found that higher length of residence leads to a weaker identification with the country of origin, others, such as that of Berry et al. (2006), found that regardless of length of residence migrants strongly identified with their country of origin.

At the same time, age at arrival is another demographic variable analysed in research on identity in relation to time spent in the host country. Nevertheless, empiric evidence regarding the relationship between age at arrival and identity is inconsistent. Thus, while some investigations indicate that there is a positive correlation between age at arrival and strength of identification with the group of origin (e.g., Maloof, Rubin, & Neville, 2006), Heras et al. (2013) concluded in their qualitative research that participants expressed high levels of identification with the group of origin regardless of age at arrival. Furthermore, in a study employing cohorts based on age at arrival, Rumbaut (2004) determined that there were no important differences between cohorts of participants born abroad. Nevertheless, in the same study differences were encountered between participants who were born in the host country and those who were not. This is consistent with similar finds in the existing literature on migrants, suggesting that participants born in the host society were more likely to identify with it as opposed to the group of origin (e.g., Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Grant, 2007; Lapresta et al., 2012; Lapresta et al., 2014; Portes et al., 2011; Portes et al., 2012).

Language related variables. Furthermore, research in the field of migration often investigated the link between language related variables and identity. A connection between the two received ample theoretic support from numerous authors and models, including Social Identity Theory which considers that language plays an important social role by providing the medium through which socialization takes place (Tajfel, 1974). As explained in more detail in the [previous section](#), language represents an important aspect of ethnic identity (Fishman, 1989, 1991), particularly in intercultural or bilingual contexts where it becomes an element of ethnic identification and group belongingness (García León, 2012), but also a defining element of larger

social groups, such as nations (Jaspal, 2009). Furthermore, in a migratory context, language is considered to play an important place in the integration of migrants (Sancho, 2013).

Among the aspects often analysed in relation to identity are language attitudes, language competences, and language use.

Identification and language attitudes. According to Appel and Muysken (1987/2005), the different groups within a society adopt attitudes towards one another based on their social status. These attitudes also cover the characteristics which define the respective groups, such as cultural practices – including the language they use. In this sense, language attitudes represent an evaluative orientation towards the respective language – that is to say perceiving it favourably or unfavourably (Garrett, 2010). Nevertheless, as Baker (1992) pointed out, the concept of *language attitudes* has been used to describe various specific attitudes such as attitude towards a certain language, attitude towards a variety of the language, attitudes towards the speakers of a language, attitudes towards language classes, attitudes towards the use of a language, attitudes towards language preference, or attitudes of parents towards a language.

The relationship between identity and attitudes received ample theoretical support (Giles, 1977; Hogg & Smith, 2007; Lapresta et al., 2009; Tajfel, 1972; Turner, 1982; Turner & Giles, 1981/1989; Wood, 2000). Thus, one's attitudes provide information regarding his or her identity, and as such people are often categorized based on their attitudes, or their attitudes are often inferred based on their group memberships (Hogg & Smith, 2007). Moreover, as suggested by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978), when individuals identify with a group they internalize the attitudes prescribed by the group.

The fact that people possess multiple identities, each associated with a specific prototype which prescribes a different set of attitudes can potentially lead to conflicting attitudes. Given that they aim to maintain a coherent self-concept, without clashing identities or attitude systems, when such situations occur individuals seek to restore balance. To this end, they may attempt to reconfigure the attitudes characteristic to one or both identities in order to minimize conflict (attitude change), or they can favour one identification over the other, de-identifying with one of the groups) (Hogg & Smith, 2007).

In a migratory context, linguistic attitudes can reflect one's attitudes towards the majority group and towards his or her group of origin (Sancho, 2013). At the same time, these attitudes may be

influenced by those existing in the wider society. In this sense, the internalization by migrants of the negative attitudes towards their language which are manifested in the host society can threaten their identity (Breakwell, 2001).

Furthermore, migrants' language attitudes also become relevant in other areas of their life. For instance, they can influence the process of acquisition of an additional language, which can further influence the migrants' adaptation in the host society. A particularly important role in this sense is believed to be played by one's attitudes towards their heritage language (Carbonell, 2000; Vila, 2005). Moreover, in an educational environment young migrants pick up the language attitudes as expressed in the wider society, including those regarding their own language. If they perceive that their own language is devalued, young migrants become vulnerable to academic failure (Valenzuela, 1999).

Although it has received a strong theoretical support, the connection between identity and language attitudes received little empirical attention, as recently observed by Ianos (2014). Nevertheless, the existing research generally confirms the relationship between language attitudes and identity.

For instance, in his qualitative investigation, Weisman (2001) concluded that participants' responses showed a strong connection between their bicultural identities and their attitudes towards language use. In this sense, those who strongly identified with the mainstream culture valued their ethnic language for its practical importance, while those who had maintained a strong identification with the heritage culture viewed the ethnic language as a way in which to affirm one's cultural identity. Several other works uncovered a positive relationship between language attitudes and identity in various contexts. One such example is the investigation carried out by Sachdev and Handlon (2000) on Australian aboriginals, which revealed a positive relationship between heritage language attitudes and ethnolinguistic identity. A similar relationship was highlighted by Hurtado and Gurin (1995) who on a sample of Mexican second generation immigrants found that stronger ethnic self-identification was associated with approval bilingualism, whereas a profile associated to lower self-identification with the ethnic group was associated with disapproval of bilingualism.

Nevertheless, studies also showed that the connection between the two variables is not always observed. In this sense, we turn to Brown and Sachdev (2009), who did not find a link between

language attitudes and identification with the group of origin. However, the authors found that identification with the host society positively predicted attitudes towards majority language use.

Referring to the Catalan context, Lapresta et al. (2009) in a qualitative research stressed the strong relationship between language attitudes and immigrants' self-identifications. Similar results were also obtained by Lapresta et al. (2010), who uncovered that higher strength of identification with Catalonia led to more positive attitudes towards Catalan. Moreover, again pointing to the strong connection between the two, identification was found by Ianos (2014) to represent one of the most important predictors of language attitudes of migrants in Catalonia. Self-identification with Catalonia was found to improve attitudes towards Catalan and decrease attitudes towards Spanish, while self-identification with Spain was found to increase attitudes towards Catalan.

Identification and language competences. Another language variable which was linked with identity is language competences. The acquisition of the majority language can be potentially regarded by members of the majority group as a stronger sign of membership to the group than characteristics ascribed at birth, the acquisition of the group language being internally as opposed to externally attributed (Giles & Johnson, 1981/1989).

Most often, the variables measuring language competences of migrants were linked to their identification with the group of origin, given that language plays a central role in the manifestation and valuation of ethnic activity (Fishman, 1989) and that knowledge of heritage language was linked to positive developmental outcomes for young migrants (Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001).

Studies have revealed a positive link between heritage language competences and ethnic identity (e.g., Bankston and Zhou, 1995; Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001). In addition, in a different research on migrant students, Maloof et al. (2006) found that strength of identification with the group of origin was in a positive relationship with competences in the heritage language, but also with competences in the language of the host country. Nevertheless, their finds also suggested that migrant youth could display high levels of ethnic identification regardless of heritage language competences.

Although primarily investigations focused on the relationship between language competences and identification with the group of origin, some authors also investigated the relationship of these variables with migrants' identification with the host society. Thus, Gualda (2010b) and

collaborators found that high competences of Spanish predicted high feelings of belongingness to Spain. Similarly, Janés et al. (2015) found that self-identification with the host society correlated positively with competences in the majority language. Additionally, the authors found that self-identification with place of origin was negatively associated with competences in the majority languages.

Identification and language use. Lastly, a variable often analysed in connection with identity is language use, given its status as a recognizable marker of group membership (Bonvillain, 1993; García, 2013; Giles & Johnson, 1981/1989; Lapresta et al., 2004; Saint-Jacques & Giles, 1979; Warschauer & De Florio-Hansen, 2003) and, furthermore, that the language which people choose to use in a situation may express where they stand in terms of group membership (García, 2013; Khatib et al., 2011). Thus, as individuals assume different roles in different situations, they also switch between identifications depending on the group memberships of those they interact with. These shifts in identities can be observed through language use (García, 2012).

In a migratory context, the use to a great degree of the heritage language at home can balance the high use of the host language in the society and at school (Giles et al., 1977). The family milieu therefore plays an important role in fostering the use of the heritage language. This has important consequences for its valorisation and, subsequently, for the identification with the heritage culture (Lawson & Sachdev, 2004).

Heritage language use among migrants was shown by Berry et al. (1989) to be associated with low assimilation – a symbol of maintaining the heritage identity. Similarly, later research concluded that the migrants' desire to maintain a distinct identity was reflected by their choice to maintain their heritage language use, while modifications in linguistic use were seen by members of their group of origin as abandoning their heritage identity (Sancho, 2010, 2013).

The link between language use and identity was also documented by a number of other studies (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Brown & Sachdev, 2009; Knight et al., 2009; Lawson & Sachdev, 2004). Moreover, as Sachdev & Hanlon (2000) argue, empirical finds suggest that the two are reciprocally connected, in the sense that while language use influences the construction of group identity, group identification affects the patterns of language use.

Given the importance of the family environment in the young migrants' construction of identity, some investigations analysed the relationship between language use at home and identity. In this

sense, Van den Berg (1988) found in a multilingual context that stronger ethnolinguistic identification led to higher use of the ethnic language in the home. Similarly, Knight, Bernal, Cota, Garza and Ocampo (1993) determined that language use at home was positively associated with young migrants' ethnic identity.

Identification and family related variables. Moreover, as the family represents a first environment of socialization, and given its important role in the development of identity, family related variables were often included in investigations carried out on migrant participants.

The aspects measured regarding the influence of the family environment include family values (e.g., Ward, 2008), ethnic socialization (e.g., Knight et al., 1993; Sabatier, 2008; Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2010), parental style (e.g., Sabatier, 2008), family relationships (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998); autonomy support (e.g., Abad & Sheldon, 2008; Downie et al., 2007); parental closeness (e.g., Stepney et al., 2015), or parental cultural maintenance (e.g., Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001). Furthermore, gender differences were explored regarding the influence of parents (e.g., Abad & Sheldon, 2008; Burck, 2011; Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003; Portes et al., 2011; Sabatier, 2008).

Many times, as suggested theoretically and empirically (e.g., Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998; Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001) the existing literature indicates that in a migratory context family related variables have an important impact on the identification with the group of origin. Nevertheless, previous research has also documented the role of family for the young migrants' identification with the host culture (e.g., Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Portes et al., 2011; Portes et al., 2012; Sabatier, 2008) as will be further argued.

Family socio-professional status. One of the variables often encountered in the literature on identity is family socio-professional status. The existing literature has shown that the socio-professional status of parents influences the identification and integration process of young migrants. Thus, Ward (2001) revealed that higher levels of socio-economic status correlated with higher identification with the host society. Similarly, Berry et al. (2006) uncovered that higher socio-economic status (derived from parental occupational status) correlated with higher identification with the national culture. Similar results were uncovered in a series of studies carried out by Portes and associates on second generation migrants in Barcelona and Madrid

(Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Portes et al., 2012; Portes et al., 2011), higher family status increasing the likelihood that young migrants would identify with the host society.

Furthermore, regressing socio-professional status with socio-cultural status for the two parents, Phinney, Romero, et al. (2001) determined the socio-economic status of the family for young migrants from three ethnic groups. The authors found that higher socio-economic status correlated with lower levels of cultural maintenance of parents and with lower proficiency in the heritage language, in the context of a positive impact of heritage language proficiency on the ethnic identification of young migrants. Thus, it appears that higher socio-economic status had an indirect negative effect on the ethnic identification of young migrants. A similar idea was also stressed by Phinney (1990), who observed that young migrants of middle socio-economic status were less likely to maintain their ethnic identification than those of low socio-economic status.

Family socio-cultural status. Moreover, in a bilingual education context, it has been argued that studies who take into account immigration should additionally measure the socio-cultural status of parents (Lapresta et al., 2009), given that previous research showed that socio-cultural and socio-professional status of parents do not always correlate (e.g., Molina & Mayoral, 2000; Navarro & Huguet, 2005).

Parental socio-cultural status was previously linked to national and ethnic identity. In this sense, Knight et al. (1993) revealed that the father's education level influenced components of young migrants' ethnic identity. Furthermore, in a later research, Berry et al. (2006) uncovered that children of unskilled parents reported lower scores for national identification than children of skilled parents.

Identification and parental strength of identification. The link between parental strength of identification and strength of identification of young migrants has been scarcely studied in the existing literature. Nevertheless, some evidence of a connection between these variables exists.

When referring to previous works studying the influence of ethnic background on children's ethnic identity, Knight et al. (1993) reference the work of Denedy-Frank (1982) on the role of parental ethnicity in the transmission of ethnic identity to their children. His results showed that parents who strongly identified ethnically wanted their children to do the same, and reported that their children strongly valued their ethnicity. More recently, Stepney, Sanchez, and Handy (2015) in their work on biracial individuals uncovered that estimated parental strength of

identification had a positive influence on the individual's strength of identification with both the majority (white) and the minority groups, respectively.

Well-being. Research in the field of identity has also focused on the way in which individuals integrate multiple group identifications and how this impacts their well-being (Yampolsky et al., 2013). Well-being is used to discuss both one's living conditions and resources in all life's domains, but also the way in which people feel about their life in these areas. Drawing from social psychology, research in the field makes a distinction between well-being as happiness and well-being as life satisfaction, the first representing an affective aspect of well-being, while the latter a cognitive state (Nolan, 2009), more stable in time (Rojas, 2004).

From the perspective of the Social Identity Theory, membership in a group is an important factor in accounting for one's self-esteem. Thus, if the group is subjected to discrimination, negative stereotypes or prejudice, one's self-esteem will decrease (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This idea has been supported empirically. One such example is that of Phinney et al. (1997), who showed that ethnic identity represented a significant predictor for the subjects' self-esteem. Given the underlying factors explaining this connection, self-esteem represents one of the components of well-being measured among migrants (Berry et al., 2006).

A fairly large volume of work exists on the relationship between identity and well-being. In this sense, Yampolsky et al. (2013), reviewing the existing literature on bicultural individuals' well-being, note that finds suggest a connection between the integration of multiple identities and increased well-being, and assert that the manner in which one negotiates his identities predicts individual well-being.

Additionally, the existing literature also suggests that identifying coherently with all of one's cultures leads to increased overall well-being and life satisfaction (Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, 2013; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Downie et al., 2004; de la Sablonnière et al., 2011), and that developing a sense of belongingness with a new group leads to increased well-being (Amiot et al., 2007). Similarly, the meta-analysis conducted by Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) revealed that biculturalism was positively associated with psychological adjustment more than identification with solely the majority group or that with the group of origin. Comparable results were also reported by Huynh, Devos, & Goldberg (2014), who found

additionally that strong national identification not accompanied by strong ethnic identification led to more psychological risks.

Moreover, a significant body of research attests to modest but consistent links between ethnic identity and well-being (Schwartz et al., 2013; Smith & Silva, 2011). The bulk of the investigations in this field uncovered a positive connection between ethnic identity and psychological well-being (e.g., Lee et al., 2004; Roberts et al., 1999; Smith & Silva, 2011; Yasuda & Duan, 2002; Yoo & Lee, 2005). Furthermore, referring to well-being conceptualized as life satisfaction, although research such as that of Lee, Yun, Yoo, and Nelson (2010) found no correlation between ethnic identity and life satisfaction of participants, much of the existing research shows that stronger strength of identification predicts life satisfaction and higher quality of life (Schwartz et al., 2013; Schwartz et al., 2014; Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Jarvis, 2007; Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002).

To conclude, after this overview concerning some of the works on identity conducted worldwide and particularly in Spain and Catalonia (also see **Table 4**), three general observations which also motivated and guided the present work can be extracted. *A first observation* implies that overall results regarding the way in which identity constructs and reconstructs, and how multiple identifications interrelate often depend on the social context where the analyses are conducted. This is to say that, in a migratory context, different patterns of results will be uncovered among nations with a vast experience in receiving and integrating migrants, than among those countries which are still struggling to implement suitable migration policies. Moreover, *a second observation* refers to the fact that analysing specific groups of immigrant population will reveal different results concerning patterns of identity (re)construction and negotiation than analysing the entire migrant population in a state as a whole. This is why in a Catalan context, where Romanian migrants represent a significant share of the migrant population (as argued further in [chapter 3](#)), it is important to understand the specific socio-psychological characteristics of this particular group. *Lastly*, a majority of identity research on Romanian migrants has employed qualitative methods. With this in mind, a quantitative approach could bring important insight into the issue of the development of identity of these migrants, with implications for their adjustment and integration in Catalonia and Spain.

Table 4. Summary of the selected empirical research on identity

Author(s) (year)	Selected Variables (linked to identity)	Context	Sample	Measurement (method)	Selected Results
Knight et al. (1993)	Parental generation in the US Language use at home Parental education level	USA	Young Mexican migrants ($N = 45$) and their mothers	Questionnaire	Ethnic language use at home and parental heritage language competences were positively linked to ethnic identification related variables. Fathers' education level and parental generation in the USA were negatively associated to the ethnic identity of the participants.
Bankston & Zhou (1995)	Ethnic language proficiency	USA	Vietnamese migrant highschool students ($N = 387$)	Questionnaire	A significant, positive and strong correlation between ethnic identity and ethnic language competences.
Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind (1998)	Language proficiency Language use	Finland	Young Russian migrants ($N = 170$)	Questionnaire	Overall, the sample identified more with their group of origin than with the majority group. Heritage language use was the strongest predictor of ethnic identity. Differences by gender were encountered in predicting self-identification. Heritage language use and proficiency positively predicted the ethnic identification of boys. National language use negatively predicted the ethnic self-identification of boys, and positively predicted the national identification of both boys and girls.
Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts & Romero (1999)	Well-being Ethnic salience	USA	Students in secondary education from > 20 distinctive ethnic groups ($N = 5,423$)	Questionnaires	Ethnic identity correlated positively with coping ability, mastery, self-esteem and optimism, and negatively with loneliness and depression.
Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder (2001b)	Well-being	USA, Israel, Finland, Netherlands	Adolescents from recent migrant groups	Questionnaire	Participants reported higher strength of identification with their group of origin than with the host society. Significant differences between scores for ethnic and national identities across migrant groups.
Phinney, Romero, et al. (2001)	Ethnic language competences Parental cultural maintenance	USA	Adolescents from different migratory groups ($N = 216$) and their parents	Questionnaire	Parental cultural maintenance influenced ethnic language proficiency, which in turn predicted ethnic identity.

(table continues)

Lapresta (2004, 2008)	Gender Age Place of birth Length of residence	Catalonia, Spain	Autochthonous and migrant population (N = 374)	Questionnaire Semi-structured interview	Age, place of birth, length of residence in the region, and own language of the participants were found to influence the self-identification of migrants. No significant differences by gender were found.
Lawson & Sachdev (2004)	Language use	United Kingdom	Migrant students (N = 45)	Questionnaire	Highest identification was with the group of origin. No correlation between identification with the group of origin and that with the host country. Ethnic language use and attitudes were predicted by ethnic identity.
Rumbaut (2004)	Age at arrival (generational cohorts) Place of birth Parental origin	U.S.	Foreign born young migrants and children of at least one immigrant parent (N = 1,503)	Questionnaire (open ended question about self-identification) <i>Longitudinal study</i>	Approximately half of the sample identified overall with their ethnic origin during teen years, while only a third of them continued to do so as adults. This percentage was found to be higher among participants born abroad. For those born in the U.S., there were large differences based on parental origin.
Berry et al. (2006)	Gender Place of birth Age at arrival Length of residence Parent socio-economic status Language proficiency Language use Life satisfaction	13 Societies of settlement	First and second generation young migrants (N = 7,997)	Questionnaire	Participants displayed strong ethnic identities, and weaker but significant national identities. Proficiency and use of ethnic language was closely linked to ethnic identity. Length of residence correlated positively with national identity, but did not influence ethnic identity. Girls were more likely to be found in the integration profile than boys. Higher socio-economic status was linked to higher national orientation.
Maloof et al. (2006)	Language competences	U.S.	Students of Vietnamese origin (N = 50)	Questionnaire	Strong ethnic identity was positively correlated with both ethnic and host country language competences.
Grant (2007)	Length of residence	Canada	First (N = 403) and second generation (N = 78) adult migrants of Asian and African origin	Questionnaire	For first generation migrants, longer length of residence was found to increase strength of identification with the host society. Nevertheless, migrants identified more strongly with their culture of origin regardless of length of residence in Canada. Second generation migrants identified more with Canada than with their culture of origin.

Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Harris (2008)	Well-being Language proficiency	Hong Kong, China	Chinese migrants (N = 67)	Questionnaire	Strong identification with both the origin and host cultures. Psychological adjustment was predicted by identification with the host society and by bicultural identification.
Ward (2008)	Language proficiency Language use Life satisfaction	New Zealand	First and second generation migrants (N = 744) and autochthonous (N = 482) youth	Questionnaire	Ethnic identity was found to be strong for all migrant participants, while national identification was found to increase in strength across generations. Nevertheless, ethnic language use and proficiency decreased over generations, whereas national language use and skills improved. No differences in life satisfaction were found between migrant and autochthonous youth, although scores on average were higher for first generation migrants than for second generation migrants and autochthonous population.
Brown & Sachdev (2009)	Language use Attitudes towards language use Length of residence	United Kingdom	Japanese adolescents and adults (N = 95)	Questionnaire	High strength of ethnic identification for the entire sample. Length of residence positively correlated with strength of identification with the host country. Identification with the host country predicted host language use and host language attitudes. Strength of ethnic identification did not predict any of the variables.
Lapresta et al. (2009)	Ethnic language	Catalonia, Spain	Secondary Education migrant students (N = 16)	Interview	Participants developed a variety of identifications and multiple identifications in which prevailed references to the culture of origin. Results also indicated that they highly valued their respective mother languages and cultures of origin.
Gualda and collaborators (2010b)	Length of residence Language competences Well-being	Spain	Students in Secondary Education (N = 413)	Interviews Discussion groups Questionnaire	Higher length of residence in the host society led to a weaker identification with the place of origin and multiple territorial identification. Belongingness to the host country was found to be predicted by language competence and well-being.

(table continues)

Lapresta et al. (2010)	Language attitudes Language use	Catalonia, Spain	Young migrants Secondary Education students (N = 35)	Interview	Discourse analysis showed that while part of the students had a positive attitude towards Catalan, others had a negative attitude towards the language, which they considered of little use. Higher strength of identification with Catalonia and higher perceived valuation within the school and society led to more positive attitudes, better competences, and more balanced use of Catalan.
Vila et al. (2010)	Place of birth	Catalonia, Spain	Secondary Education migrant students (N = 13)	Focus group	Country of origin was considered an important part of their identity regardless of place of birth. Language was not associated to identification with the host society.
Badea et al. (2011)	Acculturation strategies	France	Adult Romanian migrants (N = 138)	Questionnaire	Identification with the country of origin was higher than that with the host country. No correlation was found between these two self-identifications. Identification with the country of origin predicted the endorsement of integration, assimilation, and separation acculturation strategies. Identification with the host country predicted the endorsement of integration and assimilation acculturation strategies.
de la Sablonnière, Saint-Pierre, Taylor, & Annahatak (2011)	Well-being	Canada	Inuit students (N = 17)	Narrative interview, Questionnaire	Higher heritage identity was associated with higher levels of psychological well-being.
Lapresta et al. (2012)	Age at arrival Place of birth	Catalonia, Spain	Secondary Education migrant students (N = 550)	Questionnaire	Participants tended to identify more with a different cultural sphere than with the Catalan one. Differences were found based on place of birth. Age of arrival did not influence the participants' self-identification.
Marcu (2012)	Age at arrival	Spain	Young adult Romanian immigrants (N = 25)	Interview	Migrants who had completed their studies in Romania and migrated to Spain considered they had a Romanian identity with added Spanish elements. Migrants who arrived in Spain with their parents, as infants, considered to be first of all Spanish and then Romanian.

(table continues)

García, (2012, 2013)	Language attitudes	Columbia	Adult migrants (N = 10)	Interview	Participants displayed a monocultural identity. They had both positive and negative attitudes towards the ethnic language, which was considered to have a low prestige. Nevertheless it represented a strong marker of ethnic and national identity. The majority language, Spanish, was considered to have instrumental value, helping participants to develop adequately in the host culture.
Dimitrova et al. (2013)	Gender Well-being	Romania	Romanian autochthonous students (N = 211)	Questionnaire	Female participants reported higher strength of national identification than male participants. Positive relationship between strength of national identity and well-being of the participants.
Clots-Figueras & Masella (2013)	Catalan instruction Place of birth	Catalonia, Spain	Catalonia residents (N = 2,309)	Questionnaire	Being taught in Catalan for longer increased identification with Catalonia. Positive correlation between strength of identification with Catalonia and place of birth of participants and that of their parents.
Heras et al. (2013)	Age at arrival	Spain and Romania	18 focus groups with Romanian migrant parents and children, and remigrant children	Focus group	Romanian children expressed significant attachment towards the host country and an important sense of belonging to Romania regardless of their age at arrival, and the desire to maintain the heritage language and customs.
Valtolina et al. (2013)		Italy	Romanian migrant families with at least one child (N = 242)	Focus group	Participants expressed pride regarding their origins and identity. Preservation of cultural and religious traditions, as well as first language are seen as strategies to maintain identity roots.
Aparicio & Portes (2014) Portes et al. (2012) Portes et al. (2011)	Length of residence Place of birth Gender Parental place of birth Family status	Spain	Secondary Education second generation migrants (N = 6,905)	Questionnaire	Being born in Spain, having parents who were born in Spain, length of residence, and family status were positively associated with likelihood of identification with Spain. Female participants were less likely to identify with Spain than male participants. Four years later, results indicated that these gender differences were not statistically significant any longer.

(table continues)

Ianos (2014)	Language attitudes	Catalonia, Spain	Migrant ($N = 500$) and autochthonous ($N = 673$) Secondary Education students	Questionnaire	Migrant students' strongest identification was with their area of origin, which negatively correlated with their identification with Spain and Catalonia. Strength of identification was one of the variables with the highest predictive power for students' language attitudes. Strength of identification with Catalonia was found to increase attitudes towards Catalan and to decrease attitudes towards Spanish, respectively. Strength of identification with Spain influenced positively the migrant sample's attitudes towards Catalan. Strength of identification with area of origin was linked with attitudes towards Spanish.
Lapresta et al. (2014)	Self-identifications with Catalonia, Spain, and area of origin	Catalonia, Spain	Secondary Education migrant ($N = 437$) and autochthonous ($N = 637$) students	Questionnaire	Significant differences between the self-identification of migrants and that of autochthonous students. Negative relationship between self-identification with Catalonia and that of area of origin for migrant students. Identification with Spain predicted identification with Catalonia differently for autochthonous versus migrant students.
Marcu (2014)		Spain	Romanian migrants ($N = 30$)	Interviews	A shift from Romanian identity to dual, Romanian and Spanish belonging, to a fluid, global identity.
Stepney, Sanchez, & Handy (2015)	Perceived ethnic identity of parents	U.S.	Biracial individuals ($N = 275$)	Questionnaire	Perceived majority self-identity of parents positively predicted identification with the majority group, while perceived minority self-identity of parents predicted identification with the minority group.
Janés et al. (2015)	Language competences	Catalonia, Spain	Secondary Education migrant students ($N = 527$)	Questionnaire	Participants identified most strongly with their place of origin, followed by Spain and Catalonia, respectively. Differences were found between Hispano-American migrants and others, in the sense that the first identified more strongly with Spain and less strongly with Catalonia than the others. Language competences did not correlate with identification for Hispano-American migrants. Correlations were found however for the other participants. Self-identification with Catalonia correlated positively with Catalan competences, while self-identification with place of origin correlated negatively with both Catalan and Spanish competences.

In summary, the second chapter of the present work aimed to provide a comprehensive view of the theoretical perspectives on the notion of identity and of how it was measured in the scientific literature, together with some examples of research carried out in this area of more relevance for our investigation. Further is displayed a schematic representation of the main concepts presented throughout the chapter and the links between them (**Figure 2**). As such, we stressed the important role which social identity plays in multicultural contexts, and highlighted the relevance of studying the variables which contribute to its development and maintenance – even more so when discussed in a migratory context.

With this in mind, the next chapter of the present work focuses on the specific characteristics of the Catalan context, within Spain, given that as Burkitt (2008) states, “[...] who we are, or can become, is often a political issue involving rights and duties fought over within society. Becoming who we want to be, if that is possible, often involves a political struggle” (p. 4).

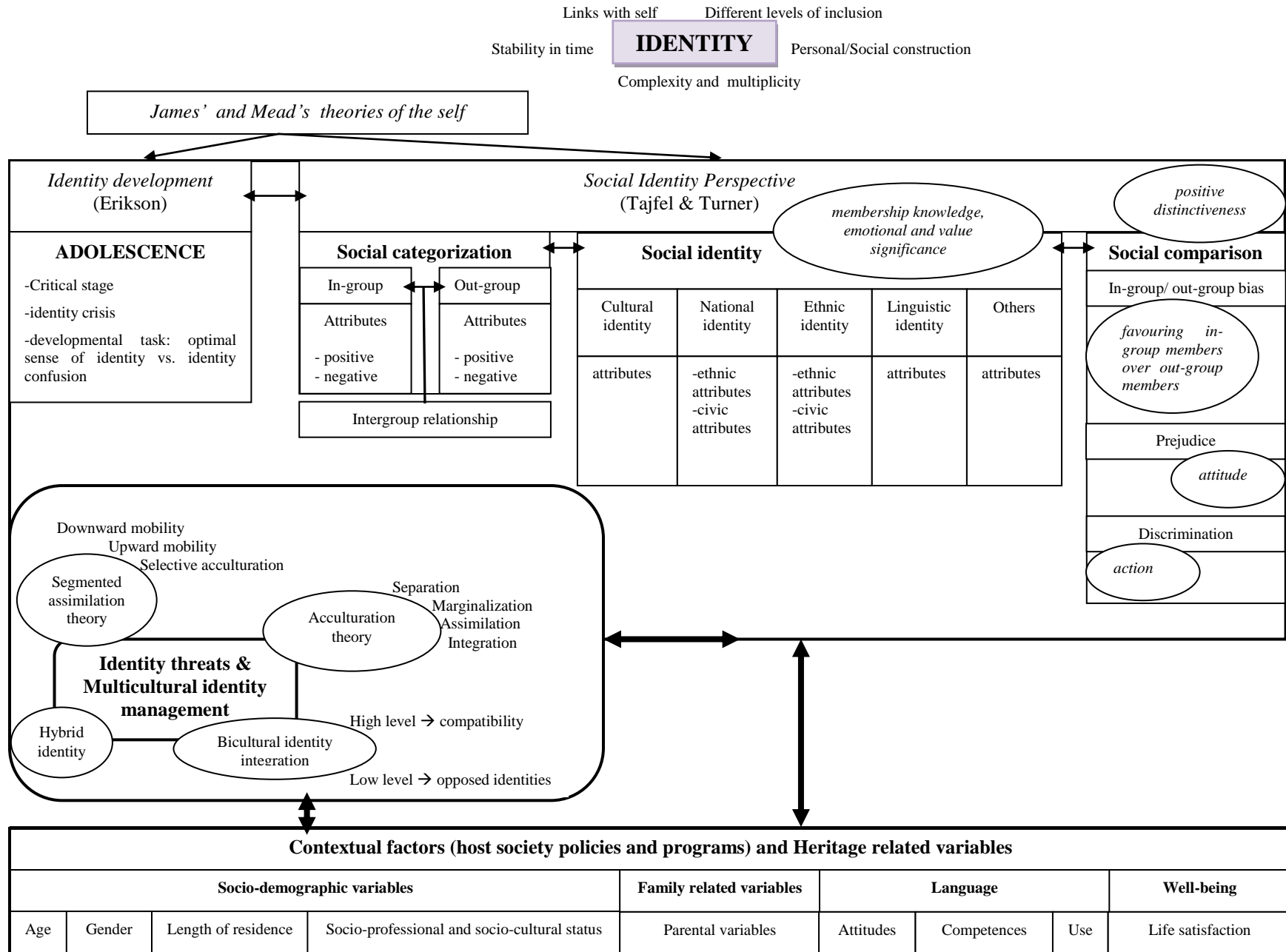


Figure 2. Schematic representation of the concepts within the second chapter: identity conceptualization and related variables

3. CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH

Contending that our identities are constructed within society, Dubar (2000), explains that in order to better understand social actors we need to take into account the social context in which they live, given that “the context of action is also a context of definition of self and others” (p. 11). In agreement with this statement, the present chapter commences by briefly presenting the wider social context in which the research took place – Spain, and then narrows its focus to our main area of interest, Catalonia.

3.1. Spain

Located in South-Western Europe, Spain occupies much of the Iberian Peninsula. Its territory also includes the Canary Islands in the Atlantic Ocean, the Balearic Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, and two exclaves in Northern Africa, Ceuta and Melilla.

According to the National Institute of Statistics of Spain, the total resident population of the country as of the 1st of January 2014 was 46,512,199 (INE, 2015a). However, in terms of registered inhabitants, Spain hosted a population of 46,771,341 as of the same date (INE, 2015b). Furthermore, according to Eurostat data (2015), which takes into account the resident population of member-states, Spain represents the fifth most populous country in the European Union.

Through the Constitution of 1978, Spain made the transition from the highly centralized state which marked the Franco regime, to the *Estado de las Autonomías* – a decentralized government system which “guarantees the right to self-government of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed” (Spanish Const. Preliminary Title. art. 2). This opened the path for the creation of 17 Autonomous Communities and of two autonomous cities, each of them administered by its own Government.

Furthermore, The Spanish Constitution, while stating the official status of Spanish, also allowed minority languages to obtain co-official status in regions where they had been used historically:

1. Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.

2. The other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective Self-governing Communities in accordance with their Statutes.
3. The wealth of the different linguistic forms of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be especially respected and protected. (Spanish Const. Preliminary Title. art. 3.1–3)

As a result, six communities, Catalonia, Balearic Islands, Valencia, Galicia, Basque Country, and Navarra, chose to grant co-official status to their regional languages. In these communities, Spain shares the status of official language with Catalan (in Catalonia and in the Balearic Islands), Valencian (in Valencia), Galician (in Galicia), and Euskera (in the Basque Country and Navarra). These communities, which account for more than 40% of Spain's total population (INE, 2015b), have promulgated linguistic normalization laws and regulations aimed at correcting the disadvantageous statute held by the regional languages in comparison with the state language (Nagy, 2012; Siguan, 2007). The language normalization laws were therefore created to defend and promote the regions' own languages, and as such can be thought of as linguistic policies (Huguet & Madarianga, 2005)

Thus, a historically multilingual territory (Zapata-Barrero, 2012), Spain is home today to numerically significant linguistic minorities (Ruiz Vieitez., 2007). Moreover, the traditional linguistic diversity has increased due to the relatively recent surge in immigration numbers, as many of the immigrants have other languages than Spanish as their mother tongue (Hernández-García & Villalba-Martínez, 2008).

3.1.1. Migration in Spain

Whereas Spain has traditionally represented a transition point for migrants trying to arrive to other European countries, given its position on the global map, and an area of emigration for most of the twentieth century (CEPS Projectes Socials, 2011), things changed beginning with the mid eighties. In the early 1990s the number of immigrants residing in Spain had exceeded that of Spaniards living abroad, and afterwards Spain has gradually become one of the major destinations for immigrants from around the world (Arango 2013; Arocena 2011; Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 2007). Between 1990 and 2013, Spain gained the third highest

number of international migrants worldwide (UNDESA, 2013). The highest increase took place between 1996 and 2011, when the total foreign population residing in Spain increased more than tenfold. Since 2011 the number of immigrants started to decline (Figure 3), the largest decrease taking place between 2013 and 2014 (522,751). Nonetheless, the population of foreign immigrants still represented a significant percentage of the total population (10.74%) as of 1st of January 2014 (INE, 2015c).

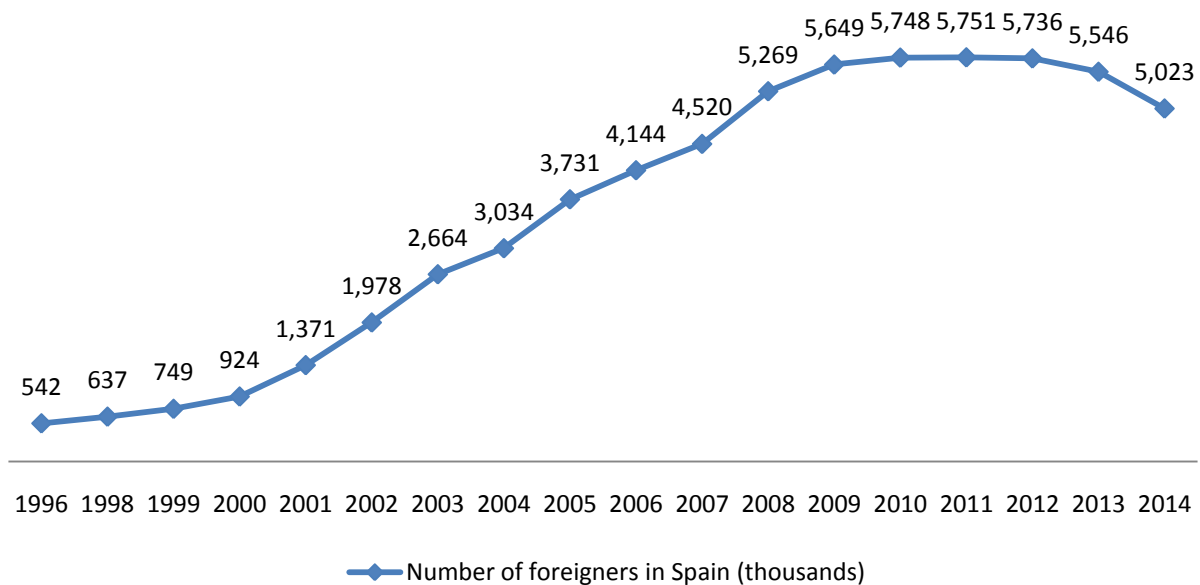


Figure 3. Evolution of the registered foreign population in Spain between 1st of May 1996 and 1st of January 2014 (INE, 2015c, 2015d)

At international level, at the 1st of January 2013 Spain hosted the second largest population of foreign nationals among European Union countries (Eurostat, 2014) and the tenth largest in the world (UNDESA, 2013).

However, Spain’s immigrant population is not equally distributed across Autonomous Communities. Thus, as can be seen in Figure 4, Catalonia hosts by far the largest number of immigrants, 21.68% of the country’s total immigrant population. The next highest immigrant populations can be found in the Community of Madrid (17.52%), Community of Valencia (14.72%), and Andalucía (13.17%). Together, these four Autonomous Communities account for

67.09% of the total immigrant population. At the other pole are Asturias, La Rioja, Extremadura, and Cantabria, each of these Autonomous Communities accounting for less than 1% of the total immigrant population of Spain (INE, 2015b).

A different picture is painted when we look at the proportion represented by the foreign registered population from the total population of each community, however. Thus, the Balearic Islands have the highest proportion of registered foreign population (18.41%), followed by the Community of Valencia (14.78), Murcia (14.72%), and Catalonia (14.49%). Asturias, Galicia, and Extremadura are the Autonomous Communities with the lowest proportions of registered foreign population reported to their total population, of under 5% (INE, 2015b).

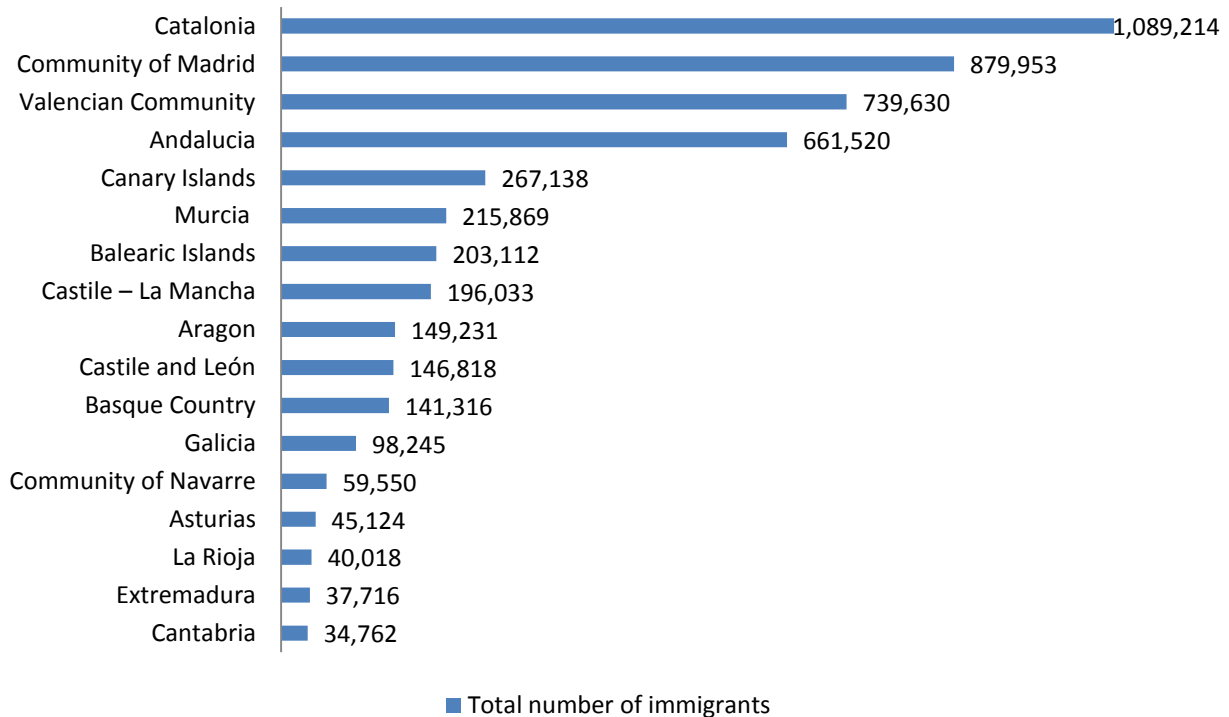


Figure 4. Registered foreign population in Spain, across the Autonomous Communities, at 1st of January 2014 (INE, 2015b)

The mean age of the migrant population in Spain is 34.9 years, lower than the average of the autochthonous population (43 years). A majority of migrants are of working age, with 58.3% of them aged between 16 and 44, and a further 19.73% between 45 and 64. Additionally, 15.9% are 0 to 15 years of age, only 6.07% of the total immigrant population being above 65 years old.

Regarding gender distribution, the percentage of males is slightly higher than that of women, with 51.16% males and 48.84% females.

Table 5. Distribution of the immigrant population registered in Spain, by geographical area of origin, at 1st of January 2014 (INE, 2015b)

Area	Immigrant population	Percentage of the total immigrant population
Europe	2,299,165	45.77
European Union	2,056,903	40.95
European Non Community Countries	242,262	4.82
America	1,263,030	25.14
North America	56,177	4.21
Central America and Caribbean	211,571	1.12
South America	995,282	19.81
Africa	1,076,164	21.42
Asia	381,819	7.6
Oceania	2,701	0.05
Stateless	608	0.01
TOTAL	5,023,487	100%

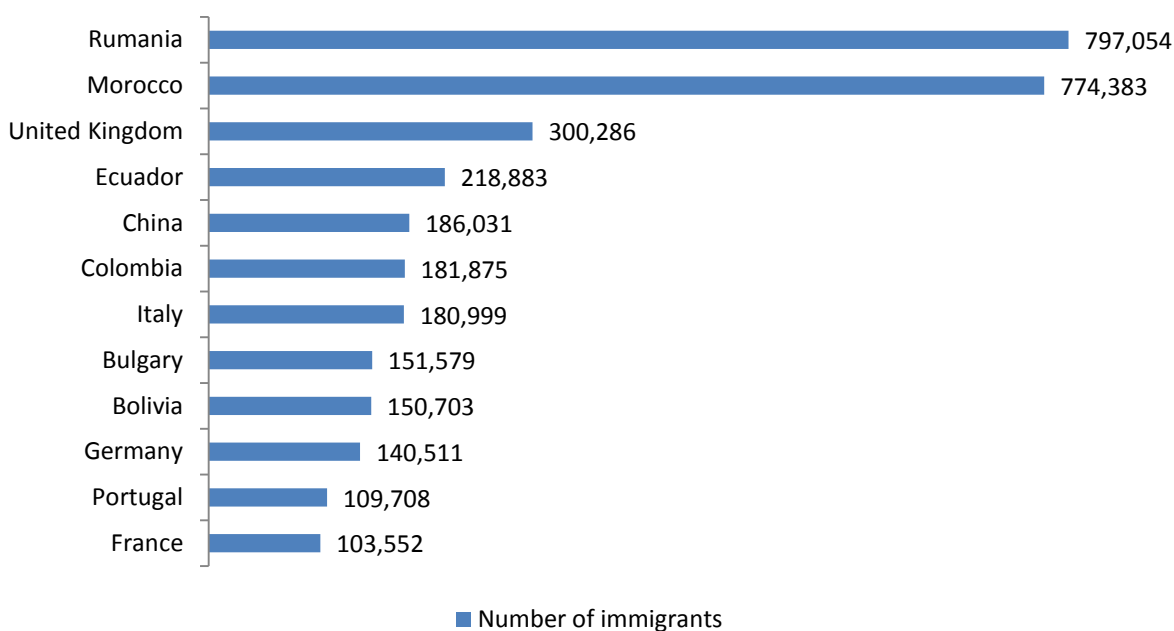


Figure 5. Foreign population in Spain, by country of nationality, at 1st of January 2014 (INE, 2015b)

Furthermore, in terms of area of origin (**Table 5**) the largest number of immigrants, 2,299,165, came from other European states, accounting for 45.77% of the total number of newcomers. Significant numbers also originate from America and Africa (over a million each), and Asia (less than half a million).

Overall, Spain receives immigrants from over 160 countries (INE, 2015b). However, there are wide differences in the distribution of immigrants to Spain by country of origin, the largest seven groups accounting for 52.54% of the total foreign population in Spain. In **Figure 5** are shown the countries which represent the most important sources of migratory inflows to Spain, of over 100,000 migrants.

3.1.1.1. Romanian migrants in Spain

Hence, one of the major national groups arriving to Spain during the multi-origin migration phenomenon is that of Romanians. The first Romanians arrived in Spain at the beginning of the 1990s, shortly after the fall of the communist regime. The number of migrants steadily grew thereafter, a trend visible especially starting with 2002 – when Romanian citizens were granted free movement within the Schengen space. Furthermore, Romania and Spain signed in 2002 a bilateral agreement for the recruitment of workforce in agriculture – which led to an increase in the number of Romanian legal migrants working in Spain starting with 2003 (Sandu, Radu, Constantinescu, & Ciobanu, 2004).

After the entry of Romania in the European Union in 2007 this trend intensified (Fernández, Alvarez, & Vázquez, 2013; Marcu 2009a, 2009b, 2013). Being one of the eleven EU countries to offer Romanian workers unrestricted access on their labour markets (CEPS Projectes Socials, 2011), Spain quickly became – together with Italy, a favourite country of destination (Heras et al. 2013). Still, the onset of the financial crisis in Spain has reduced the yearly rate of growth of the Romanian population here (Fernández et al., 2013). Moreover, the economic context and the continuous flows of Romanians arriving in the country determined the Spanish authorities to adopt in 2011 a measure which temporarily restricted the rights to employment of Romanian migrants to Spain (Marcu 2013).

The flow of Romanian migrants to Spain can be explained due to several factors. In this sense, the broader economic opportunities that Spain offered together with a lack of restrictive migration policies created the image of an accessible country with a positive attitude towards migrants (Sandu et al., 2004). Nevertheless, another major reason for Romanians' preference of Spain was the linguistic proximity, as it allowed for an easier integration in the community and, for children, in the compulsory educational system (Heras et al., 2013).

In a similar fashion, Hiris (2008) argues that migrants preferred destination where the local population was expected to be more open to migration, allowing newcomers to lead a normal life. In this sense, she provides the example of Romanian migrants who, after a hostile reception in France, redirected their efforts towards Spain. Thus, drawing from the author's conclusions, migrants may have chosen Spain based on their expectations that the process of integration would pose fewer difficulties.

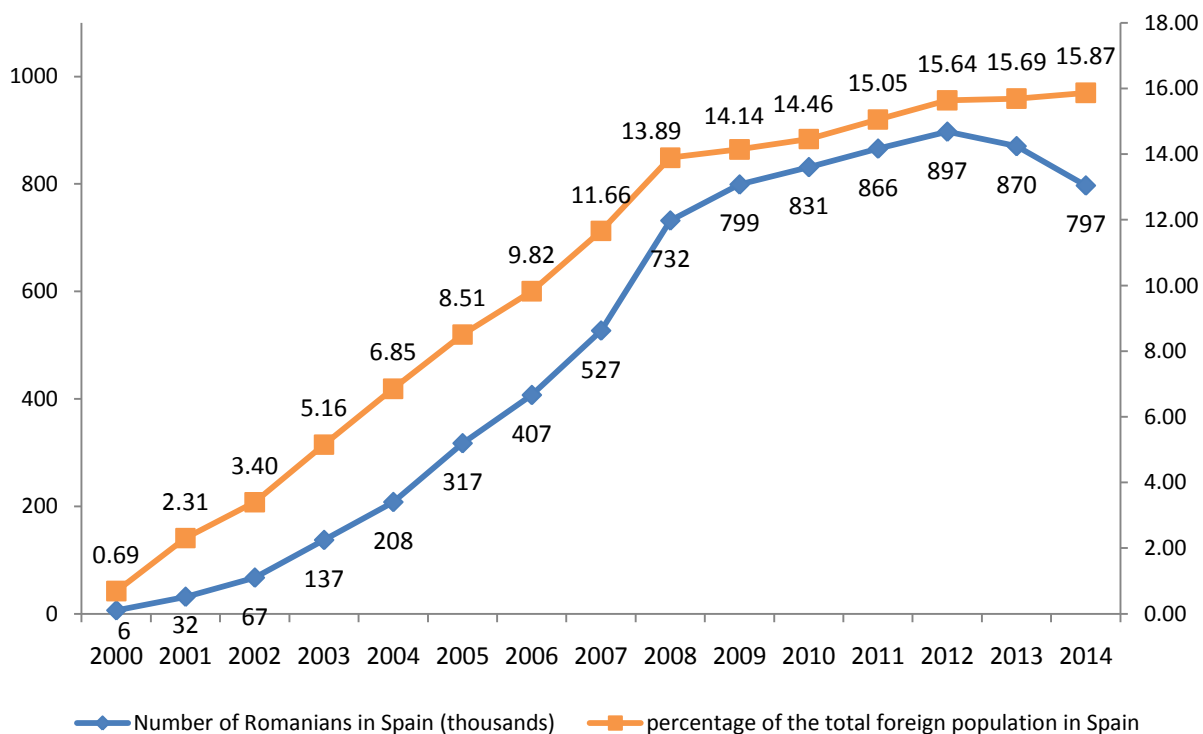


Figure 6. Evolution of the registered population of Romanians in Spain between 2000 and 2014 (INE, 2015c)

Further, in **Figure 6** it is presented the evolution of the number of registered Romanians in Spain between 2000 and 2014. As we can see, the size of the Romanian population has constantly increased between 2000 and 2012. The highest increase in absolute numbers, of over 205,000 people, was registered between 2007 and 2008. The upward trend continued at a slower rate until 2012, when it reached a peak of 897,203 people. Since then, the Romanian population registered a downward trend. The largest decrease, of over 100,000 people, was registered between 2013 and 2014. At the 1st of January 2014, the immigrant group from Romania numbered 797,054 members. (INE, 2015c).

However, although the size of the Romanian group has been decreasing in absolute numbers in the past few years, the data presented in **Figure 6** points to the fact that Romanians make up an increasingly larger share of the total migrant population. At the 1st of January 2014, Romanians accounted for 15.87% of the total population of registered foreigners living in Spain (INE, 2015b).

Furthermore, since 2008 to the present day, Romanian nationals have represented the largest immigrant group in Spain (INE, 2015c). Furthermore, they represent one of the largest three immigrant groups in many of the 51 regions of Spain (CEPS Projectes Socials, 2011).

The age and gender distribution of the Romanian population in Spain is one which traditionally characterises migrant communities in search of work opportunities (CEPS Projectes Socials, 2011), with a balanced proportion of males (50.10%) and females (49.90%), and with a majority of people of working age, between 16 and 44 (64.91%), and 45 and 64 (17.16%) years old. Within the Romanian migrant community we find fewer children below 15 years of age (17%), and very few people of 65 years and older (0.94%), at the 1st of January 2014 (INE, 2015b). Moreover, in an analysis of the evolution of the population of Romanian origin by age groups (children, working age population, and elderly population) in Spain, Heras et al. (2013) conclude that the demographic patterns point to a trend of stability. At the same time the low percentage of migrants over 65 years of age leads to believe that the average Romanian migrant returns to the country of origin before reaching the age of retirement.

This data points to a low average age of the Romanian population in Spain, and therefore to the fact that most migrants are individuals able to work (Fernández et al., 2013). Furthermore, the

mean age of Romanian migrants, 31.7 years, is lower than that of the general migrant population in Spain, of 34.9 years (INE, 2015b).

3.1.2. Migration policies

Given the large number of immigrants and their diversity in terms of origin – which implicitly reflects a great diversity of cultures, languages, and religions (Hernández-García & Villalba-Martínez, 2008), one of the central issues which entered the attention of Spanish policy makers was that of the newcomers' integration in the wider Spanish society (Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 2007).

The first Spanish law on immigration was the Immigration Law, 1985 (Ley Organica 7/1985), created after Spain joined the European Union but, not in response to a specific migratory context, given the low levels of immigration to Spain at the time. It was meant solely to create a legal framework that would limit the presence of foreign workers within the state, and as such was very restrictive (Rovira, Castellanos, Fernández Prat, & Sauri, 2004). However, immigration began to receive increasing attention in the last decade of the twentieth century. Thus, in 1991, the Spanish Government started a project aimed at the regularization of immigrants' status in the country (Brugué, González, Gusi, & Sol, 2013).

While in the beginning immigrants in Spain were seen simply as workers, that is to say policies were aimed at protecting and regulating this cheap workforce (Brugué et al., 2013), the constant increase in the number of migrants coming to Spain has changed this outlook. It was quickly understood that the newcomers of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds were here to stay, and that their presence would lead to social transformations (Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 2007). For this reason, one of the main objectives expressed in the Immigration Law 2009 (Ley Organica 2/2009) became the social integration of migrants and the creation of a multi-identity and multicultural social context.

One debate in this sense was related to who had jurisdiction over these issues (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2010a). According to the Spanish Constitution, “the State has exclusive authority over matters of nationality, immigration, emigration, aliens and asylum law” (Spanish Const. Title VIII. Ch. III. Art. 149.1.2). However, during the 1990s, as the number of immigrants

increased across Spain, Autonomous Communities had to assume attributions in areas linked to the social integration of migrants, such as education, health and social services, as well as in some aspects pertaining to labour law (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2010a; Moya, 2010; Poggeschi, 2015). Furthermore, in 2000, Organic Law 4/2000 placed the legal foundations for the creation of an organism whose function was the permanent coordination between the State and Autonomous Communities on immigration matters, the Superior Council on Immigration Policy. Moreover, the aforementioned law and its regulation, Real Decreto 2393/2004, provided a limited increase in the attributions related to immigration of Autonomous Communities and municipalities, which could now draft reports on the adequacy of housing of migrants who sought family reunification, reports on social integration or, in the case of municipalities, could have new functions delegated to them (Moya, 2010).

With this in mind, and given the context of the present research, we further present in more detail the case of Catalonia, focusing on the socio-politic and legal framework for immigration.

3.2. Catalonia

Located in the North-East of Spain (**Figure 7**), Catalonia represents one of Spain's bilingual autonomous communities and it is designated as a nationality by its Statute of Autonomy (Organic Law 6/2006).



Figure 8. Provinces of Catalonia

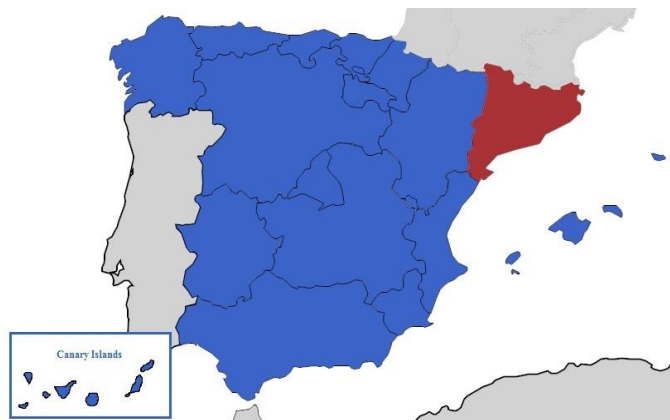


Figure 7. Location of Catalonia within Spain

Catalonia has a total of 7,518,093 registered inhabitants as of the 1st of January 2014 (INE, 2015b). Its territory is divided into four administrative provinces: Barcelona, Girona, Lleida, and Tarragona (**Figure 8**).

3.2.1. Catalan identity - nationalism and language

The history of the Catalan nation begins with the creation by the Carolingian Empire of the *Marca Hispanica*, in the 8th century. Later on, in the 12th century, Catalonia merged with the Kingdom of Aragon. The newly created state expanded into Valencia and the Balearic Islands, and afterwards went on to become one of the largest and most powerful states in the Mediterranean region, with territories in Southern France, Italy, and Greece. In 1469, Catalonia-Aragon was joined politically with Castile through marriage, but its territories – including Catalonia – maintained their autonomy and political structures until after the War of Spanish Succession, 1714, when, given the centralization reforms issued by the new monarch, Catalonia lost its autonomy. Even so, the 18th century represented a period of economic growth for Catalonia, and the region became the main industrial region of Spain by mid 19th century (Nagy, 2012).

Although Catalonia had been a separate political entity for centuries, Catalan nationalism only emerged at the end of the 19th century as a result of modernisation and industrialisation, which transformed Catalan society. Influenced by the German romantic model and nationalist movements across Europe, the Catalan bourgeoisie militated for the revival of the Catalan language and literature and, together with this renewed sense of pride in Catalonia and its history, people began demanding the right of self-governance. In 1914, the four Catalan provinces obtained this right, and together formed the *Mantacomunitat*, which had limited autonomy. This union lasted only until 1923, when it was abolished. Later, Catalonia gained administrative autonomy within the Second Republic, in 1931, but lost it in 1939 when the Franco regime, based on complete centralization and monolingualism, began (Kleiner-Liebau, 2009; Nagy, 2012). After the end of the Franco regime, Catalonia attained autonomy within the Spanish state, a feat accomplished in 1979 through the ratification of its First Statute of Autonomy.

Today, many of Catalonia's citizens identify with a Catalan identity which is different from the Spanish one (Vila et al., 2010). In her analysis of Catalan political discourse, Kleiner-Liedau (2009) concludes that Catalan identity is founded on the notion of historical continuity of the Catalan culture and language, and that of its territory and autonomy. Another important element of this identity is believed to be represented by immigration, given the contribution of the various

waves of immigrants who settled in Catalonia in the 20th century to the content of Catalan identity. Nevertheless, the same discourse analysis concludes that although the diversity and heterogeneity of Catalan society represent elements of the Catalan identity, language is seen as the unifying element.

Thus, unsurprisingly, language plays an important role in Catalan nationalism. Language is considered to be a component of Catalan national identity, a unifying national symbol (Pujolar, 2007). Today, as one of the consequences of the Franco regime, during which the use of minority languages was forbidden not only in education, media, or administration, but also in day to day life, language is seen as a symbol of regional identity, used to differentiate and resist Spanish hegemony (Nagy, 2012).

The relationship between being a speaker of Catalan and being Catalan stands, according to Pujolar (2007), at the foundation of two different strands of Catalan nationalism which can be characterized as ethnic and civic. While ethnic constructions of Catalan identity are founded on cultural characteristics (and particularly native language), civic constructions, more inclusive, are founded on the idea of citizenship, of participation in political institutions and in the civil society. Analysing articles in the media, the author points to a present tendency of Catalan nationalistic discourses of shifting from the ethnic to the civic pole of the continuum. One explanation he suggested was that the traditional image of Catalonia as a homogenous community became impossible to maintain given the increase in the number of migrants to the area. In these circumstances it was attempted to maintain the Catalan language as a national symbol for newcomers to the region. This helped preserve the relationship existing between Catalan identity and Catalan language, while allowing the many Castilian speakers, as well as the new foreign immigrants, to join the national representation of Catalonia.

At the same time however, it's needed to keep in mind Shulman's (2002) distinction between strictly ethnic (based on ancestry) and more cultural (based on language) conceptualizations of nationality. Such a cultural conceptualization of the nation could be detrimental to migrants, as it may encourage assimilation of minorities, but also has the merit of being more open to newcomers than one based on ancestry, as language is an element which can be acquired (Pehrson et al., 2009).

3.2.2. Present linguistic context

Catalan language is a Romance language which evolved on both sides of the eastern Pyrenees and later expanded to other territories as well. In some of these areas, such as Valencia, the Balearic Islands, the Franja area in Aragon, and a small part of Sardinia, it is still used today. Additionally, Catalan is spoken in Southern France and is the official language of Andorra. With more than nine million speakers, it is one of the most widely used regional languages in the European Union (Institut d'Estudis Catalan, 2002). More than six million Catalan speakers reside in Catalonia (Clots-Figueras & Masella, 2013), despite persecution during the Franco regime and of the mass immigration of Spanish speakers from other areas of Spain which occurred in the same period (Trenchs & Newman, 2009).

Today, Catalan represents Catalonia's co-official language along Spanish, as established through the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, approved on 18th of December 1979 and later reformed after negotiations with the Central Government . The new version of the Statute, approved on the 19th of July 2006 through a referendum recognizes the national reality of Catalonia as a nationality, describes the self-governing rights of the community, and also contains a section dedicated to Catalan as Catalonia's own language and the other official languages existing in Catalonia:

Article 6. Catalonia's own language and official languages

1. Catalonia's own language is Catalan. As such, Catalan is the language of normal and preferential use in Public Administration bodies and in the public media of Catalonia, and is also the language of normal use for teaching and learning in the education system.
2. Catalan is the official language of Catalonia, together with Spanish, the official language of the Spanish State. All persons have the right to use the two official languages and citizens of Catalonia have the right and the duty to know them. The public authorities of Catalonia shall establish the necessary measures to enable the exercise of these rights and the fulfilment of this duty. In keeping with the provisions of Article 32, there shall be no discrimination on the basis of use of either of the two languages.

3. The Generalitat and the State shall undertake the necessary measures to obtain official status for Catalan within the European Union and its presence and use in international organizations and in international treaties of cultural or linguistic content.
4. The Generalitat shall promote communication and cooperation with the other communities and territories that share a linguistic heritage with Catalonia. To this end, the Generalitat and the State may, as appropriate, sign agreements, treaties, and other collaboration instruments for the promotion and external dissemination of Catalan.
5. The Occitan language, known as Aranese in Aran, is Aran's own language and is official in Catalonia, as established by this Estatut and by the laws of linguistic normalization (Organic Law 6/2006. Preliminary Title. Art. 6.1–5).

The new Statute therefore stressed the preferential status of the Catalan language in the regional public administration bodies, education, and media, given its status as language of Catalonia. Furthermore, as well as restating the official status of Catalan and Spanish, it also gave Aranese language co-official status in the Aran Valley, a North-Western region of Catalonia.

While there are very few Catalan monolinguals living in Catalonia, it should be said that the size of the Spanish monolinguals population and that of Catalan and Spanish bilinguals has fluctuated in the last century. This was determined by different socio-historic factors such as: the restrictive language policies during the Franco regime, the migration to Catalonia of Spaniards from poorer areas of Spain, and the successful implementation of minority language normalization policies since the early 1980s which have resulted in an increase in the number of speakers (Boix-Fuster & Sanz, 2008; Kleiner-Liebau, 2009).

According to the most recent data from Generalitat de Catalunya (2014a), 94.3% of Catalonia's inhabitants over 15 years of age can understand Catalan, 80.4% can speak, and 60.4% can write it. The highest proficiency (over 80%) in all these areas can be found among the younger population, 15 – 29 of age, who received their full education in Catalan. However, although only 36.3% of the Catalan population consider Catalan as habitual language, the percentage is higher than that of the population whose initial language is Catalan (31%), meaning that over 600,000

inhabitants who acquired Catalan later in life use it habitually. Nevertheless, as **Figure 9** shows, while over half of those born in Catalonia usually use Catalan, only 8,7% of those born in the rest of Spain, and 5,6% of foreign immigrants do the same.

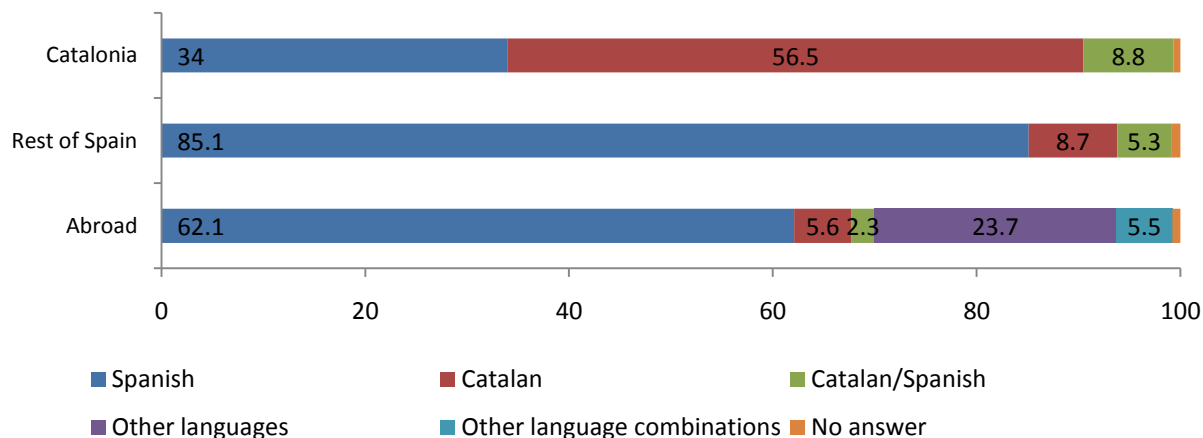


Figure 9. Distribution of habitual language by place of birth, in 2013 (%)

(Adapted from *Els usos lingüístics de la població de Catalunya: Principals resultats de l'enquesta d'usos lingüístics de la població 2013* (p.12) by Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014a, Retrieved from <http://statics.ccma.cat/multimedia/pdf/9/6/1403261678069.pdf>, Copyright [2014] by the Generalitat de Catalunya)

The figure thus reveals the overall high percentage of the population who considers Spanish to be their habitual language. This could be linked to the fact that although in Catalonia both Catalan and Spanish have official status, the importance of Spanish, both commercial and in terms of number of speakers, is significantly greater given that Spanish is the official language throughout Spain (Trenchs & Newman, 2009). Furthermore, although both languages are used in administration, Catalan tends to be used in local or regional administrative institutions, whereas Spanish is used in institutions under the control of the Spanish government – which range from Spanish ministries and courthouses to post offices, railway and airport authorities (Boix-Fuster & Sanz, 2008).

Spanish is also prevalent as the habitual language of foreign immigrants (here defined as people born outside Spain currently inhabiting Catalonia), for 62.1% of whom Spanish represents the habitual language (**Figure 9**). This data is consistent with Poggheschi's (2015) assertion that immigrants normally consider Spanish to be the main language they need to learn in order to achieve integration, as opposed to Catalan which, although useful, is not necessary to reach this goal.

3.2.3. Migration in Catalonia

Catalonia has a long history as an immigrant receiving area, given both its location and richness. However, the structure of the flows has changed. Whereas until the end of the last century immigrants mostly came from other areas of Spain, in the past decades Catalonia has slowly become one of the major destinations of transnational migrants coming to Spain (Poggheschi, 2015). At present, Catalonia holds the largest number of immigrants among all the Spanish autonomous communities – 1,089,214, accounting for 14.49% of the province’s population (INE, 2015b).

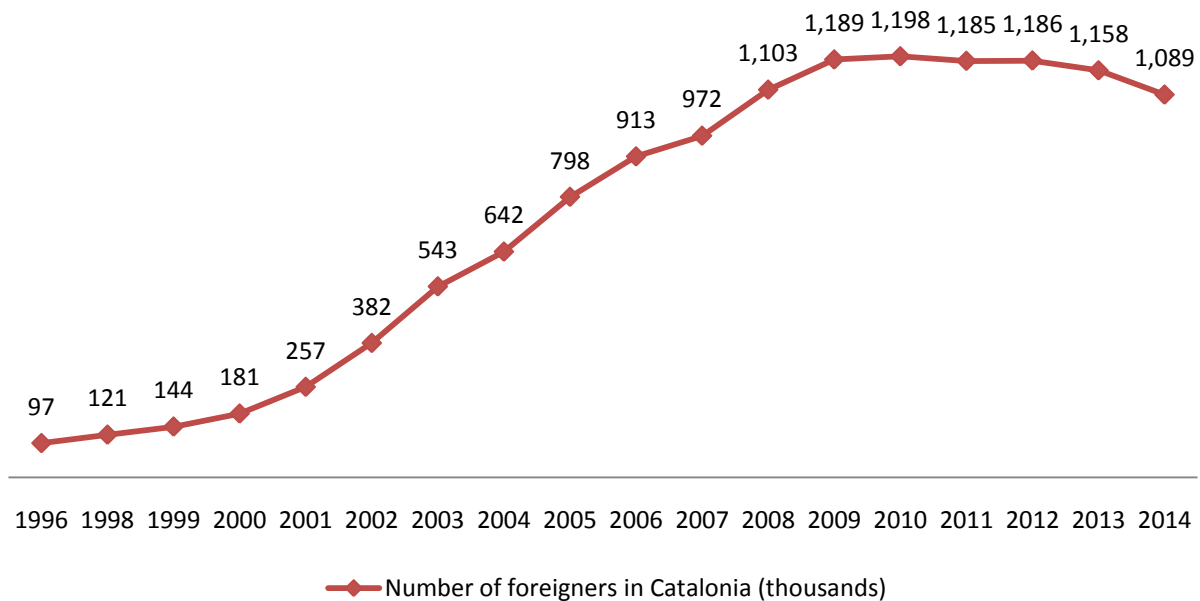


Figure 10. Evolution of the registered foreign population in Catalonia between 1st of May 1996 and 1st of January 2014 (INE, 2015c, 2015d)

The evolution of the registered migrant population in Catalonia since 1996 is presented in **Figure 10**. As shown, between 2000 and 2010 the number of immigrants registered an impressive increase, of over six times, from 181,590 to 1,198,538. Starting with 2010 the number of migrants had an overall decreasing tendency, in spite of a slight increase (927 people) between 2011 and 2012. As of the 1st of January 2014, the size of the immigrants population registered in Catalonia is 109,324 smaller compared to the 2010 levels (IDESCAT, 2015; INE, 2015c).

A closer look shows the differences in the distribution of the immigrant population across the provinces of Catalonia (**Table 6**). Thus, Barcelona alone hosts 66.99% of Catalonia's migrant population. Girona and Tarragona each host a little over 10%, while Lleida has the smallest percentage of registered foreign population, 7.07% of Catalonia's total.

Table 6. Population registered in Catalonia, by province, at 1st of January 2014 (IDESCAT, 2015; INE, 2015b)

Province	Total population	Total foreign population
Barcelona	5,523,784	729,667
Girona	756,156	150,309
Lleida	438,001	77,045
Tarragona	800,962	132,193
TOTAL	7,518,903	1,089,214

The diversity of the migrants' backgrounds is highlighted in **Table 7**. The highest percentages of migrants originate from European countries (32.15%), while relatively equal proportions originate from Africa (28.17%) and America (26.74%). Significantly fewer originate from Asian countries (12.88%). The least sizeable source of migrant flows among continents is Oceania, with 0.06% of the total number of immigrants.

Thus, immigrants coming to Catalonia originate from over 160 countries (IDESCAT, 2015). However, a closer look reveals significant differences in the distribution of migrants in terms of country of origin, with seven countries accounting for 50,68% of the total number of immigrants in Catalonia, presented in **Figure 11**. The largest immigrant group, counting 226,818 people, is that of Moroccans. The second largest is that of Romanians, 98,239 migrants. The following groups by size are those from China (49,773), Italy (48,857), Pakistan (44,449), Bolivia (42,039), and Ecuador (41,834).

Moreover, gender distribution of the migrant population is fairly balanced, with 52.35% males and 47.65% females. The average age of the foreign population in Catalonia is 32.5 years, below the mean age of the autochthonous population (43.4). The majority of the foreign population is of working age, with 61.90% between 16 and 44 years of age, and 17.23% between 45 and 64

years of age. Only 3.10% of the foreign population here is 65 years and older. A significant percentage of the foreign population is 15 years of age and younger (17.77%).

Table 7. Distribution of the immigrant population registered in Catalonia, by geographical area, at 1st of January 2014 (IDESCAT, 2015; INE, 2015b)

Geographical area	Immigrant population	Percentage of the total immigrant population
Europe	350,138	32.15
European Union (28)	289,723	26.60
European Non Community Countries	60,415	5.55
Africa	306,825	28.17
Eastern and Middle Africa	4,028	0.37
Northern Africa	237,604	21.81
Southern and Western Africa	65,176	5.98
Country unknown	17	<0.01
America	291,277	26.74
Northern America	7,004	0.64
Central America	32,728	3.00
Caribbean	30,501	2.80
South America	221,041	20.29
Country unknown	3	<0.01
Asia	140,244	12.88
Central Asia	706	0.06
Eastern Asia	52,976	4.86
Southern Asia	72,162	6.63
South-Eastern Asia	11,564	1.06
Middle East	2,592	0.24
Country unknown	244	0.02
Oceania	694	0.06
Stateless	36	<0.01
TOTAL	1,089,214	100%

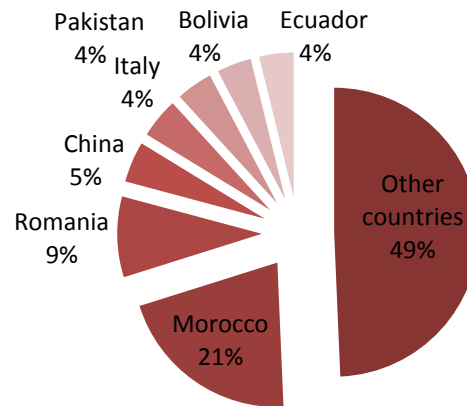


Figure 11. Foreign population in Catalonia, by country of nationality at 1st of January 2014 (INE, 2015b)

3.2.3.1. Romanian migrants in Catalonia

Romanians, as shown, make up a significant percentage of the foreign immigrant population in Catalonia. Much like at Spain level, their presence has consistently increased between 2000 and 2012. The highest increase, of over 24,000 people, was registered between 2007 and 2008. Since 2012 a downward trend was registered, with roughly 2,000 people leaving the region between 2012 and 2013, and an additional 6,000 between 2013 and 2014. However, although their numbers have declined since 2012, Romanians represent an increasingly larger percentage of the total migrant population in Catalonia (INE, 2015c). The evolution of the Romanian population in Catalonia since 2000 is presented in **Figure 12**.

Nevertheless, Romanians arrive in Catalonia not only through transnational migration processes, but also through internal mobility at State level. In his analysis on internal mobility of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in Spain between 2002 and 2006, Viruela (2008) differentiates between *areas of expulsion* (areas which migrants leave in order to resettle) and *areas of attraction* (areas in which migrants resettle). He notes that, with some exception, the first category includes interior provinces, while the second includes the Eastern and Southern littoral. As depicted in **Figure 13**, Catalonia's provinces represented some of the most attractive areas of resettlement for Romanian migrants between 2002 and 2006, given their agricultural and touristic potential.

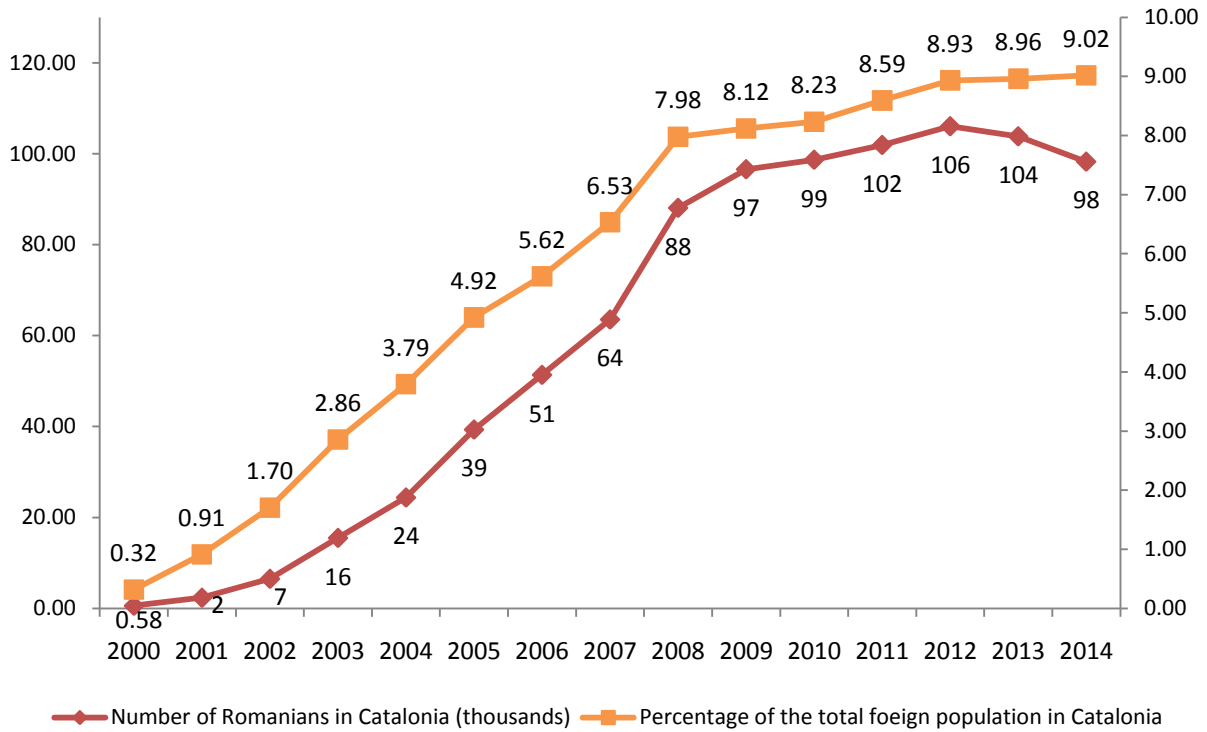


Figure 12. Evolution of the registered population of Romanians in Catalonia between 2000 and 2014 (INE, 2015c)

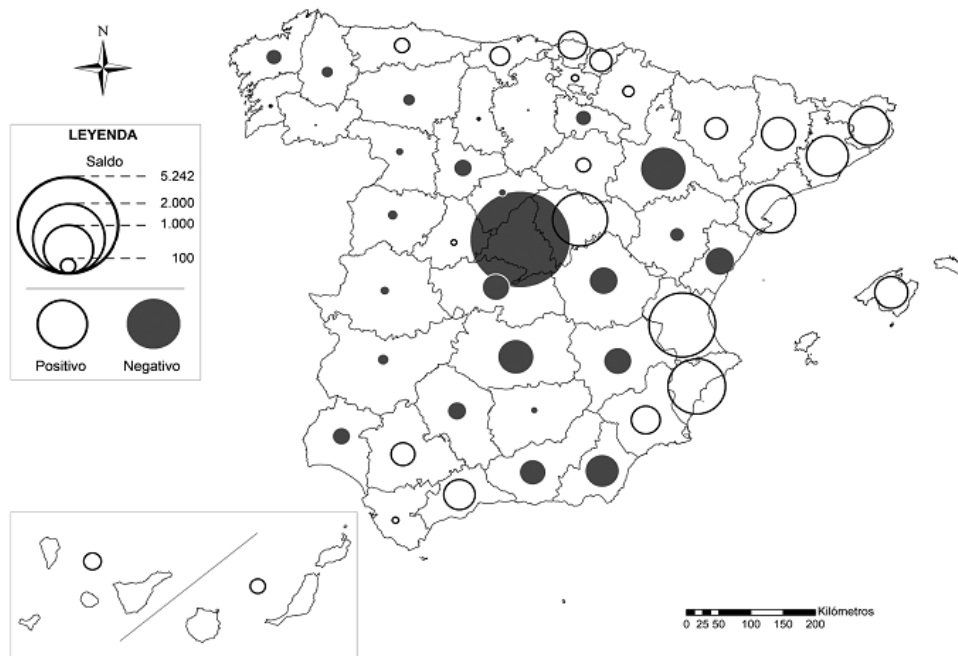


Figure 13. Internal mobility of Romanian nationals between 2002 and 2006, by region.
 Reprinted from “Población rumana y búlgara en España: Evolución, distribución geográfica y flujos migratorios” by R. Viruela, 2008, *Cuadernos de geografía*, 84, p. 187. Copyright 2001-2015 by the Fundación Dialnet

According to INE (2015b), at the 1st of January 2014, the Romanian population in Catalonia had a balanced gender distribution, with 51.39% females and 48.61% males. In terms of its age distribution, the numbers are very similar to those of the total Romanian population living in Spain. Thus, the greatest majority of individuals are of working age, with 65.02% of the population between 16 and 44 years of age and another 17.03% between 45 and 64 years old. Children (0 – 15 years) account for 17% of the population, while elderly population (65 years and above) accounts for 0.96%. The average age of Romanian migrants in Catalonia is equal to the average age of Romanian migrants in Spain, 31.7 years, and therefore lower than the average age of the total migrant population in Catalonia (32.5 years). In **Table 8** is presented detailed information regarding the gender and age distribution of the Romanian population living in the four provinces of Catalonia.

Table 8. Romanian population registered in Catalonia, by province, age and gender, at 1st of January 2014 (IDESCAT, 2015; INE, 2015b)

	Total	Age distribution (%)				Gender distribution (%)	
		0-15	16-44	45-64	>65	Males	Females
Barcelona	35,002	16.92	64.82	17.12	1.14	49.38	50.62
Girona	14,870	17.16	65.27	16.67	0.89	51.43	48.57
Lleida	23,483	16.28	65.87	17.07	0.78	50.83	49.17
Tarragona	24,884	17.68	64.33	17.08	0.90	48.61	51.39

3.2.3.2. Young migrants in Catalonia – statistics at Educational level

Further we will present some of the characteristics of the young population of immigrant origin living in Catalonia, which is a heterogeneous group per se given that while some were born here, others arrived through family reunification or on their own (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014b).

Thus, Catalonia has gone through a ‘rejuvenation’ process since the beginning of the century, given that the average age of the migrants arriving here is lower than that of the autochthonous population. Furthermore, birth rates are higher among immigrants than among the autochthonous population (Alarcón, 2010).

The latest data from INE (2015b) highlights that children and young people of immigrant origin make up a significant percentage of the young population registered in Catalonia. Thus, children

of immigrant origin represent 15.44% of the total population in the 0 – 14 age group, while in the 15 – 29 age group, youth of immigrant origin accounts for 22.46% of the total population.

The significant number of children of immigrant origin living in Catalonia is also reflected in the non-university Catalan educational system (**Figure 14**). Between 2000 and 2012, the number of foreign students enrolled in the non-university Catalan educational system has increased constantly – a near sevenfold increase. However, according to preview data from Ministerio de Educacion, Cultura y Deporte for the academic year 2013 – 2014 the number of foreign students is decreasing (MECD, 2015a).

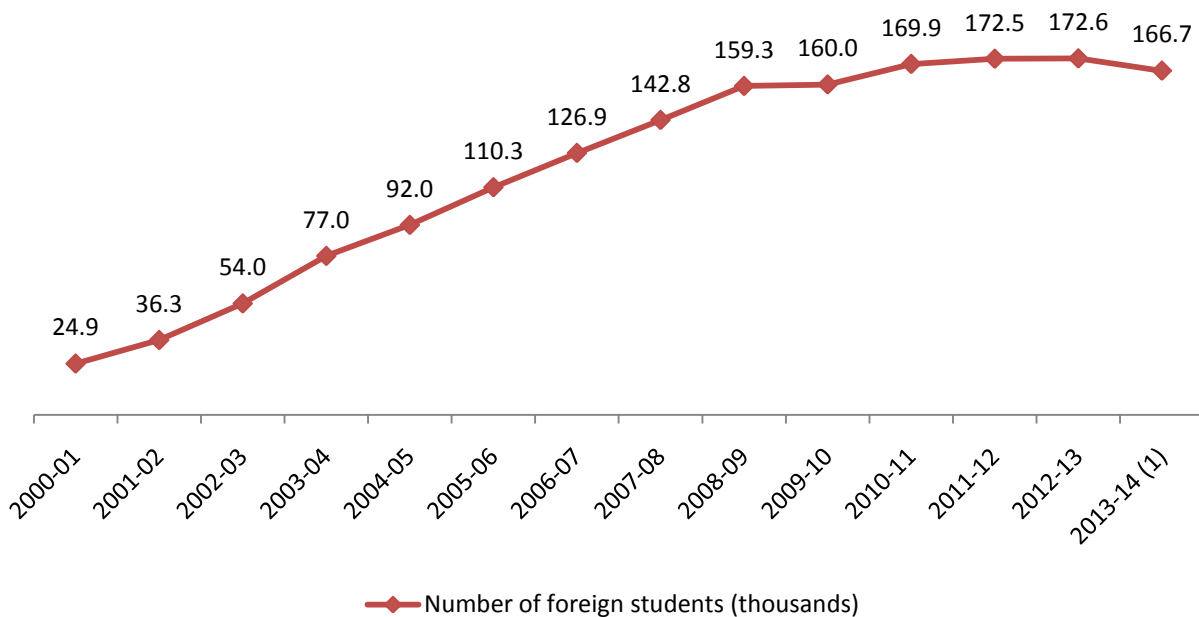


Figure 14. Evolution of the foreign non-university student population in Catalonia between 2000 and 2014. Preview data for the 2013 – 2014 school year (MECD, 2015a)

Nonetheless, as shown in **Figure 15**, at present Catalonia has the highest number of foreign students across Autonomous Communities, representing 22.8% of the total number of immigrant students in Spain. A closer look further indicates that Catalonia has also one of the highest percentages of migrant students from the overall student population, across Autonomous Communities, of 12.70%.

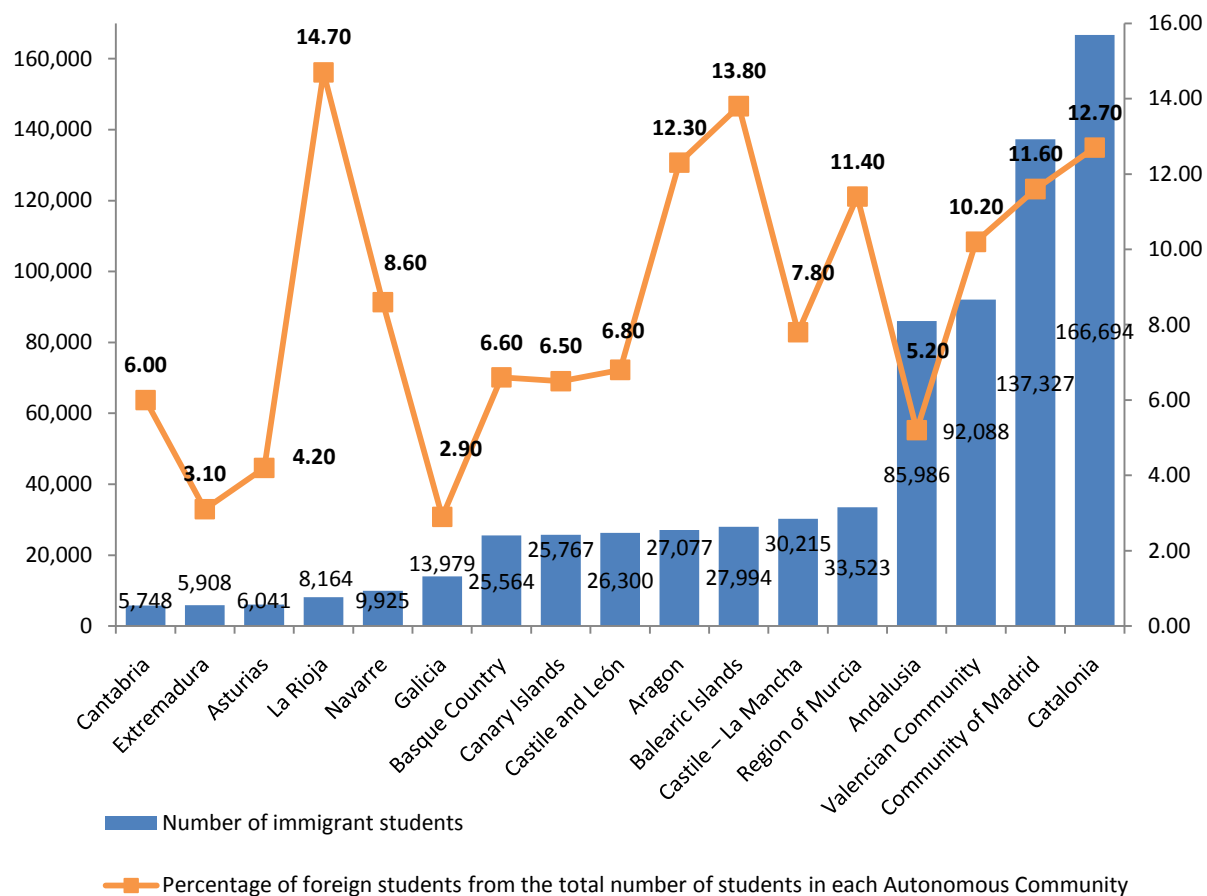


Figure 15. Foreign non-university students by Autonomous Community. Preview data for academic year 2013-2014 (MECD, 2015b, 2015c)

Table 9. Immigrant children per education level for the academic year 2013 – 2014 (MECD, 2015b, 2015c)

Education level*	Number of immigrant students	Percentage of the total number of students (%)
Kindergarten	41,601	12.7
Primary Education	54,930	11.6
Special Education	1,381	19.9
Compulsory Secondary Education	42,116	14.5
Upper Secondary Education	8,564	9.3
Professional formation	15,386	25.4
Qualification programs	2,716	37.8

Note. The education level is presented according to International Standard Classification of Education and can further be consulted at: <http://www.idescat.cat/economia/inec?tc=7&id=8509&lang=en>

Moreover, young migrants are enrolled in the Catalan educational system at all levels. The highest population of immigrant students in absolute numbers is enrolled in Primary Education. However, there are also over 40,000 students of immigrant origin studying in Kindergarten and Secondary Education. Overall, as **Table 9** shows, students of immigrant origin make up a significant percentage of the total population of students at every level of non-university education.

Much like the adult immigrant population, migrant children studying in Catalonia have very diverse backgrounds. **Figure 16** shows the distribution of migrant students in Catalonia in terms of country of origin for the 2013 – 2014 school year. As we can see, students of Moroccan origin make up the largest share of migrant students (31.99%), while students of Romanian origin make up the second largest group (7.25%). The four largest groups of migrant students shown in **Figure 16** account for 50.99% of the total number of migrant students.

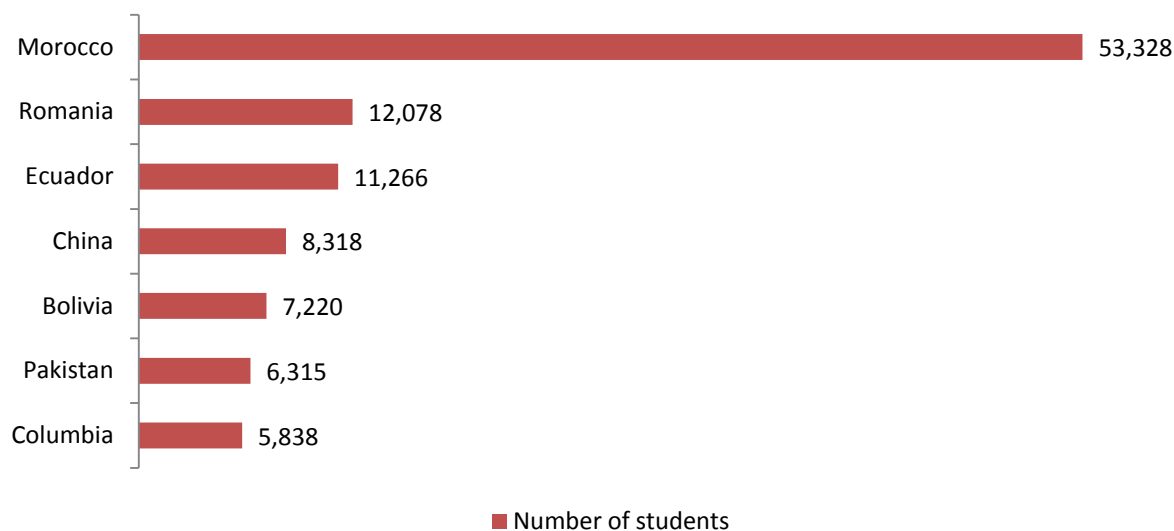


Figure 16. Number of foreign non-university students by country of nationality. Preview for academic year 2013-2014 (MECD, 2015d)

Given the size of the migrant population in Catalonia – including that of students of immigrant origin enrolled in the Catalan educational system, to discuss how Catalan authorities have handled the issue of their social, and particularly educational integration could help better understand the context of this research.

3.2.4. Migration policies

The number of works on the topic of minority nationalism and immigration has started to expand in the past years at a growing rate. While previously research mainly focused on national minorities' political discourse regarding immigration and regional citizenship, an interesting development can be encountered in decentralized states where competences in the integration of migrants are passed down at regional levels. This allows minority nationalists to decide on the integration policies which apply to their regions (Zuber, 2014), especially in areas where a double belonging – to the dominant state community and to the minority community, exists (Zapata-Barrero, 2007). In such areas it is sometimes feared that extensive immigration of people without a historical or cultural tie with the territory could diminish national feeling and weaken the identity of the nation (Poggeschi, 2015).

This also applies to Catalonia, a region described by political discourse as a land of welcome, but which is also characterized by the presence of a strong movement with the goal of achieving political independence from Spain (Zuber, 2014; for more data see Centre d'Estudis d'Opinio, 2014). Catalonia has a long history of successfully integrating the immigrants who arrived in the region during the 20th century from southern Spain in the Catalan language, culture, and society. Here, the risk posed by immigration is not linked to integration policies per se, but rather to the tendency of foreigners to seek to integrate in the larger Spanish community and not in the smaller Catalan one. The definition of the community's linguistic identity is seen as representing a main issue in the debate regarding immigrant integration, and Catalan policy makers reached an agreement to prioritise Catalan identity over the Spanish one (Poggeschi, 2015; Zuber, 2014).

In this sense, Catalonia employs the so-called Catalan way of integration (*via catalana d'integracio*), based on the principle of defending its cultural identity, and particularly its language. The Catalan model of integration focuses on respect for diversity. At the same time, it raises awareness that newcomers are being welcome into the Catalan (as opposed to the Spanish) community. This approach to integration, while founded on core democratic values, maintains the Catalan language and culture at its centre – migrants are given access to socio-economic resources, but their cultural and linguistic integration is required – a fact implicitly reflected at the level of integration policies (Poggheschi, 2015; Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014b; Zuber, 2014).

The first integration policies were created in 1993, in spite of the lack of formal legal powers in this sense, with the drafting of the Interdepartamental Plan for Immigration (*Pla Interdepartamental d'Immigració [IIP] 1993–2000*). The IIP 1993–2000 aimed to move the focus from labour market integration to global social integration. The general objectives of the plan were to inform and raise awareness regarding migration among the general public, to create the prerequisites for the integration of migrants in terms of services and resources made available to them, but also to encourage the participation of migrants in the process of nation building (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2000).

These policies were later consolidated through the Interdepartamental Immigration Plan 2001–2004 (*Pla Interdepartamental d'Immigració [PII] 2001–2004*). The new plan maintained the same objectives as its predecessor, and additionally included provisions which aimed to actively involve the Catalan Government in the planning of the manpower necessities and in the processing of visas and work permits, which allowed the improvement of the procedures related to receiving immigrants (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2001).

The year of 2005 marked the allocation of funds for the implementation of migration policies at national level. In Catalonia, the Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2005–2008 (*Pla de Ciutadania i Immigració [PCI] 2005–2008*) was launched in the same year. The plan promoted social cohesion, and in this sense stressed the role of the Catalan language. Furthermore, it proposed a civic model of Catalan society based on residence as opposed to nationality or legal statute. Being a registered resident was considered therefore to be the criterion for residential citizenship. Thus, the PCI 2005–2008 proposed a model of integration based on recognizing plurality in the framework of a common civic identity, in line with its three main principles: recognizing the value of plurality, equality as strategic objective, and civic behavior as a basic rule to guide relations between people (Alarcón, 2010; Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006).

In this sense, civic citizenship was based on the implementation of policies aimed at equality and on normalization of public services, which ensure the universal access of all citizens, including migrants. By stressing the importance of plurality, the civic model makes a commitment to multiculturalism, which is founded not on the interaction between different ethnic identities, but rather on the recognition that people have many identifications, based on various criteria beside ethnicity (such as gender, profession, lifestyle, family roles, etc.). These multiple identifications

are what facilitate the dialogue between social groups, and what makes multiculturalism a source of enrichment (Samper, Moreno, & Alcalde, 2006).

The following year, Organic Law 6/2006 of the 19th July on the Reform of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia explicitly granted the Generalitat of Catalonia competences regarding the initial reception of migrants (*primera acollida*), as well as regarding linguistic policies and policies for the social integration of migrants (in education, social services, health, etc.).

Later that year, in December 2008, the National Agreement on Immigration (*Pacte Nacional per a la Immigració [NAI] 2008*) was signed. The NAI defines Catalonia as **a society characterized by diversity but committed to cohesion**. The document also presented the importance of managing migration, maintaining the level of social cohesion, and improving the well-being of its inhabitants (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009).

After the ratification of the NAI, was drafted the Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2009-2012 (*Pla de Ciutadania i Immigració [PCI] 2009-2012*) which differed from the previous plans in a number of points. First off, its implementation was done in the legal framework of the New Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia that gave increased decisional power to the Regional Government. Secondly, it addressed an immigrant population much more diverse, with different social, legal, and economic backgrounds (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2010b).

Another important landmark was represented by the Law of Reception 10/2010 (*Llei d'acollida 10/2010*), which argued that the first contact with the host society represents a key moment for newcomers, and has consequences regarding their social integration. For this reason, reception of migrants was seen as an investment for the future of the Catalan society. The objectives of the Law of Reception were to facilitate the integration of immigrants, to create a homogenous reception service across the whole Catalonia, to reduce vulnerability and the risk of exclusion of migrants, and also to make Catalan the common language for the management of reception and integration policies throughout the country. The focus in the process of receiving and supporting newcomers was placed on the first reception of migrants (*primera acollida*), which was oriented on providing information regarding the Catalan society and labour market, and on acquiring basic knowledge of Catalan language. Furthermore, the law included provisions regarding specialized reception (*acollida especialitzada*) in the field of health, law, assistance of minors, education, and university education.

At present, the continuity of the Catalan migration policies is ensured through the implementation of the Citizenship and Migration Plan: horizon 2016 (*Pla de ciutadania i de les migracions [PCM]: horitzó 2016*). The PCM **places focus on the importance of social cohesion for the future of the Catalan nation**, and stresses in this sense the relevance of **integrating migrants in the society**. Given the diversity of migrant communities in Catalonia, the plan acknowledges that this is a “context of multiple and variable identities where identification factors (religion, community, nationality, etc.) are also diverse” (p. 44). One factor identified by the PCM as fundamental for the migrants’ social and labour integration, and which plays an important role in the maintenance of social cohesion is the learning of Catalan and Spanish. **Catalan is regarded as the common language and thus particularly important**, the plan stressing the importance of promoting its learning and use by all inhabitants of the region as an instrument for social cohesion (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014b).

At the same time, however, the PCM highlights the importance of taking advantage of the linguistic diversity existing in Catalonia. Thus, **encouraging knowledge of the mother tongues** of the major immigrant groups is regarded as being useful both at personal level, for migrants, but also for members of the local population, especially those who work in public services, in the business environment, or who handle relationship with other countries.

While all of the documents presented above reassert the Catalan commitment to a civic model of integration based on mutual respect and plurality, at this point we turn to Zuber’s analysis of the policies of integration currently in use in Catalonia. The author based her analysis on the provisions of the Law of Reception and argued that policies aim to steer integration in three domains, namely the political-legal domain (where policies can *enable* or *restrict* immigrants’ rights and political status), the socio-economical domain (where policies can aim to provide migrants with *equal* or *differential* treatment in terms of access to labour, education, and health), and the cultural domain (where policies can be thought of as spanning on a continuum ranging from *monism*, demanding that immigrants assimilate in a monocultural society, to *pluralism*, encouraging the coexistence of multiple cultures or religions). Zuber (2014) concluded that the current policies mostly aim towards socio-economic integration of migrants – achieving equality status with the autochthonous population. In terms of cultural integration, the author observed that Catalan policies take a monistic approach, defining integration predominantly in terms of the Catalan language and culture.

3.2.4.1. Integration policies for young migrants

Moreover, given that children and youth of immigrant origin make up a significant percentage of the population of migrants in Catalonia, and taking into account their vulnerable status, policy makers have granted special consideration to the needs of this category. The integration of children and youth of immigrant origins represents a topic of particular importance given that at this age identity is constructed, and that the way in which youth experience this period of their lives and how they position themselves in relation to the world further affects this process (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013).

The first policies aimed specifically at youth were initiated in 2000, with the publishing of the first National Youth Plan of Catalonia (*Pla Nacional de Joventut de Catalunya [PNJCat] 2000 – 2010*) which provided policy makers with a set of clear goals to guide by, in order to react to the important changes in the structure of the young population. This marked a shift from previous policies which mainly focused on promoting youth leisure to a broader perspective that understands youth policies as interventions that shape the opportunities and resources available to young people from which they can construct their own life projects. (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013).

At State level, the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration [PECI] 2007 – 2010 encouraged autonomous communities to take an active role in the integration of migrants, and particularly young migrants, through a number of programmes and guides in that direction. The PECI referenced three main objectives: allowing the equal access of minors and youth of migrant origin to programs for children and youth, fostering special care and social work with children and young migrants in particularly vulnerable situations, and providing support to the social participation of children and youth of immigrant origin (Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 2007).

In 2010, the Generalitat of Catalonia published its second National Youth Plan 2020 (*Pla Nacional de Joventut de Catalunya [PNJCat] 2020*). The Plan stresses the magnitude of the social, economical, political, cultural, and identity transformations which had taken place in Catalonia since the beginning of the century, arguing that events such as the massive immigration and the subsequent increase in the number of youth of migrant origin, the period of economic growth followed by economic recession, the changes in the education system, and the

changes in family patterns had had repercussions regarding the youth's way of life, values, and attitudes (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013).

One of the aspects which the PNJCat 2020 stresses the most is the role of the Catalan language and culture as factors of social cohesion and collective identity construction. The fact that the knowledge and use of a language represent fundamental aspects of a country's social reality is particularly important in a space marked by a complex linguistic reality, especially when, as in the case of Catalonia, the country's own language represents a fundamental element of collective identity. For this reason, at individual levels the knowledge of the language is considered to be a prerequisite for integration in the Catalan linguistic community, while at collective levels it is thought necessary to promote the Catalan culture as a tool for social transformation in order to achieve the goal of an open, cohesive, and inclusive society.

Social cohesion is considered to be accomplished by implementing a civic model of citizenship based on residence over other aspects of identity. Achieving this model of society, which involves the coexistence of multiple cultures based on dialogue and mutual recognition, is seen as dependent of the incorporation of multiculturalism in youth policies, as this would create a framework which would allow young people to build expectations and make life choices regardless of cultural or ethnic origins.

The Catalan language is therefore seen as a tool for coexistence in a multilingual society, fostering intercultural dialogue and stimulating cultural enrichment, allowing young people from diverse cultural and social backgrounds to build a new, shared, Catalan identity.

The importance of addressing the issues faced by youth of migrant origins is also acknowledged by Catalonia's Citizenship and Immigration Plans. The present plan, the PCM, reserves an entire section to policies aimed at children and young people of migrant origins. The programmes and projects proposed in this sense are aimed at improving the levels of social justice regardless of background or nationality, and address specific topics related to education, health, employment, and social participation. Furthermore, the plan stresses the need for policies to reduce the levels of social exclusion experienced by children and youth of migrant origin, regardless of social, economic, or legal status. The PCM also points to the importance of measures aimed at the educational system, stressing the role of education in providing newcomers, but more

importantly their children, with equality of opportunity, with later implication in maintaining the cohesiveness of the society.

3.2.5. Educational system in Catalonia

Further, given the importance of education in building social and cultural cohesion by creating equal opportunities (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009) and that education is often considered to be an instrument of nation building and of state power consolidation (Clots-Figueras & Masella, 2013), we dedicate the following section to the brief presentation of the educational system in Catalonia and to the measures in this area aimed at young migrants.

3.2.5.1. Languages of instruction

Education is one domain that stands out when it comes to the extensive use of Catalan, which is seen as the language of preference for instruction in Primary and Secondary Education (Boix-Fuster & Sanz, 2008). However, this has not always been the as we will describe further.

Catalan began to be used in Catalan schools during the last months of the Franco regime, through Real Decreto 1433/75, which allowed native languages to be taught as optional language matters. Before the completion of the Constitution, Real Decreto 2092/1978 included Catalan on the list of obligatory subject matters in primary and secondary education (Miley, 2006).

As argued before, through the enactment of the current Spanish Constitution, in 1978, which gave regional languages co-official status in the provinces where these languages were spoken, Spain went from a political centralized to a decentralized system, with regions acquiring the status of Autonomous Communities. In Catalonia, the newly created Parliament implemented a series of policies aimed at preserving Catalan language (Trenchs & Newman, 2009), which was further aided by the fact that in 1980 all education related competencies were transferred from the State to the regional government. This allowed policies which not only secured the teaching of Catalan as a subject, but also permitted its use as language of instruction (Escobar & Umanumo, 2008).

An important step was made in 1982, when through Decreto 270/1982 was established that at least one subject other than Catalan could be taught in this language (Muset & Arenas, 1983). The Catalan Law of Linguistic Normalization followed in 1983, its goal being to promote the use of the Catalan language (*Ley 7/1983, de 18 de abril, de normalización lingüística en Catalunya*). One of the central aspects of the law was its focus on the educational system, marking a change from a monolingual (Spanish) to a bilingual educational system. Whereas from 1978 Catalan had begun to be studied as a subject in schools across Catalonia, with the ratification of the Language Normalization Act it became the main language for education delivery. Moreover, with this new law, all students – regardless of their origin, were expected to attain proficiency in both Catalan and Spanish by the end of secondary education in order to obtain their Certificate of Basic Educational Attainment. Furthermore, students were no longer divided into classes based on language differences, and Catalan was expected to be introduced in the teaching process (Clots-Figueras & Masella, 2013).

Schools adopted one of three education models. Some maintained their linguistic character, continuing instruction mainly in Spanish and teaching Catalan as a subject. Others became predominantly Catalan language schools, but allocating a significant number of weekly classes to the teaching of Spanish. Finally, other schools chose the middle ground – bilingual instruction (McAndrew, 2013). Although all three of these models were adopted by schools in Catalonia, it should be said, however, that by 1993 around 88% of them chose to adopt a predominantly Catalan model (Arnau, 2009).

Later, during the 1992 – 1993 school year, Catalonia issued new decrees regarding teaching in Catalan for pre-university education. Thus, the Decreto 75/1992, stated that Catalan was the instruction language during both Infant and Primary Education. Further, the Act on Linguistic Policy (*Llei 1/1998, de política lingüística*) enforced Catalan's role as the vehicular and learning language for pre-university instruction, regardless of the mother tongue of students, at the same time ensuring an adequate level of Spanish knowledge for each student by the time they exit the educational system.

Next, in 2007, the decrees 142/2007 and 143/2007 regulated teaching in primary and secondary education, while the Law on Education (*Llei 12/2009, d'educació*) restated the importance of Catalan as language of instruction, and introduced the mandatory study of a third (foreign)

language, thus ensuring a minimum level of competence of the students and promoting multilingualism. Reflecting the social realities of Catalonia, the law also established that education centres needed to provide new students with language assistance which could enable them to begin studying in Catalan.

3.2.5.1.1. Policies aimed at migrant students

As mentioned in the previous sections, in the past decades Catalonia has undergone demographic changes given the surge in immigrant numbers. The new ‘wave’ of immigrants, linguistically and culturally diverse, has settled in the region in a relatively short amount of time (Arnau & Vila, 2013). This has had significant consequences at non-university educational level where the number of registered foreign students has increased more than sevenfold in absolute numbers since 2000. Similarly, the proportion of foreign students in the total population of students also increased fivefold, from 2.5% in 2000 to 12.7% in 2013 (MECD, 2015e). The fact that these students were present at all educational levels, and the fact that from 2000 to 2010 they were able to enter the Catalan educational system at any point during the school year, has created a difficult situation for the teachers, who were often unable to communicate with children in their mother tongue (Arnau & Vila, 2013).

Before international migration had become a social reality in the 1990s, Catalonia’s educational programs aimed at the integration of migrants consisted in the immersion programs created for Spanish speakers living in Catalonia. To these were added at State level, in 1983, the Compensatory Education Programmes, with the purpose of correcting social inequality by providing preferential pedagogic treatment to children from disfavoured groups, including ethnic and cultural minorities (Llevot Calvet, 2005). These programs, originally developed as a way to integrate Roma children into the educational system, were also applied to immigrant students as they started to enrol in the Catalan school system. The programs were taught by special teachers and followed a separate curriculum, in order to compensate for differences in languages, culture, and abilities (Zapata-Barrero & de Witte, 2007), and were in use until 2004.

The shift from a compensatory perspective towards intercultural education began in 1996, with the publication of the Transversal Axis on Intercultural Education (Departament d’Ensenyament 1996). The document stressed that the educational system should prepare the younger

generations of migrants for a life in the Catalan society, a life in a culturally diverse society – which implied cultivating attitudes of tolerance, openness and dialogue, as well as affirmation of their own identities (McAndrews, 2013).

After 2000, the IIP 2001-2004 discussed above, included provisions regarding the reception of migrants, as well as provisions regarding intercultural education (e.g., it included programs for the learning of the Arab language and culture).

In 2003 a new Plan was drafted, *Pla d'actuació per a l'alumnat de nacionalitat estrangera 2003-2006*. Its general objective was the educational and social integration of all students, regardless of their language, culture, social means, or origin. More specifically, the plan aimed to help immigrant students achieve oral and written command of Catalan and access the curriculum followed by the rest of students, meaning they also needed to gain command of the Castilian language (Departament d'Ensenyament, 2003).

The following year, in 2004, the new Catalan government elaborated the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion (*Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió social* – Plan LIC). The Plan LIC represented one of the fundamental points of reference for the PCI 2005–2008 (Lizarraga, 2012; Zapata-Barrero & de Witte, 2007). While drafted based on previous plans, the Plan LIC proposed important changes to the educational model in use until then. Thus, whereas to that point the accent was mainly placed on the acquisition of the Catalan language, the **Plan LIC proposed a multilingual and multicultural education project which involved all students**, and placed greater focus on social integration and social cohesion (Arnau, 2005; Departament d'Educació, 2004, 2009).

The plan also defined a hierarchical structure of responsibility. At the topmost level was the General Office for Language and Social Cohesion (*Subdirecció General de Llengua i Cohesió Social*). Below were the territorial commissions (i.e., inspector, language, interculturality, and social cohesion territorial coordinator) and further below were the educational institutions. According to the Plan LIC, each educational centre needed to develop a plan of reception (*pla d'acollida*); the school and the teachers had full responsibility regarding the reception and integration of the students. Furthermore, in each centre was appointed a language, interculturality, and social cohesion (LICS) coordinator, whose attributions included advising in the development and implementation of the plan of reception of the Centre. Moreover, among

other attributions, the LICS coordinators needed to synchronize with local institutions and/or organizations in order to facilitate the linguistic and social integration of students.

The Plan LIC proposed that immigrant students in Kindergarten and first cycle of Primary education should undergo a program of *complete integration with help*, in which groups or classes of students were given tasks specifically aimed at them. These programmes also required the presence of a second teacher in the classroom, who provided assistance in learning Catalan and with the rest of the curriculum. For the second cycle of Primary Education and for the Secondary Education [ESO], the plan argued the importance of the creation of reception classes (*aulas de acollida*) in those centres in which studied a significant number of recent immigrants. These reception classes represented a working environment in which newcomers received special pedagogic attention. Students spent a maximum of half of their ordinary schedule in the reception classes, and the period of attendance depended on their progress. For the rest of their day, students attended regular classes, beginning with the less demanding ones, such as music or physical education. Teaching in the reception classrooms is done in Catalan, with the goal of learning the language. Later on, depending on the linguistic project of the centre, Castilian is also introduced. The person responsible is the reception tutor (*tutor de acogida*) who, besides teaching, also consults with the other teachers and the LICS coordinators, and acts as a mediator between school and family (Arnau, 2005; Departament d'Educació, 2009).

The Plan LIC also marked the draft of the Community Plans (*Plans d'entorn*), which aimed to create support networks through the collaboration of different institutions and organizations in the cultural, social, and sports sphere. The objectives of these plans were to promote cohabitation and participation in extracurricular activities, as well as to encourage the use of the languages and the involvement of the families. These plans represent an important initiative given that Catalan is not very present in the migrant communities, by creating environments for socialization, different than those at school (Arnau, 2009).

Although the Plan LIC had clear methodology regarding the teaching of Catalan, as well as goals for intercultural education and for community participation, studies of its effectiveness showed that it had certain flaws (Arnau, 2005). In this sense, the Generalitat issued the Plan for the Actualization of the Immersion Methodology in the Current Sociolinguistic Context 2007 – 2013 (*Pla per a l'Actualització de la Metodologia d'Immersion en l'Actual Context Sociolingüístic*

2007-2013). The plan offered guidelines regarding teacher training, the drafting of teaching materials, as well as emphasized the need to involve the students' family and community in their acquisition of Catalan. Furthermore, it offered detailed instructions as to how to customize the teaching process depending on the students' native language, placed emphasis on spoken language learning for starters, and suggested a new approach to teaching where students represented active learners (Departament d'Educació, 2007; Lizarraga, 2012).

To conclude, policies aimed at the educational system are created around the image of Catalan as an instrument of social cohesion, and language immersion is one of the main measures taken for the integration of migrants (Zapata-Barrero & de Witte, 2007). It is believed that a suitable reception, and good integration, as well as the guarantee of equal opportunities are elements which contribute to a cohesive, multicultural, inclusive society (Departament d'Educació, 2009).

3.2.5.1.2. Optional courses of Romanian language, culture, and civilization

At the same time, as stated in the Preamble of the 12/2009 Law on Education, “knowledge and awareness of one's own cultural identity are indispensable keys to opening up to other cultures and recognising what makes them unique” (p. 6), and for this purpose the Catalan Department of Education has carried out in the last years a programme of teaching languages of origin to immigrant students after school hours (Arnau & Vila, 2013).

One of the groups which has benefitted from this programme is that of students of Romanian origin, who have had the possibility of enrolling in extracurricular courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* since the 2007 – 2008 school year. The project was initiated through the Joint Declaration of the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research, and Youth and the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science (*Declaración común del Ministerio de Educación, Investigación y Juventud de Romania y del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia de España*), which was signed on the 16th of July 2007, and through the Government Decision 857/2007 of the Romanian Government.

The decision to carry out this project was taken in the context of promoting the Romanian language, culture, and civilization within the European Union, and at the demand of the sizeable Romanian community in Spain – which also included youth of schooling age. In the summer of

2007, a little over 20,000 Romanian students were enrolled in Spanish schools in the regions of Castilia La Mancha, Comunidad de Madrid, and Catalonia. The project aimed to create a system which would allow these children to study subjects specific to the Romanian educational system beyond the borders of the country (Hotarare de Guvern 857/2007).

The Romanian language, culture, and civilization course was directed towards students enrolled at all educational levels (primary education, secondary education, and preparatory education), between 3 and 18 years of age, and was organized as an optional, extracurricular course taking place two hours a week. Students were initially organized in groups of 12 students, on average. Later on, with the increase in participants, the number increased to 20 students, while for preschoolers the maximum size of the group was limited at 15 (Ordin 3823/2013; Ordin 4277/2008).

Although the primary target population was that of students descendants of Romanian native speakers, the course was also addressed to students of other nationalities who wished to learn Romanian. Overall, approximately 3% of the participants to the course during the first year of the project were of other than Romanian origin - Spanish, Ukrainian, Moroccan, Moldovan, etc. (Ordin 4277/2008; Ordin 3927/2010; Romanian Embassy in Spain, 2015). Participants received, at the end of each school year, an education certificate issued by the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research, and Youth through the Romanian Language Institute (Hotarare de Guvern 454/2008).

According to the specifications of the Joint Programme, the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research, and Youth was responsible of creating the content and educational materials needed for teaching the course, together with the selection, training, and financing of the teaching staff. The Spanish Ministry of Education and Science played a consultative role in the development of the content and materials, its main role consisting in ensuring the correct functioning of the project by providing the infrastructure and classrooms needed.

In a first phase, during the 2007 – 2008 school year, the project was implemented in the regions identified as holding the largest numbers of Romanian students – Catalonia, Madrid, and Castilia La Mancha. Later, during the 2009 – 2010 school year, the project was extended. The course was now also provided to students in Aragon, Andalucia, Valencia, La Rioja, and Murcia. Nevertheless, overall, the course has attracted an increasing number of students since its

introduction, with a total of 4,323 students participating at State level in the school year 2011 – 2012 (Romanian Embassy in Spain, 2015). A per school year evolution of the project in terms of coverage and number of students can be seen in **Table 10**.

Table 10. Data regarding the Romanian language, culture, and civilization course in Spain (Romanian Embassy in Spain, 2015)

School Year	Autonomous Community	Teachers (absolute numbers)	Students Registered (absolute numbers)
2007 – 2008	Comunidad de Madrid, Castilla - La Mancha, Catalonia	22	1,500
2008 – 2009	Aragón, Andalucía, Castilla - La Mancha, Castilla y León, Catalonia , Galicia, Madrid y Murcia.	108	3,919
2009 – 2010	Aragón, Andalucía, Castilla - La Mancha, Valencia, Catalonia , La Rioja, Madrid y Murcia.	43	2,800
2010 – 2011	Aragón, Andalucía, Castilla - La Mancha, Valencia, Catalonia , La Rioja y Madrid	36	3,457
2011 – 2012	Aragón, Andalucía, Castilla - La Mancha, Valencia, Catalonia , La Rioja y Madrid	39	4,323

Ultimately, the course was expected to have several short-term and long-term, direct or indirect effects for Romanian migrants in Spain – such as to improve the access and participation to education as well as to potentially facilitate the reintegration in the Romanian education system of Romanian students who have studied abroad (Hotarare de Guvern 857/2007). Furthermore, by cultivating the Romanian language in its standard form, the course aimed to maintain the heritage cultural identity of Romanian youth living abroad, to promote the principles of multilingualism, and to foster intercultural openness – and thus facilitate the integration in the host country (Hotarare de Guvern 454/2008, Ordin 3823/2013). Moreover, it was hoped that by maintaining the link with their Romanian roots, the current Romanian speakers of schooling age would grow to become ambassadors of the Romanian culture and language in the communities in which they would live and work in (Ordin 3927/2010).

As a general conclusion and briefly summarizing, this chapter aimed to contextualize the present research by narrowing the focus on the migratory panorama in Catalonia, the Autonomous

Community which hosts one of the largest populations of migrants within Spain. For a better understanding of the socio-cultural context of this research, beside statistics referring to migrants in Spain and Catalonia, we strived to describe the linguistic context in the region and to present the particularities of the Catalan identity. We further argued the importance of the Catalan language as a unifying symbol, considering that the policies employed to integrate newcomers and maintain a cohesive community revolve around it. Moreover, the Romanian group received special attention given its significant representation. This centred the debate on our target population – young Romanians enrolled in the Catalan education system. Lastly, we highlighted the objectives of the *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* course, organized in schools across several Spanish regions, including Catalonia, which is expected to have an important role in maintaining the ethnic identity of young Romanians and also in increasing their intercultural openness (Figure 17). This aspect was of particular importance for the present research, which also aimed to analyse possible differences between young Romanian migrants studying in the Catalan Compulsory Education System who attended this course and those who did not, as further presented in more detail.

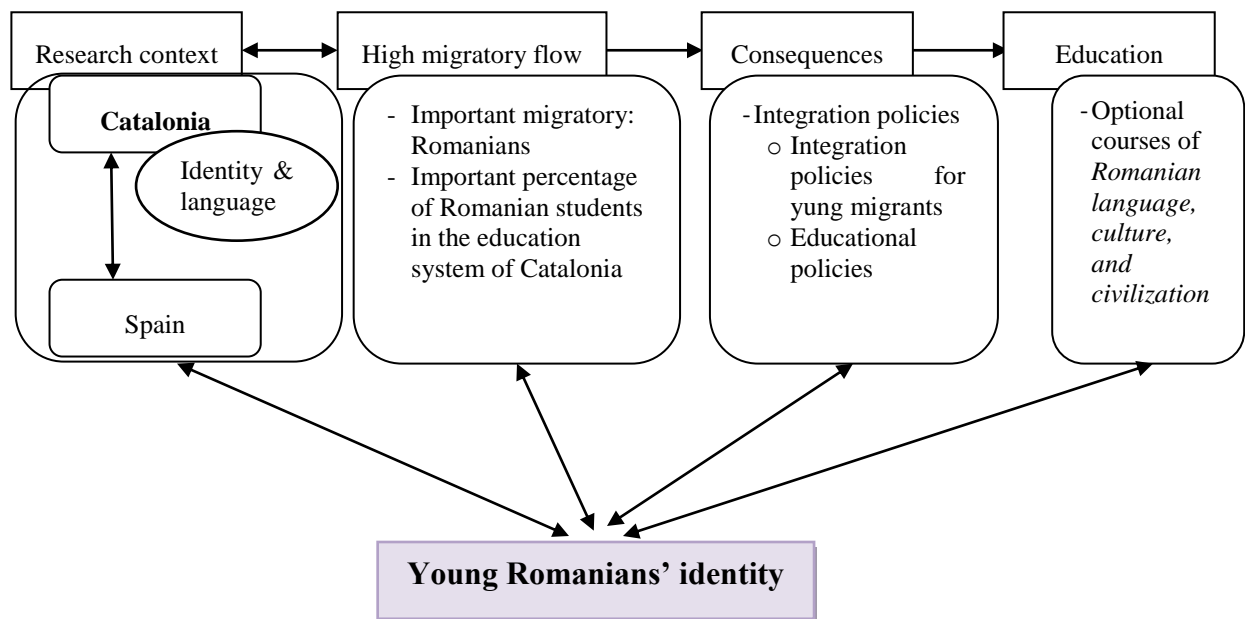


Figure 17. Schematic representation of the concepts within the third chapter: Contextualization of the present research

EMPIRICAL STUDY

4. INTRODUCTION TO THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

In the present context marked by intensified transnational mobility, in which multiple groups of varied cultural background share the same geographical and social space, social cohesion and social integration are two concepts brought under scrutiny more and more often. An important aspect in connection to this topic is represented by the identification component of integration – the development of a feeling of belongingness to the host community. Therefore, the study of identity construction processes of migrants and that of their integration have become increasingly significant. As Gleason (1983) previously observed: “today we could hardly do without the word identity in talking about immigration and ethnicity” (p. 910).

As argued in the first part of this dissertation, the globalization phenomenon together with that of migration have important consequences, both positive and negative, on the way in which individuals construct and negotiate their identity. This also brings into focus the issue of intergroup relations, the way how different groups of varied cultural backgrounds can coexist in a multicultural society and the changes which they need to adopt to this end. Thus, elements pertaining to culture, ethnicity, and nationalism represent key aspects of study in order to provide an understanding of the underlying mechanisms that influence how migrants construct and negotiate their identities once relocated in the host nations and, further, how identity could impact the integration and adaptation in the new environment.

Moreover, the central role of identity during one’s adolescence, when beliefs and identifications are more likely to undergo changes, together with the unique position which they occupy at the intersection of cultures and worlds, has naturally focused the scope of a significant volume of research on adolescent and young adult migrants. Another important aspect is that a context which exposes the individuals to ethnic diversity may increase the importance of ethnic identity for adolescents. In this sense, how they integrate their multiple identities becomes an interesting topic of study considering that the sudden changes they are faced with can create confusion and uncertainty at identity level. Furthermore, young migrants need to find a balance between the

influence of the home environment and that of the host society (experienced at this age primarily within the educational environment).

Furthermore, it should be taken into consideration, as previously argued, that losing or acquiring a new language is also strongly connected with identity change. The relevance of this aspect goes without saying in a multilingual context given that, on the one hand, acquiring the majority language is critical in order to adapt and integrate in the new society, while contact with one's own heritage language can play a determining role in maintaining ethnic identity. These aspects are deeply interrelated if we take into account the evidence previously presented which suggests that the feelings of valuation and respect towards one's heritage language are important prerequisites for newcomers to feel motivated and to manifest positive attitudes towards learning the national language.

Furthermore, the way in which different groups of migrants adapt to the new society can differ, which underlines the importance of understanding these phenomena for each migratory group, individually. At the same time, the context in which one constructs or reconstructs his or her identity plays a critical part given its particularities and therefore needs to be accounted for. In the present case, the research context is situated in Catalonia (one of the 17 Autonomous Communities within Spain), a multicultural and multilingual territory. Given its historical background, this region is distinguished by a lack of cultural identification with respect to the rest of Spain and is characterized by a Catalan nationalism which is manifested primarily through the endorsement of the Catalan language.

As shown, the number of migrants, originating from all over the world, represents an important percentage of the total population, both in Spain, in general, and in Catalonia. Within the latter, the integration and education policies aim towards an inclusive and cohesive society, the unifying element of which is the Catalan language, a core element of the Catalan identity. Moreover, the Catalan policies are focused on respect for diversity and strive to ensure that people of different social and cultural origins not just share a territory but also establish relationships of dialogue and mutual respect, as they have the same rights and obligations. One of the measures taken in this sense, at educational level, is that of creating courses of heritage language and culture for different ethnic groups, considering that "knowledge and awareness of

one's own cultural identity are indispensable keys to opening up to other cultures and recognising what makes them unique" (Preamble of the 12/2009 Law on Education, p. 6),

The most numerically important migratory group in Spain is that of Romanians, which is also second in size in Catalonia. Within the educational environment, Romanian students also represent an important percentage of the student body.

This highlights the relevance of further studying this group, which is why the present work aims to contribute to a better understanding of the Romanian community in Spain by focusing on young Romanian migrants in Catalonia, particularly given that issues related to their identity have been approached by a modest-sized body of research. Another goal is to widen the scope of psycho-social research in this field by analysing through quantitative means the identity construction processes of Romanian immigrant youth and the implications for their adaptation to the host culture. At the same time, an important objective of the research was to investigate the implications of the policies adopted by the host country, more specifically considering that in Catalonia optional *Romanian language and heritage culture* learning programs are being conducted with the goal of maintaining the heritage identity of the Romanian youth and that of fostering openness towards other cultures.

Below, we present the objectives and hypothesis which have represented the starting point of this research. We continue by describing the methodology ([Chapter 7](#)) – the characteristics of the sample, the variables analysed and the instruments used to measure them, the procedure, and the statistical treatment of the data. The next chapters will be dedicated to the description of the results obtained ([Chapter 8](#)) and to the discussion of these results and the general conclusions stressed in reference to the present paper's objectives and hypotheses are presented, while drawing comparisons to previous findings in the literature ([Chapter 9](#)).

5. OBJECTIVES

The general objective of the present paper was **to analyse the process of identity construction of young Romanian students in Catalonia and how their self-identification influences different aspects related to the adaptation in the host society**, each time taking into consideration **the impact of attendance at optional *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* classes**.

From this general objective a number of specific objectives were derived. Thus, the present research aims to:

- describe the self-identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups reported by Romanian students residing in Catalonia;
- investigate how attending optional classes of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* affects students' self-identification with the three groups of interest;
- examine the effect of socio-demographical, language, and parental related variables on the self-identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups - in each case also being measured the moderating effect of attendance at optional *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* classes;
- identify the variables which have a central role in shaping self-identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, by considering the interplay of multiple variables;
- explore the way in which students' self-identification with the three groups affect ethnic and civic perception of the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, also by taking into consideration the impact of attendance at optional *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* classes;
- examine how participants' self-identification with the three groups influence the perceived cultural differences between the groups of reference, also by taking into consideration the impact of attendance at optional *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* classes;
- investigate how self-identification with all three groups determine the participants' well-being within the host society, also taking into consideration the impact of attendance at optional *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* classes;

- investigate the influence of self-identification with the three groups on students' acculturation strategies and attitudes, also by taking into consideration the impact of attendance at optional *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* classes;

Not of lesser importance, and keeping in mind all the above, the present work also aims to propose social and educational measures designed to foster multiculturalism and increase the likelihood of a better adaptation of young Romanian migrants in Catalonia.

6. HYPOTHESES

Drawn from the theoretical framework and the research objectives presented above, the hypotheses of this research are further listed:

- H1. Participants will identify with all of the three groups analysed (the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian group).
- H2. Participants will report higher strength of identification with the Romanian group than with the Catalan or the Spanish groups.
- H3. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by attendance at Romanian classes.
- H4. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by gender.
- H5. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by family socio-cultural status.
- H6. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by family socio-professional status.
- H7. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by length of residence in Catalonia.
- H8. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by attitudes towards language.
- H9. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by language competences.
- H10. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by language use at home.

- H11. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by language use in different social contexts.
- H12. Strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by parental strength of identification.
- H13. Attendance at Romanian classes will moderate the effects of the investigated variables on participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups.
- H14. Analysed simultaneously, the variables investigated will hold different explanatory power regarding the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, respectively.
- H15. Considered simultaneously, the variables measuring the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will have different explanatory power regarding the ethnic perception of each group of interest.
- H16. Considered simultaneously, the variables measuring the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will have different predictive power regarding the civic perception of each group of interest.
- H17. Considered simultaneously, the variables measuring the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will have different explanatory power regarding the perceived cultural differences between the three groups of interest.
- H18. Considered simultaneously, the variables measuring the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will have different predictive power regarding the participants' well-being within the host society.
- H19. Considered simultaneously, the variables measuring the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will have different explanatory power regarding the participants' acculturation attitudes.
- H20. Considered simultaneously, the variables measuring the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will have different predictive power regarding the choice of participants' acculturation strategies.
- H21. When analysed by attendance at Romanian language classes, different patterns of results will emerge concerning the explanatory power of participants' strength of identification

with the three groups, considered simultaneously, regarding each of the variables previously examined (ethnic and civic perception of the groups, perceived cultural differences, well-being, acculturation attitudes and strategies).

7. METHODOLOGY

In order to verify the hypotheses listed above and to reach the objectives of the present research, a quantitative study focusing on the subjects' self-identification with the Romanian, Catalan, and Spanish groups as both outcome and predictor variables was designed and conducted.

However, even though our design and the statistical techniques employed aimed at determining the influence of certain variables on self-identification or, respectively, the influence of self-identification on different variables in the second part of the research, we are fully aware of the fact that the relationships uncovered could be reciprocal. This is due to the consistent proof existing in the literature to date, which points to the fact that self-identification could be strongly connected through an intricate relationship of mutual influence with some variables of interest for the present research.

Nevertheless, due to the objectives of the present investigation, we focused our analyses on only one direction of the reciprocal relationship. To this end, below we describe the characteristics of the sample, the variables investigated, the instruments used in the study, the procedure, and the statistical treatment of the data.

7.1. Participants

7.1.1. Selection of the sample

For the purpose of this research, participants were selected among young Romanian immigrants enrolled in Secondary Education in Catalonia. Our sample consisted of 131 young Romanian immigrants. Their ages varied between 12 and 18¹ years, with a mean of 15.06 years ($SD = 1.58$). The participants were enrolled in seven institutes of Secondary Education located in two of the four provinces of Catalonia – Lleida and Tarragona.

¹ We mention that the number of participants of 18 years of age was $N = 4$.

In **Table 11** is presented the number of subjects from each of the centres selected. These institutes were chosen in order to account for the entire population of Romanian immigrant students in Catalonia who were attending optional classes of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* at the moment when the research was conducted. Additionally, our sample included classmates of these students, who had attended the course in the past. The total number of participants to the research who attended these optional classes was $N = 43$. Moreover, for the purpose of carrying out comparative analyses, other students who had not attended these classes were also included in the sample ($N = 88$). Overall, a percentage of 32.82% of the total sample attended Romanian classes, while 67.18% had not.

Table 11. Sample distribution by province and institute

Province	Institute of Secondary Education	Romanian students				Total	
		Who attended Romanian classes		Who did not attend Romanian classes		Frequency	%
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%		
Lleida	Escola del Treball	12	27.91	12	13.64	24	18.32
	Joan Oro (Lleida)	3	6.98	12	13.64	15	11.45
	Manuel de Montsuar (Lleida)	14	32.56	7	7.95	21	16.03
	Màrius Torres (Lleida)	4	9.30	11	12.50	15	11.45
	Sagrada Família (Lleida)	3	6.98	4	4.55	7	5.34
	Torrevecens (Lleida)	6	13.95	21	23.86	27	20.61
	Total	42	97.67	67	76.14	109	83.21
Tarragona	Ramón Berenguer IV (Amposta)	1	2.33	21	23.86	22	16.79
	Total	1	2.33	21	23.86	22	16.79
Total		43	100.00	88	100.00	131	100.00

Further, the analyses carried out differentiate between the group of students who had attended or were attending classes of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* at the time of the research, and the group of students who had never attended these classes.

7.1.2. Characteristics of the sample

In this section the characteristics of the sample are described based on several criteria which include socio-demographic aspects and some language related variables. Additionally, the characteristics of the participants are presented by contrasting the group of students who had attended classes of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* and the group of students who had not attended these classes.

7.1.2.1. Age

As previously mentioned, the participants to the research were between 12 and 18 years of age, with a mean age of 15.06 years ($SD = 1.58$). A more detailed analysis indicates that the average age for participants who attended Romanian classes was 14.81 years old ($SD = 1.62$), while the average age for the participants who did not attend the Romanian classes was 15.18 years of age ($SD = 1.55$). A comparative analysis revealed that, on average, the age of participants in the two groups did not vary significantly ($t_{(129)} = -1.26, p = .211$).

7.1.2.2. Gender

The sample was balanced with respect to gender distribution. The research included a relatively equal percentage of female (56.5%) and male (43.5%) participants. Moreover, Pearson's Chi-square test of association revealed that the proportion of male and female students did not significantly vary by attendance at Romanian classes ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 1.94, p = .191$). In **Figure 18** is presented the distribution of the sample by gender in absolute numbers, taking also into consideration the attendance at Romanian classes.

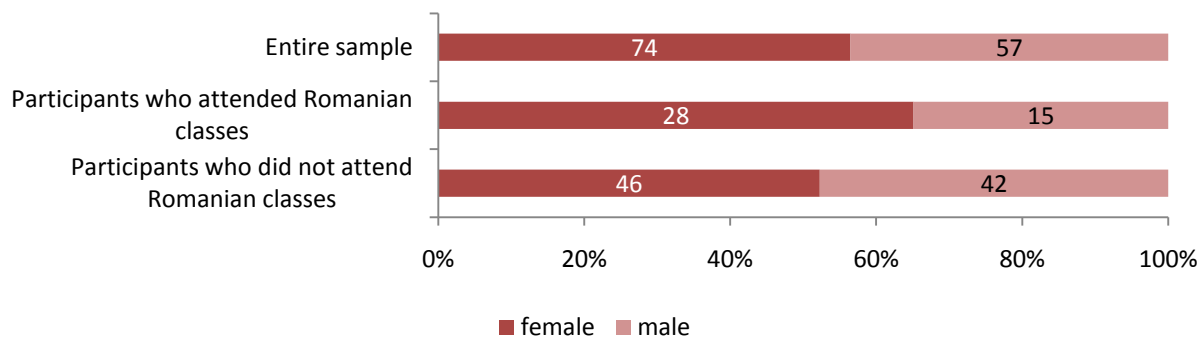


Figure 18. Sample distribution by gender (in absolute numbers)

7.1.2.3. Grade

Participants were enrolled in the Catalan Compulsory Secondary Education. Table 12 presents the distribution of the sample by grade, also taking into consideration the attendance at Romanian classes. Moreover, Pearson’s Chi-square test of association revealed that the proportion of students in each grade did not vary significantly by attendance at Romanian classes ($\chi^2_{(5)} = 0.52$, $p = .994$).

Table 12. Sample distribution by grade

Grade	Romanian students				TOTAL	
	Who attended Romanian classes		Who did not attend Romanian classes		Frequency	%
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%		
1 st CSE	5	11.63	11	12.50	16	12.21
2 nd CSE	9	20.93	22	25.00	31	23.66
3 rd CSE	10	23.26	19	21.59	29	22.14
4 th CSE	19	44.19	36	40.91	55	41.98
Total	43	100.00	88	100.00	131	100.00

7.1.2.4. Place of birth



Figure 19. Sample distribution by place of birth

The students who participated to the research were all born on the territory of Romania. In **Figure 19** is presented the distribution of the participants based on their place of birth (for an easier visualisation of the data, the distribution is presented by grouping the counties of origin of the participants in the three main historical provinces of Romania – Transylvania, Muntenia, and Moldavia).

7.1.2.5. Age of arrival to Catalonia

Overall, the average age of arrival to Catalonia for the sample was 9.35 years old. However, the answers of the participants regarding age of arrival varied between 1 year and 16 years of age ($SD = 3.03$).

Analyzing the two groups of participants by attendance at the Romanian classes, we find a similar distribution by age of arrival as we did for the entire sample. Thus, the average age of arrival for participants who attended Romanian classes was 9.47 years old ($SD = 3.25$), while the

average age of arrival for the participants who did not attend the Romanian classes was 9.30 years of age ($SD = 2.93$). Moreover, the difference between these two means was not significant ($t_{(129)} = 0.30, p = .765$).

7.1.2.6. Length of residence in Catalonia

The mean length of residence in Catalonia for the sample was of 5.71 years. Nonetheless, the participants' length of residence in Catalonia varied considerably ($SD = 2.46$), with subjects having resided in the region for between 1 and 12 years.

An analysis based on students' attendance at Romanian classes showed a similar distribution regarding length of residence in Catalonia. Thus, students who had attended Romanian classes had an average length of residence of 5.35 years ($SD = 2.57$), while students who had not attended Romanian classes had an average length of residence of 5.89 years ($SD = 2.40$). Nevertheless, the difference between these two means was not significant ($t_{(129)} = -1.17, p = .242$).

7.1.2.7. Family socio-cultural status

The distribution of the sample by socio-cultural status of parents is presented in **Figure 20**, in absolute numbers, also taking into consideration the students' attendance at Romanian classes.

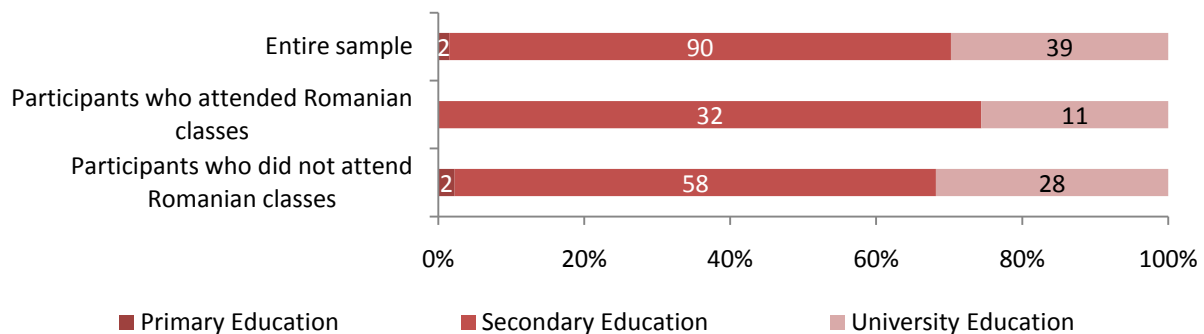


Figure 20. Sample distribution by family socio-cultural status (in absolute numbers)

It shows that a majority of participants came from families with parents who had graduated from secondary education (68.7%). A smaller proportion came from families where at least one of the parents had graduated from university (29.8%), while very few had parents who had only graduated from primary education (1.5%).

In other words, participants whose parents had university studies represented 29.8% of the sample, while participants whose parents did not have university studies represented 70.2% of the sample.

The same distribution was maintained by attendance at Romanian classes. Within the group of participants who attended Romanian classes, 25.6% had parents with university education and 74.4% came from families where parents did not have university studies. Similarly, among those participants who did not attend Romanian classes, 31.8% of the sample had parents with university studies, while 68.2% came from families where parents did not have university studies. Furthermore, Pearson's Chi-test of association revealed that the proportion of participants whose parents had university education and that of participants whose parents did not have university studies did not significantly differ by attendance at Romanian classes ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 0.54, p = .544$).

7.1.2.8. Family socio-professional status

The distribution of the sample by family socio-professional status, which refers to the occupational status of the parents of students, is displayed in **Figure 21** together with the distribution for each group of participants by attendance at Romanian classes.

As seen earlier, a majority of participants came from families where parents had graduated from secondary education and nearly a third from families where at least one parent had graduated from university education. Nevertheless, the distribution of the sample by parental socio-professional status showed that most of the participants, 85.5%, came from families with a low socio-professional status, while only 10.7% came from families with a medium socio-professional status, and only 3.8% from families with a high socio-professional status.

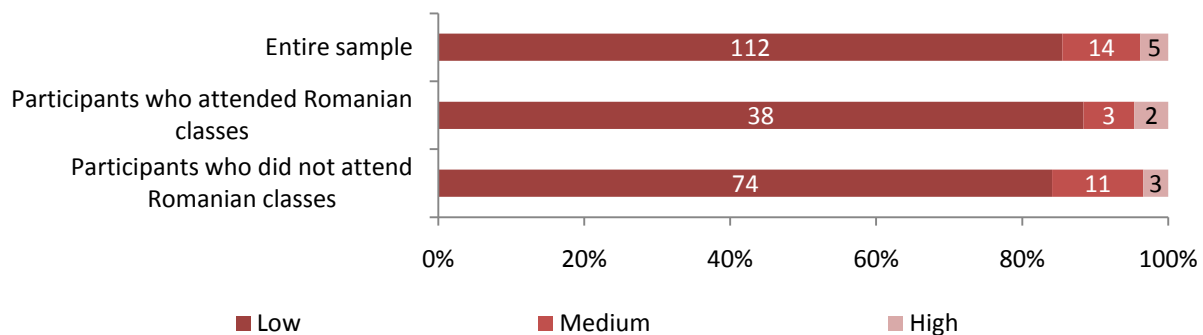


Figure 21. Sample distribution by family socio-professional status (in absolute numbers)

In other words, participants whose parents had a lower socio-professional status represented 85.5% of the sample, while participants whose parents had a higher socio-professional status (medium or high) represented 14.5% of the sample.

The same distribution was maintained by attendance at Romanian classes. Within the group of participants who attended Romanian classes, 88.4% had parents with lower socio-professional status and 11.6% came from families where parents had higher status. Similarly, among those participants who did not attend Romanian classes, 84.1% of the sample had parents with a lower socio-professional status, while 15.9% came from families with a higher status. Additionally, Pearson’s Chi-tests of association revealed that the proportion of participants with a lower family socio-professional status and that of participants with a higher status did not significantly differ by attendance at Romanian classes ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 0.43, p = .605$).

7.1.2.9. Participants’ own language

Participants were asked to answer what they considered to be their own language. Subjects could choose between Catalan, Spanish, Romanian, or could fill in a different language if that was the case. A majority of students reported Romanian as their own language. At the same time, a few students reported Spanish, Catalan, or Hungarian to be their own language. Distribution of the participants by own language is shown in **Table 13**.

Nevertheless, Pearson’s Chi-tests of association indicated that no significant differences existed between the proportion of participants whose own language was Romanian and participants

whose own language was not Romanian, by attendance at Romanian classes ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 3.41, p = .088$).

Table 13. Sample distribution by own language

Own Language	Romanian students				Total	
	Who attended Romanian classes		Who did not attend Romanian classes		Frequency	%
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%		
Romanian	41	95.35	74	84.09	115	87.79
Catalan	1	2.33	8	9.09	9	6.87
Spanish	1	2.33	4	4.55	5	3.82
Hungarian	0	0.00	2	2.27	2	1.53
Total	43	100.00	88	100.00	131	100.00

7.1.2.10. Language attitudes

Overall, the subjects showed positive attitudes towards Spanish and Romanian, and neutral attitudes towards Catalan. As **Figure 22** shows, on average, attitudes towards Spanish received the highest scores ($M = 6.99, SD = 2.63$), followed by attitudes towards Romanian ($M = 6.44, SD = 3.25$). The sample reported neutral attitudes towards Catalan ($M = 4.35, SD = 4.77$).

The same pattern is found regardless of attendance at Romanian classes. Nevertheless, students who attended these classes displayed, on average, higher scores for language attitudes towards Romanian and Spanish, and lower scores towards Catalan than their peers who had not attended Romanian classes.

Thus, the most positive attitudes were displayed towards Spanish, by both participants who attended Romanian classes ($M = 7.35, SD = 2.53$) and by those who did not ($M = 6.82, SD = 2.67$). Next, attitudes towards Romanian were also positive for students who attended Romanian classes ($M = 7.07, SD = 2.77$) and for those who did not ($M = 6.14, SD = 3.43$). Lastly, attitudes towards Catalan were neutral whether participants attended Romanian classes ($M = 3.67, SD = 5.18$) or did not ($M = 4.68, SD = 4.55$).

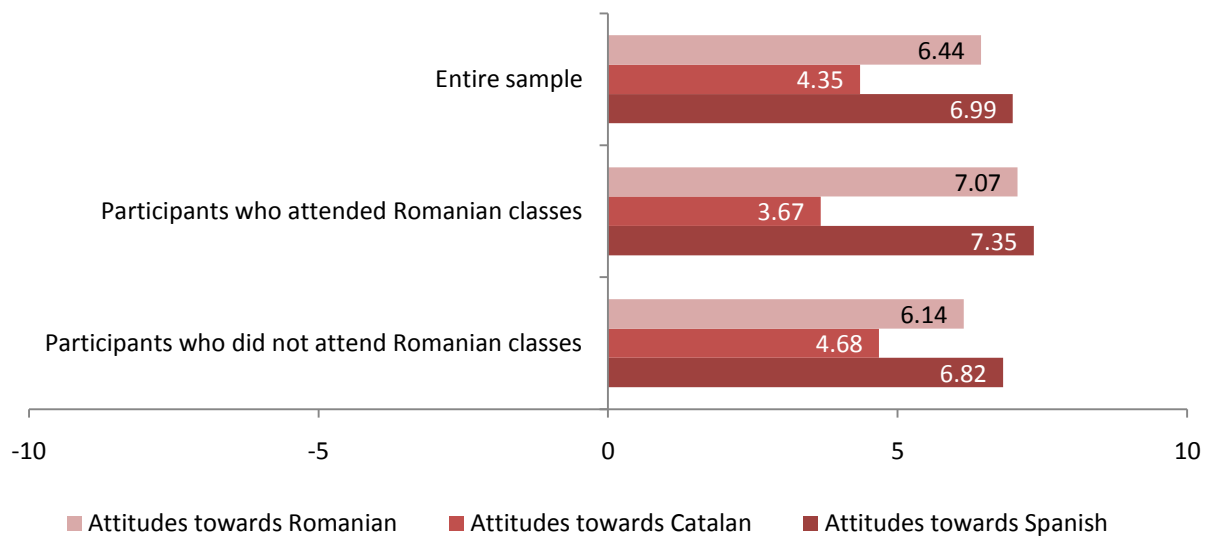


Figure 22. Language attitudes towards Romanian, Catalan, and Spanish (means) of the sample

7.1.2.11. Language competences

On average, participants scored highest in the Spanish language competence test ($M = 33.76$, $SD = 10.01$), followed by Catalan competences ($M = 33.33$, $SD = 8.90$), and Romanian competences, respectively ($M = 30.24$, $SD = 8.50$). **Figure 23** presents the average scores for each of the three language competences tests.

Moreover, it can be seen that while the pattern of results is maintained, participants who attended Romanian classes obtained, on average, higher scores in the Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian language competences tests, respectively, than participants who had not attended Romanian classes. Thus, the highest results were obtained for the Spanish competences by both participants who attended Romanian classes ($M = 34.20$, $SD = 9.87$) and by those who did not ($M = 33.55$, $SD = 10.13$). The next highest results were obtained for Catalan competences by students who attended Romanian classes ($M = 33.56$, $SD = 9.05$) and who had not ($M = 33.22$, $SD = 8.87$). The lowest scores were for Romanian competences for both participants who attended Romanian classes ($M = 33.02$, $SD = 8.87$) and for those who did not ($M = 28.89$, $SD = 8.02$).

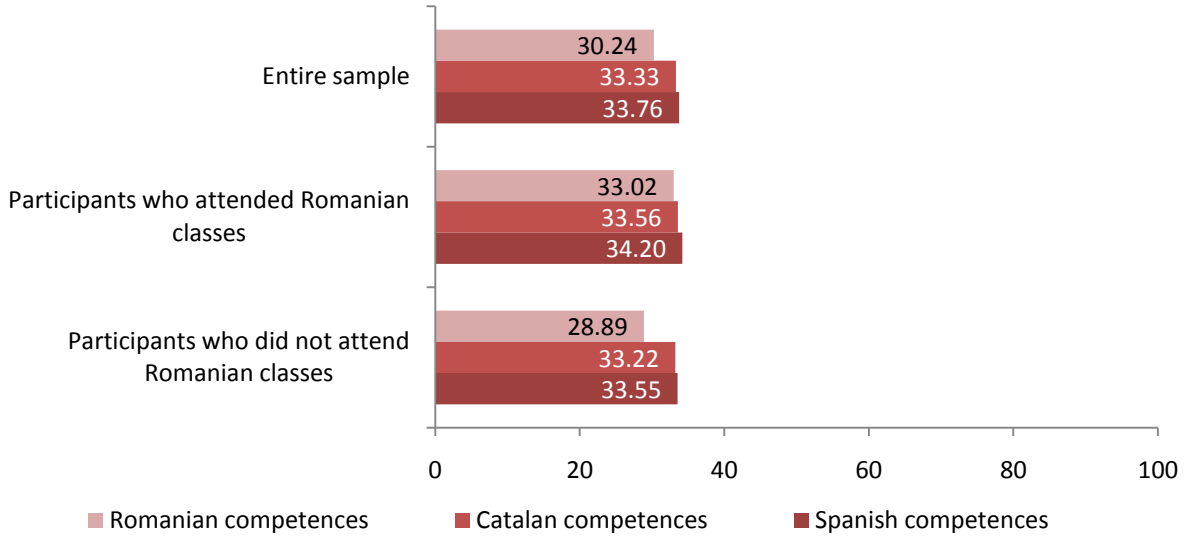


Figure 23. Language competences (means) of the sample

7.1.2.12. Language use at home

Overall, as shown in Figure 24, participants tend to use at home Romanian ($M = 1.53$, $SD = 0.50$) more than Spanish ($M = 0.32$, $SD = 0.39$) or Catalan ($M = 0.16$, $SD = 0.24$). The same pattern of language use can be observed regardless of attendance at Romanian classes.

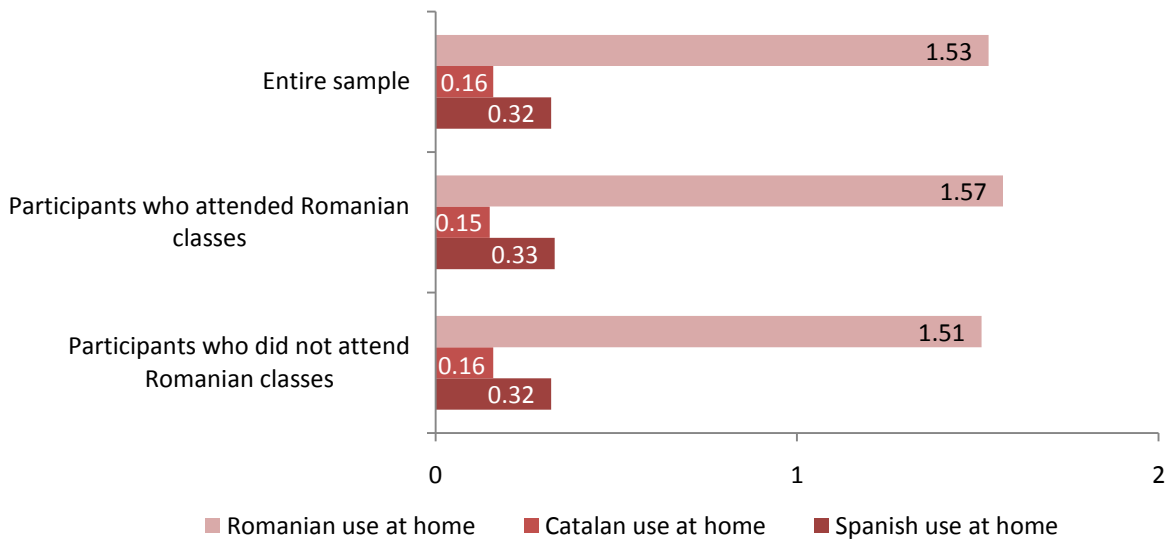


Figure 24. Language use at home (means) of the sample

Thus, on average, Romanian was the most used language for both participants who attended Romanian classes ($M = 1.57, SD = 0.46$) and for those who did not ($M = 1.51, SD = 0.53$). Spanish was the second most used language at home for students who attended Romanian classes ($M = 0.33, SD = 0.37$) and for those who did not ($M = 0.32, SD = 0.40$). At the same time, Catalan was the least used language at home, whether participants attended Romanian classes ($M = 0.15, SD = 0.22$) or did not ($M = 0.16, SD = 0.25$).

Moreover, **Figure 26** shows that Romanian was the most used language at home across situations, regardless of attendance at Romanian classes.

7.1.2.13. Language use in different social context

Overall, as can be seen in **Figure 25**, the sample tends to use Spanish ($M = 0.92, SD = 0.39$) more than Catalan ($M = 0.79, SD = 0.38$) in different social contexts, while Romanian was the least used language ($M = 0.43, SD = 0.37$).

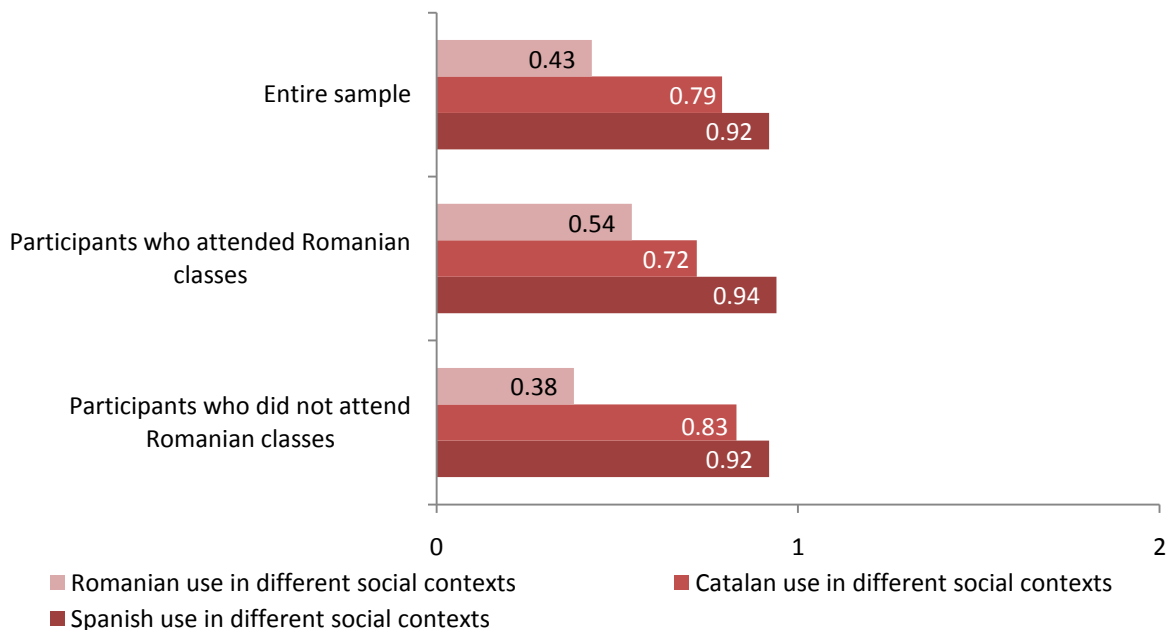
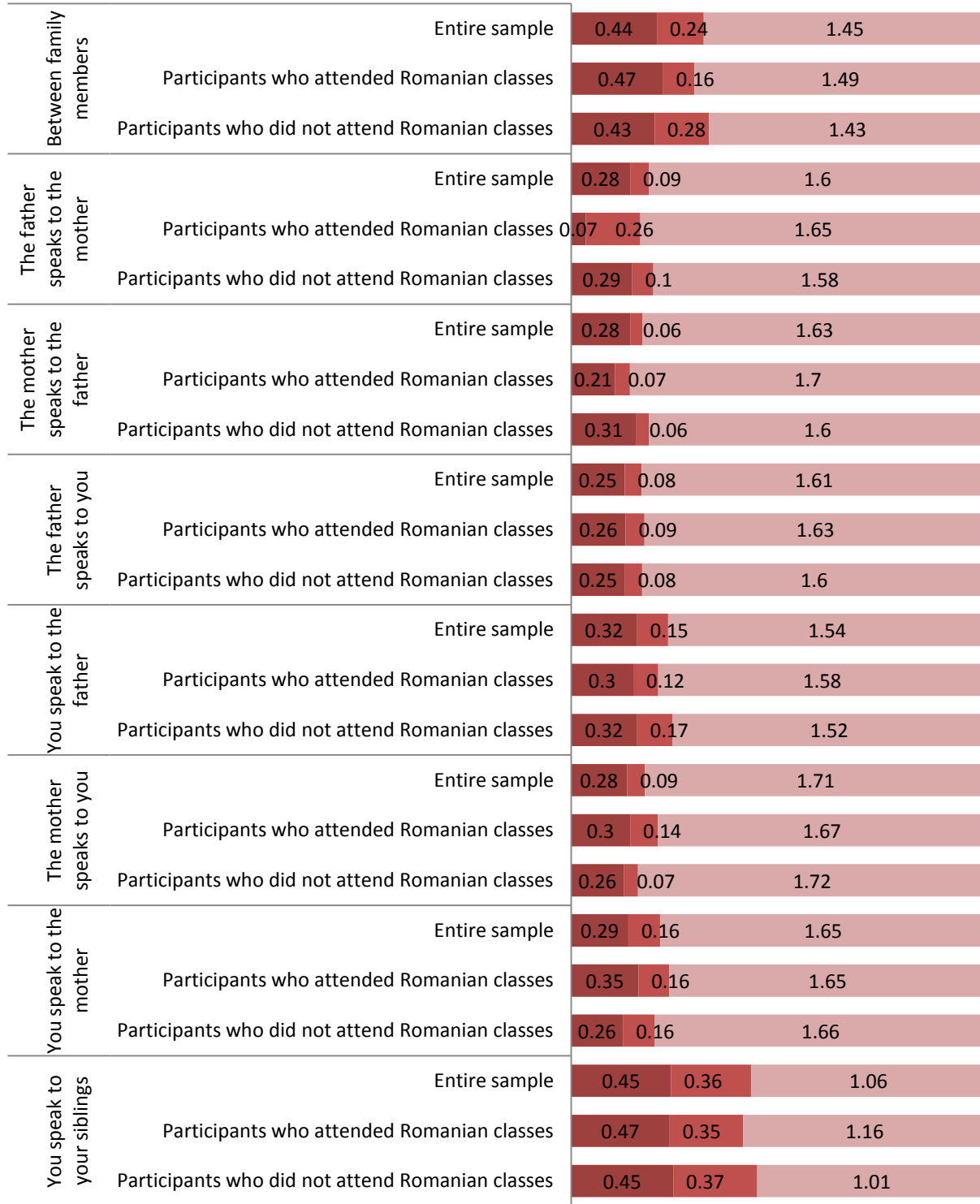


Figure 25. Language use in different social contexts (means) of the sample



■ Spanish use at home ■ Catalan use at home ■ Romanian use at home

Figure 26. Language use at home (means) of the sample, by communication situation

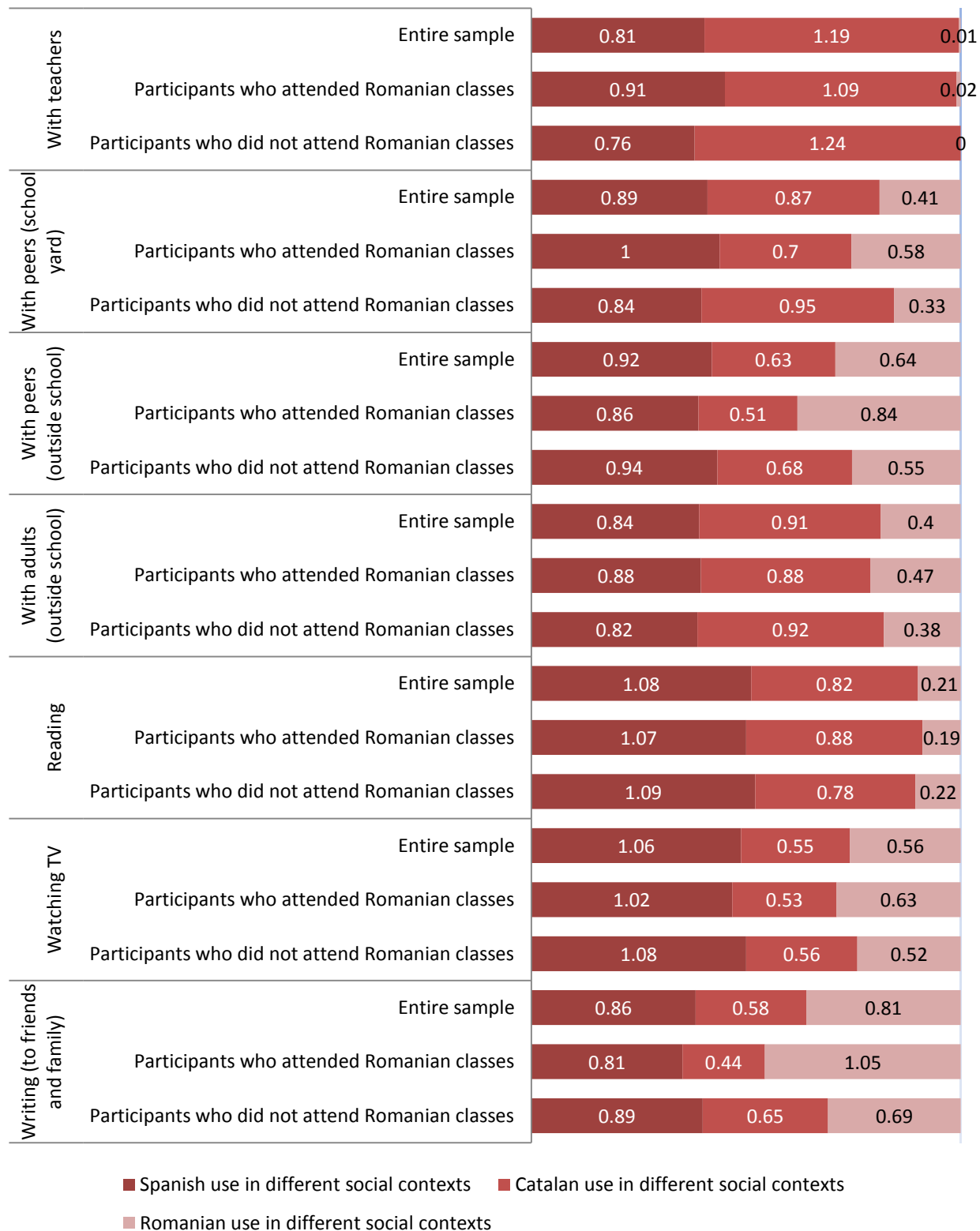


Figure 27. Language use in different social contexts (means) of the sample, by social context

At the same time, Spanish continues to be the most used language regardless of attendance at Romanian classes ($M = 0.94$, $SD = 0.32$ for students who attended Romanian classes, and $M = 0.92$, $SD = 0.43$ for those who did not). As for the entire sample, Catalan was the second most used language in different social contexts for both students who attended Romanian classes ($M = 0.72$, $SD = 0.35$) and for those who did not ($M = 0.83$, $SD = 0.39$). Similarly, Romanian was the least used language both for students who attended Romanian classes ($M = 0.54$, $SD = 0.38$), and for their peers who did not attend these courses ($M = 0.38$, $SD = 0.35$).

A look over the sample's distribution by language use for each of the seven situations analysed (communicating with teachers, with peers in the school yard and outside school, with adults outside school, watching TV, or while reading or writing to friends and family) shows that the general tendency of using Spanish the most is preserved in the majority of the situations, with the exception of communication with teachers and with peers outside the school, when Catalan was the most used language. As **Figure 27** also shows, the patterns of language use in different social contexts also differs between students who have attended Romanian language classes and those who have not, particularly in terms of use of Romanian. The highest differences are found for communication with peers outside school, and for writing to friends or family.

7.2. Measures – variables and instruments

The scales and subscales which were used to measure most of the variables included in the present research were structured in a questionnaire elaborated for the purpose of the study. The questionnaire contained both multiple-choice and dichotomous (yes/no) items (see [Annex 1](#)). Beside, language tests were applied in order to measure language competences of the students. Additionally, another questionnaire was elaborated for the parents of the participants and was used to measure parental strength of identification (see [Annex 2](#)).

Further, the variables investigated and the scales used are described. Subsequently, the research procedure will be outlined.

7.2.1. Strength of identification

The main focus of the study was represented by the students' self-identification with the Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian groups. In this sense, three variables were investigated:

- Strength of identification with the Catalan group
- Strength of identification with the Spanish group
- Strength of identification with the Romanian group

These variables were measured through a single item for each of the groups analysed. Participants were asked the following question: "To what extent do you feel Catalan/Spanish/Romanian?" Subjects estimated the answer on a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from "not at all" to "to a great extent", on which higher scores reflected stronger identification with the respective group.

The use of a single item to measure strength of identification is motivated by practical (time) considerations – given the length of the questionnaire, and through the arguments existing in the literature to date which support the idea that equally good results are obtained when measuring identification with a group through a single item as when measuring this variable through more complex instruments (Postmes et al., 2013; also see Burisch, 1984). Moreover, one-item measures of strength of identification were successfully used in research carried out in Catalonia on both autochthonous and immigrant Secondary Education students (e.g., Ianos, 2014; Lapresta et al., 2014; Lapresta, et al., 2012; Janés et al., 2015) and worldwide (e.g. Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008)

7.2.2. Attendance at Romanian classes

The variable attendance at Romanian classes had two categories: *participants who attended Romanian classes* and *participants who did not attend Romanian classes*. More specifically, the first category included those participants who were attending extracurricular courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* at the time of the research or had done so in the past, while the second category included those participants who had not and were not attending these classes at the time of the research. The attendance at Romanian classes was verified through one item, which students could answer with Yes or No.

7.2.3. Gender

Gender was one of the socio-demographic variables which were included in the analysis. The use of the *gender* variable allowed comparative analyses between male and female participants. Participants were asked to declare their gender through one item, which students could answer with *female* or *male*.

7.2.4. Length of residence in Catalonia

Two other socio-demographic characteristics were of interest for the objectives of the present study, namely *length of residence in Catalonia* and *age of arrival in Catalonia*. While the latter measured, as the name suggests, the age at which participants had relocated to Catalonia, the former measured the length of time which the subjects had spent in Catalonia. Given the high correlation between the two variables ($r = -.87, p < .001$), it was decided to only use the variable *length of residence in Catalonia* further in the analyses.

7.2.5. Family socio-cultural status

Family socio-cultural status referred to the level of education of the parents or legal guardians of the students. Participants were assigned in a category based on the highest level of education attained by their parents. When the parents had different socio-cultural status, the higher status was used for the categorization.

Initially, the variable consisted of three categories: *Primary Education* (parents without formal education, or with a primary level of education), *Secondary Education* (parents who had graduated from secondary education), and *University Education* (parents who had graduated from high school or university level studies)

Given the very low number of participants within the primary education level, the variable was re-coded for use in the analyses to:

- Non-university education (which included *Primary* and *Secondary Education*)
- University education (which included *University Education*)

7.2.6. Family socio-professional status

Parental socio-professional status referred to the occupation of the parents' participants. Depending on the professions of their parents, participants were assigned in one of the following three categories of socio-professional status: *low, medium, high*

When parents' socio-professional status differed, the highest status was used for the categorization of participants. Nevertheless, given the very low number of subjects in the high socio-professional status condition, the variable was recorded into:

- Lower family socio-professional status (which included *low socio-professional status*)
- Higher family socio-professional status (which included *medium and high socio-professional status*)

7.2.7. Language attitudes

The language attitudes scales used in the present research were based on those of Sharp, Thomas, Price, Francis, and Davies (1973). The scales were later adapted for use in a Catalan context by the Catalan Education Service (*Servei d'Ensenyament del Català*), and afterwards readapted to the characteristics of the secondary education student population, both autochthonous and of immigrant origin.

These scales were selected given their use in previous research carried out on immigrant Secondary Education students in Catalonia (e.g., Huguet, 2005; Huguet & González Riaño, 2004; Huguet & Janés, 2008; Huguet & Suïls, 1998; Huguet, Lapresta, & Madariaga, 2008; Janés, 2006a, 2006b; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010; Querol & Huguet, 2010). More recently, Ianos (2014) verified the construct validity of the language attitude scales through confirmatory factorial analysis. Her results pointed to the existence of independent factors for each of the attitudes scales used (attitudes towards Catalan, attitudes towards Spanish, and attitudes towards English), which were also proven to be internally consistent.

Drawing from the aforementioned body of research, the present paper was interested in measuring:

- Attitudes towards Catalan

- Attitudes towards Spanish
- Attitudes towards Romanian

For this purpose, a parallel version of the scale in Romanian was constructed and pretested on students of Romanian origin enrolled in the Secondary Education System of Catalonia. The reliability of the scale was confirmed through the test-retest method. Furthermore, in the present investigation, the internal consistency of the Romanian language attitudes scale was also indicated by the Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .61.

Each of the attitude scales contained ten items, which aimed to identify the general attitude towards each of the languages investigated. These items referred to the characteristics of the language, such as its aesthetic ("Spanish is a beautiful language" or "Romanian is an ill-sounding language") or instrumental value ("It is useless to learn Catalan because I will never use it" or "I live in Catalonia and therefore need to know, study, and speak Catalan"), as well as language learning ("As my family originates from Romania, I should know the Romanian language", or "It's unpleasant to learn Catalan") and language use ("I like or would like to speak Catalan" or "We should all try to promote more the use of Romanian").

The items of the scales were dichotomous, and were designed so that five of the statements would indicate a positive attitude and the other five a negative attitude towards that particular language. Students were asked to indicate if they agreed or not with each of the statements provided. Favourable attitude answers were codified with +1, and negative attitude answers with -1. The general attitude towards the language was computed by summing these values. In this manner, the participants' general attitudes towards each language were placed on a scale ranging from -10 (very negative attitude) to +10 (very positive attitude). Further, using -5 and +5 as cut-off values, positive attitudes (scores > 5), neutral attitudes (scores between -5 and 5), and negative attitudes (scores < -5) were defined.

7.2.8. Language competences

As mentioned at the beginning of [section 7.2](#), language competences measures were applied as standalone tests. For this purpose three parallel language competences tests were employed, measuring the following variables:

- Catalan competences
- Spanish competences
- Romanian competences

The Spanish and the Catalan tests were developed for the Catalan Education Service by Bel, Serra and Vila (1993). These tests were supported by previous research carried out in an immigration context (e.g., Chireac, Serrat, & Huguet., 2011; Huguet, 2008; Huguet & González-Riaño, 2002; Navarro & Huguet, 2005; Oller & Vila, 2008, 2011; Vila, 2008).

The third test represented an adaptation in Romanian of the tests presented, and was constructed and pretested in Romania. Two versions of the test were initially developed, based on the structure and content of the Spanish and Catalan equivalents. The two versions were then applied to a number of 159 secondary education students from both rural and urban schools in Romania. The final version of the Romanian language competence test was then put together by selecting the best fitting subscales from the two versions, based on theoretical and statistic criteria. More specifically, means, standard deviation, frequency distributions, inter-item and item-total correlations were employed in order to choose the best fit for each of the subscales. The Cronbach's alpha value for the final test was 0.72.

The tests focused on oral comprehension, morphosyntax, orthography, written comprehension, written expression, oral expression – lexicon and morphosyntax, information organisation, phonetics, reading correctness, and reading intonation. Scores for the language competences tests varied between 0 and 100 for each subtest, with higher scores corresponding to higher language competences in the respective language.

7.2.9. Language use at home

Subjects' language use at home measured the participants':

- Use of Catalan
- Use of Spanish
- Use of Romanian

The scale measuring language use at home consisted of eight items describing situations of communication within the family of the student (communication between family members,

communication between parents, communication between the participants and their parents, communication between the participants and their siblings). Participants were asked to give each language (Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian) a rank which captured its frequency of use in each of these situations. Participants ranked the use of the three language in each of the situations from 0 (no use of that particular language) to 2 (exclusive use of that particular language). A mean value was then computed for each language, reflecting its estimated use at home.

The scales had good internal consistency, as indicated by the Cronbach's alpha coefficient values of .77 for Catalan use at home, .86 for Spanish use at home, and .90 for Romanian use at home.

7.2.10. Language use in different social contexts

Subjects' language use in different social contexts measured the participants':

- Use of Catalan in different social contexts
- Use of Spanish in different social contexts
- Use of Romanian in different social contexts

The items measuring language use in different social contexts were originally designed for a bilingual context. Participants were asked to compare the use of the two languages in a set of different situations. For the present research the items were adapted to include in the analysis the use in different social contexts of the Romanian language, together with that of the two official languages in Catalonia – Spanish and Catalan.

This method was previously used successfully by Ianos (2014) in her comparative study on autochthonous and immigrant students enrolled in the Secondary Education system of Catalonia. Conducting an exploratory factor analysis, she identified a three-factor solution capturing the use of migrant students' first language, Spanish, and Catalan.

The scale used in the present research was adapted following the model employed by Ianos (2014). The scale consisted of seven statements describing different situations (communicating with teachers, with peers in the school yard, with peers outside of school, with adults outside school, while watching TV, while reading, or while writing to friends and family). Participants were asked to give each language (Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian) a rank which captured its frequency of use in each of these contexts. The adaptation of the items allowed subjects to rank

the use of the three language in each of the situations from 0 (no use of that particular language) to 2 (exclusive use of that particular language). A mean value was then computed for each language, reflecting its estimated use.

The adaptation of the items did not affect the internal consistency of the scales, as indicated by the Cronbach's alpha coefficient values of .79 for use of Catalan, .79 for use of Spanish, and .75 for use of Romanian.

7.2.11. Parental strength of identification

Another set of variables of interest for the present study was represented by the variables measuring parental strength of identification with the Catalan, Spanish and Romanian groups. In consequence, the following three variables were investigated:

- Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group
- Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group
- Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group

As in the case of the variables measuring the participants' strength of identification, each of these variables was measured through a single item. The following question was asked: "To what extent do you feel Catalan/Spanish/Romanian?" Parents estimated the answer on a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Not at all" to "A great extent", on which higher scores reflected stronger identification with the respective group.

Given the voluntary character of participation in the research, a number of questionnaires were not returned by the parents of the participants. In total, 108 responses were registered for variables measuring the parental strength of identification with the three groups. For this reason, for analyses which include parental strength of identification, the total number of participants is $N = 108$.

7.2.12. Ethnic perception of the group

The *ethnic perception of the group* captures the extent to which a group is perceived as being characterised by ethnic attributes. For the present study, three variables of interest were analysed:

- the ethnic perception of the Catalan group
- the ethnic perception of the Spanish group
- the ethnic perception of the Romanian group

With this purpose in mind, three *ethnic perception scales*, one for each of the groups investigated, were constructed. The items were adapted based on instruments used in previous research (e.g., Diez Medrano & Koenig, 2005; Hansen & Hesli, 2009; Heath & Tilley, 2005; Meeus et al., 2010; Pehrson et al., 2009;), including work conducted in Spain (e.g., Diez Medrano, 2005) and Catalonia (e.g., Lapresta, 2004, 2008; Lapresta & Huguet, 2006; Lapresta et al., 2011).

Participants were asked to express the extent to which they considered that people who identify with the group analysed were characterized by a number of statements. Each scale consisted of seven items which referred to a common heritage – one common language², a common tradition, a common history, and a common religion, a common place of birth, a common lineage, and “love” for Catalonia/Spain/Romania. Subjects answered these items on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from “Disagreement” to “Agreement”. The subjects’ ethnic perception of each group was computed as the mean score for these seven items, with higher values corresponding to a more ethnic perception of the group.

The three scales employed were found to be internally consistent, as indicated by the Cronbach’s alpha coefficient of .78 for the scale measuring the ethnic perception of the Catalan group, .77 for the scale measuring the ethnic perception of the Spanish group, and .77 for the scale measuring the ethnic perception of the Romanian group.

² At this stage it is needed to return to the debate in the existing literature concerning language. In some studies, we find it described as an ethnic attribute (e.g., Pehrson et al., 2009; Phinney, Horenzyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), while in others it is operationalized as a civic attribute (e.g., Heath & Tilley, 2005). This ambivalence can find an explanation in the assertion of Pehrson et. al (2009) that language as a category is not as clearly inclusive as citizenship, nor as clearly exclusive as ancestry. Also worth mentioning is Medrano’s (2005, p. 137) conclusion that certain attributes such as language or place of birth will be “alternatively described as ethnic or civic” depending on the country analysed. In order to address these potential issues concerning language, we have constructed two items referring to language. We considered “various languages” to be a civic attribute, and “one common language” to be an ethnic attribute.

7.2.13. Civic perception of the group

Similarly, the *civic perception of the group* captures the extent to which a group is perceived as being characterized by civic attributes. As in the case of ethnic perception of a group three variables of interest were analysed:

- the civic perception of the Catalan group
- the civic perception of the Spanish group
- the civic perception of the Romanian group

In order to measure these variables, three *civic perception scales* were constructed, one for the civic perception of each of the groups investigated. As in the case of the *ethnic perception scales*, the items were adapted based on instruments used in previous research (Diez Medrano & Koenig, 2005; Hansen & Hesli, 2009; Heath & Tilley, 2005; Meeus et al., 2010; Pehrson et al., 2009), including work conducted in Spain (Diez Medrano, 2005) and Catalonia (Lapresta, 2004, 2008; Lapresta & Huguet, 2006; Lapresta et al., 2011).

Participants were asked to express the extent to which they considered that people who identify with each of the three groups analysed were characterized by a number of statements. The civic perception scales consisted of six items which referred to a diverse heritage (various languages, traditions, and religions), to working and living in Catalonia/Spain/Romania, and to financial situation. Subjects answered on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from “Disagreement” to “Agreement”. The subjects’ civic perception of each group was computed as the mean score for the six items, with higher values corresponding to a more civic perception of the group.

The three scales employed were found to be internally consistent, as indicated by the Cronbach’s alpha coefficients of .75 for the scale measuring the civic perception of the Catalan group, .79 for the scale measuring the civic perception of the Spanish group, and .80 for the scale measuring the civic perception of the Romanian group.

7.2.14. Perceived cultural differences

The perceived cultural differences represent the differences in the participants’ evaluations of the members of the three groups investigated. Thus it were analysed the cultural differences between three pairs of groups:

- The perceived cultural difference between the Romanian group and the Catalan group
- The perceived cultural difference between the Romanian group and the Spanish group
- The perceived cultural difference between the Spanish group and the Catalan group

In order to measure these variables, an adaptation of the Interethnic Intergroup Bias Test (*Sesgo Endogrupal Interétnico* – SEI) of Rojas, García, and Navas (2003) was used. Originally elaborated based on the items of the *cultural differences* factor of the Subtle Prejudice Scale of Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) and on other previous investigations carried out in a Spanish context (see Navas et al., 2004; Navas & Rojas, 2010), the SEI possesses psychometric properties adequate for multiethnic use, as shown by the reliability and validity parameters (see Rojas et al., 2003).

In a first phase, participants were asked to rate on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from “Very bad” to “Very good”, the members of a particular group (Catalan, Spanish, or Romanian) for seven statements. These items covered cultural elements, such as: ways of being and ways of seeing life, eating habits, hygiene and cleaning habits, ways of talking and communicating with people, beliefs about male-female relationships, religious beliefs and practices, and the education of children. The three scales used were internally consistent, as indicated by the Cronbach’s alpha coefficients of .77 for the Catalan group, .76 for the Spanish group, and .79 for the Romanian group.

Following, the mean scores were computed for each of the groups investigated. Higher scores corresponded to higher valuation of the group members. On average, the Romanian group received the highest score ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 0.57$), followed by the Spanish group ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 0.55$), and the Catalan group ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 0.58$), respectively. Cultural differences were measured by calculating the difference between the mean scores for each pair of groups. In order to avoid working with negative values, lower values were subtracted from the higher values.

7.2.15. Well-being

Another variable of interest in the present research was well-being. Based on the existing literature, Rojas (2004) concluded that well-being is most often measured in terms of either life satisfaction or happiness. As according to the same author the literature to date points to the idea

that a conceptualization of well-being in terms of life satisfaction is expected to be more stable and more cognitively oriented, the present paper adopted this approach in the investigation of the well-being of the participants. More specifically, participants were inquired about the level of satisfaction with their lives in Catalonia, this information being used as a proxy for their well-being.

Life satisfaction, in the context of this research, refers to the subjective evaluation of one's life according to certain criteria. Given the subjective character of the evaluation, there is no universally fit set of criteria, particularly in a migratory context, when the participants come from diverse ethnic backgrounds and may have differing views on what living a good life entails (Berry et al., 2006).

In order to measure the overall levels of life satisfaction of our participants, an adapted version of the five item scale developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin (1985) was used. This scale has been previously tested on various populations and has shown good psychometric properties (Berry et al., 2006). For the purpose of this study, the scale was adapted to measure the participants' satisfaction with life in Catalonia. Moreover, a 5-point response scale, ranging from "Completely disagree" to "Completely agree" was used instead of the original 7-point scale. A similar adaptation has been used successfully in previous research (e.g., Berry et al., 2006).

The validity of the scale was confirmed by the internally consistent, as indicated by the Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .85.

7.2.16. Acculturation strategies and attitudes

The variables investigated addressed both *acculturation attitudes* employed by the participants in the host society, as well as their *acculturation strategies*.

Acculturation attitudes imply the ideal plane of the acculturation process or, better said, describe what acculturation strategy the students would employ in an ideal setting (Navas et al., 2004). In order to measure the students' acculturation attitudes two items adapted from the MAAR model of Navas et al. (2004) were used. The first referred to the extent to which they felt

that customs from their culture of origin should be preserved, while the second referred to the degree in which they felt that participation in the host society should be improved.

Beside the acculturation attitudes of the participants, the study also took into account their **acculturation strategies**, which refer to the real plane of the acculturation process and describe the acculturation strategies employed by the participants in the host society. A two-item scale adapted from the MAAR model (Navas et al., 2004), was used in order to measure acculturation strategies. The items referred to the degree in which students preserve customs from their culture of origin, and to the participants' level of participation in the host society.

Each time, subjects were asked to answer on a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from “Not at all” to “Completely”. Based on the students' answers to these two items, they were included in one of four distinctive types of acculturation strategies/attitudes, derived from Berry's (1997) acculturation model: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization.

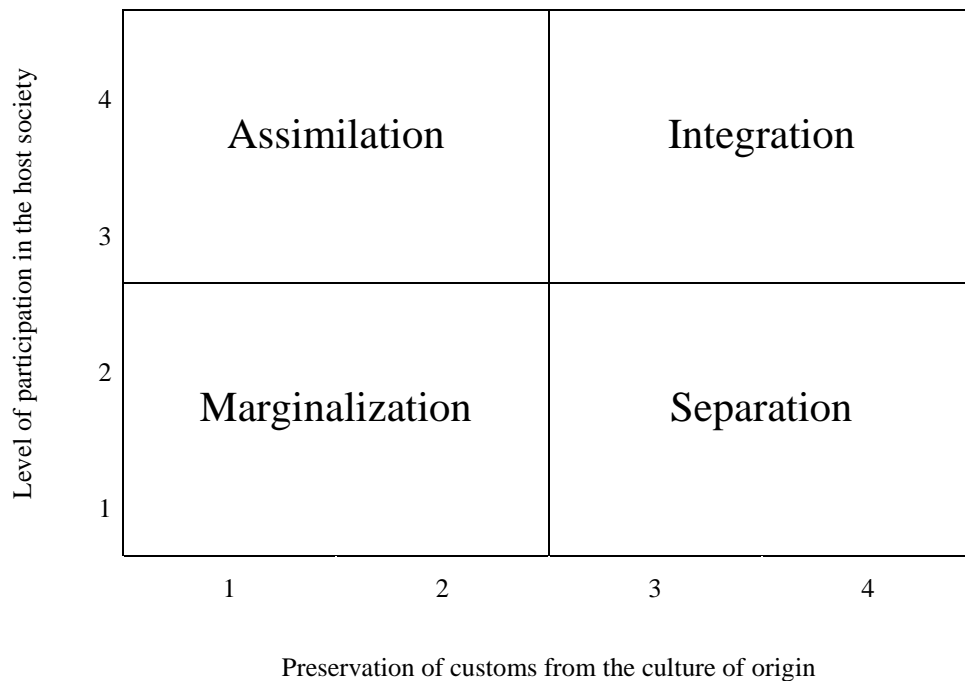


Figure 28. Attitudes and strategies of acculturation

Thus, students with high scores to both questions were placed in the “integration” profile, while students with low scores to both questions were placed in the “marginalization” profile. Students

who had a high score for the item related to the preservation of customs of the culture of origin and a low score for the item which referred to a better participation in the host society were placed in the “separation” profile, while low scores for preservation of customs combined with high scores for better participation in the host society were placed in the “assimilation” profile (Figure 28).

7.3. Procedure

The present investigation intended to collect data from young students of Romanian origin enrolled in the Catalan Education System, aiming to include in the research the entire population of Romanian immigrant youth in Catalonia who were attending optional classes of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* at the time of the study. The following section presents in detail how this information was obtained.

A first step, preparatory to the collection of data, was to contact the Department of Education of Catalonia in order to request access to all of the Secondary Education institutes where immigrant students of Romanian origin taking optional Romanian language, culture, and civilization were enrolled.

Once permission was granted, the next stage involved the process of data collection. A total of seven secondary institutes were identified and were contacted in order to establish a schedule for the application of the instruments. In accordance with this schedule, data was collected at each of the institutes through the completion of a questionnaire, and by applying Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian language competences tests. The members of the sample were informed that participation was voluntary, and that their responses would be strictly confidential.


Specially instructed personnel handled the application of the instruments. The questionnaire was administered collectively in the classrooms after participants had received instructions for the task. Further, the application of the language competences tests had two stages: a collective stage for the written tests and an individual stage for the oral tests. Furthermore, the application of the tests and that of the questionnaire was done in a random order to avoid any possible order effect. On average, participants needed around two hours for the completion of all the tests.


Additionally, it was also intended to obtain data from the parents of the participants. Students were given a questionnaire to take home with them, with the request to return it after being filled in by their parents.

7.4. Statistical treatment

The data obtained was analysed using the SPSS for Windows version 20.0 statistics package, through descriptive and inferential statistics methods, which are described in **Table 14**. As shown, both categorical and continuous variables were used in the analyses, this being reflected in the variety of techniques used, including correlation, repeated measures T-tests, one-way repeated measures ANOVA, mixed-design ANOVA, simple and multiple linear regression, and multinomial logistic regression.

Table 14. Statistical analyses by type of variables

Type of independent variables	Effect on continuous variables	Effect moderated by attendance at Romanian classes	Effect on categorical variables
Categorical	Mixed-design ANOVA + post-hoc Bonferroni adjusted test		
Continuous	Simple regression; Simultaneous multiple regression	Moderation analysis	Multinomial logistic regression

Note.  - not the case.

The moderation analyses carried out in order to investigate the moderation effect of attendance at Romanian classes were done with the help of the PROCESS computing tool for SPSS, developed by Hayes (2012). PROCESS was chosen in order to investigate moderation effects given that besides estimating the coefficients of the model also adjusts the standard errors for heteroscedasticity (Hayes, 2012).

One of the main concerns was the preservation of the variables in their original form, in order to prevent loss of data and power (Field, 2013; Fritz, Morris, & Richler, 2012). ANOVA was used when investigating categorical variables, while linear regression analysis was used to explore continuous variables. Conceptually, these two techniques are the same procedure (Field, 2013), both representing parts of the general linear model.

Moreover, multiple regression analyses were used when we were interested in simultaneously measuring the impact of multiple predictors and comparing their influences on the criterion variable. In order to diagnose multicollinearity, variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance indicators were examined. Values of the VIF over the recommended cut-off value of 5, and tolerance indicators under the value of 0.2 were considered to indicate multicollinearity (Field, 2013; O'Brien, 2007; Sava, 2004), which resulted in the respective predictors being removed from the analysis.

In the interest of improving the accuracy of the results, when SPSS provided the option, bootstrapping was used. Bootstrapping is a re-sampling procedure which ensures the obtaining of reliable data regardless of the normality of the sample distribution. It uses the sample data to generate a number of random samples, thus creating other versions of the data distribution that could have been encountered. The parameters for each of these samples are calculated, these estimates being then used to reveal the distribution of the parameters of interest. Based on this distribution, an estimated 95% confidence interval for the parameters is afterwards computed (Field, 2013; Efron & Tibshirani, 1993).

The analyses in the present research, following the model of Field (2013), were based on 2000 bootstrap samples. Additionally, the analyses also used the bias-corrected, accelerated intervals, which represent an improved method that corrects bias and skewness, and hence could be considered a more accurate alternative to the standard intervals, (DiCiccio & Efron, 1996; Hesterberg, Monaghan, Moore, Clipson, & Epstein, 2003). Given their increased accuracy compared to significance values, as they are not affected by normality or homoscedasticity, the bias corrected and accelerated bootstrap 95% confidence intervals were included in brackets alongside the most important reported parameters, such as means. Additionally, for correlation

and regression coefficients, these confidence intervals also indicated significance when they did not contain the value 0 (Field, 2013; Efron & Tibshirani, 1993).

Bootstrapping was not used in the case of ANOVA, as SPSS does not make this option available. Nevertheless, as indicated in the existing literature (e.g., Leech, Barret, & Morgan, 2005; Lorenzen & Anderson, 1993), ANOVA is robust to violations of normality and homogeneity of variance.

After carrying out the analyses, in order to measure the magnitude of the observed effects, the corresponding effect sizes were computed. In the case of simple correlations and regressions, the correlation coefficients also reflect the effect sizes. Furthermore, the R effect size shows the correlation between the respective predictor variable and the criterion variable, while R^2 reflects the proportion of shared variance which the predictor variable accounts for (Field, 2013; Sava, 2004).

For intergroup comparisons the formulas proposed by Rosnow, Rosenthal, and Rubin (2000) were used (also see Rosenthal, Rosnow, & Rubin, 2000). The formulas are presented below, with F_{contrast} referring to the value of a post-hoc comparison test and F to the value of the omnibus F test.

- For variables with 2 categories:

$$r = \sqrt{\frac{F}{F + df_{\text{intra group}}}}$$

- For variables with more than 2 categories:

$$r = \sqrt{\frac{F_{\text{contrast}}}{F * df_{\text{inter group}} + df_{\text{intra group}}}}$$

8. RESULTS

The current chapter presents the results of the research conducted. For a better clarity, it is structured in three sections. The first section provides a general description of the strength of identification of the participants with the three groups under scrutiny (Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian). In the second section the individual effects of various variables on the participants' strength of identification are analysed. Furthermore, the combined effects of the variables which were found to influence strength of identification were investigated with the purpose of creating an explanatory model and determining the most influential predictor variables. The last section explores the effects of the participants' strength of identification on several variables related in the existing literature with integration in the host society.

8.1. Description of strength of identification

To begin with, the analyses carried out focused on the strength of identification with the three groups investigated (Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian) as reported by the 131 participants. Below the overall description of the results is provided. Furthermore, the relationship existing between the subjects' strength of identification with each of the three groups was examined through correlation analysis and one-way repeated measure Anova.

8.1.1. Description of strength of identification with the Catalan group

Overall, the participants reported average strength of identification with the Catalan group, as indicated by the group mean value of 2.53 [2.38, 2.69], slightly higher than the mid-point value of 2.50. However, there was considerable heterogeneity within the group, as suggested by the standard deviation value of 0.93.

Furthermore, if the mid-point value of the scale is taken as reference, analysis showed that subjects who reported above average strength of identification represented nearly half of the sample, 51.1%, whereas 48.9% of the participants reported below average strength of identification with the Catalan group (**Figure 29**).

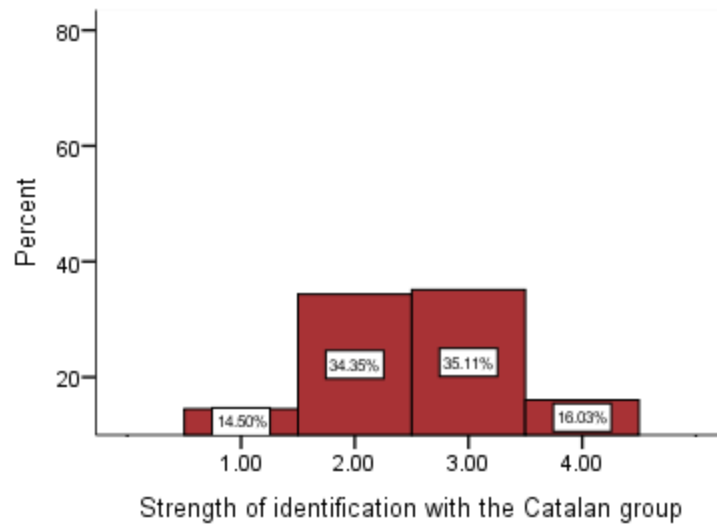


Figure 29. Distribution of the sample by strength of identification with the Catalan group

8.1.2. Description of strength of identification with the Spanish group

At sample level, the strength of identification with the Spanish group generally tended to be higher than the scale mid-point, with a group mean value of 2.85 [2.71, 2.98] and standard deviation value of 0.78. Overall, 71.8% of the participants reported above average strength of identification, whereas only 28.2% of the sample reported strength of identification with the Spanish group below the scale mid-point. The distribution of the sample by strength of identification with the Spanish group is shown in **Figure 30**.

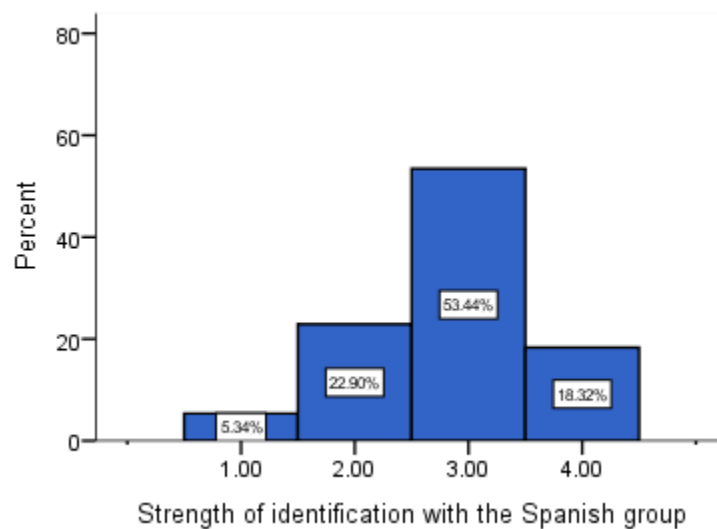


Figure 30. Distribution of the sample by strength of identification with the Spanish group

8.1.3. Description of strength of identification with the Romanian group

Overall, participants reported a high strength of identification, on average, with the Romanian group. The group mean value was 3.54 [3.41, 3.68], close to the scale's maximum value of 4. There was little heterogeneity of the scores, as shown by the standard deviation value of 0.79. Furthermore, **Figure 31** reveals a strong polarization of the distribution of the scores towards the high end of the scale.

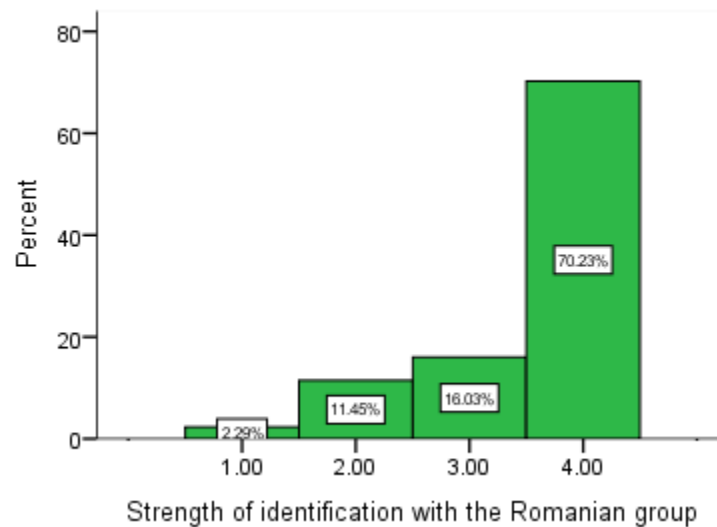


Figure 31. Distribution of the sample by strength of identification with the Romanian group

Overall, 86.3% of the participants reported strength of identification above the mid-point value of the scale, and only 13.7% of the sample reporting below average strength of identification with the Romanian group.

8.1.4. The relationship between the three variables measuring strength of identification

As presented above, at group level the subjects expressed above average strength of identification with all the three groups analysed. However, the mean value reported for the identification with the Romanian group was the highest.

Additionally, the statistical significance of the differences between the mean values of the sample for the strength of identification with the three groups was examined through a One-Way Repeated Measures Anova test. The results showed that there are significant differences between the mean scores of the three variables ($F_{(1.89, 245.74)} = 47.43^3$, $p < .001$).

Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed statistically significant differences between the three means compared, the results being presented in **Table 15**, together with the corresponding effect size values.

Table 15. Bonferroni adjusted test for the differences between the three strength of identification means

Strength of identification with		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Romanian group	Catalan group	8.53	.000	.47
	Spanish group	6.68	.000	.36
Spanish group	Catalan group	3.38	.003	.18

The data illustrates that strength of identification with the Romanian group was significantly higher than the ones with the Catalan group and the Spanish group, respectively, the differences between the means corresponding to a medium effect size each. Also, the strength of identification with the Spanish group was found to be significantly higher than the one with the Catalan group, although the mean difference was of a small effect size.

Moreover, in order to determine the relationship existing between the participants' strength of identification with the three groups analysed, multiple Pearson correlations were performed. **Table 16** displays the results obtained. Strength of identification with the Catalan group was found to negatively correlate with strength of identification with the Romanian group, the correlation representing a small effect size. A positive correlation was found between the strength of identification with the Catalan group and that with the Spanish group, again corresponding to a small effect size. Although no correlation was found between the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group and their strength of identification with the Romanian

³ Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.93$, $p = .008$, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .95$).

group, the data shows a negative trend leaning towards statistical significance ($p = 0.06$) as also suggested by the 95% bias corrected and accelerated bootstrap confidence interval.

Table 16. Correlations matrix between the means of strength of identification with the three groups

Strength of identification with	1.	2.	3.
1. Catalan group	1	.21* [.03, .38]	-.26** [-.41, -.09]
2. Spanish group		1	-.17 [-.32, -.004]
3. Romanian group			1

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

In summary, students reported above average strength of identification with the three groups analysed. However, overall, the sample reported the highest strength of identification with the Romanian group. Furthermore, those participants who expressed higher strength of identification with the Romanian group also expressed lower strength of identification with the Catalan and the Spanish groups, respectively. The sample also reported significantly higher strength of identification with the Spanish group than with the Catalan group. At the same time participants' higher scores for the strength of identification with the Spanish group correlated with higher scores for the strength of identification with the Catalan group.

8.1.5. Description of the perceived attributes of the three groups (Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian groups)

Moreover, analyses aimed to determine the way in which groups were perceived in terms of ethnic and civic attributes, as well as the relationship between the ethnic perception and the civic perception of each group.

As shown in **Table 17**, on average, ethnic perception of the Catalan group was higher than the civic perception of the Catalan group. This difference was significant, $t_{(130)} = 6.68$, $p < .001$, and represented a large effect size, $r = 0.51$. Nevertheless, a strong, positive correlation was found between the ethnic and the civic perceptions of the Catalan group.

Table 17. Descriptive statistics and correlation for the perceived attributes of the Catalan group (N = 131)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.
1. Ethnic perception of the Catalan group	3.55 [3.42, 3.70]	0.80	1	.54*** [.38, .67]
2. Civic perception of the Catalan group	3.10 [2.97, 3.24]	0.80		1

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Similarly, results showed that on average the ethnic perception of the Spanish group was higher than its civic perception. This difference was significant, $t_{(130)} = 6.80$, $p < .001$, and represented a large effect size, $r = 0.51$. Data indicated the existence of a strong, positive correlation between the ethnic and the civic perceptions of the Spanish group (Table 18).

Table 18. Descriptive statistics and correlation for the perceived attributes of the Spanish group (N = 131)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.
1. Ethnic perception of the Spanish group	3.80 [3.68, 3.91]	0.70	1	.53*** [.38, .67]
2. Civic perception of the Spanish group	3.36 [3.22, 3.49]	0.80		1

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 19. Descriptive statistics and correlation for the perceived attributes of the Romanian group (N = 131)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.
1. Ethnic perception of the Romanian group	4.18 [4.06, 4.28]	0.66	1	.53*** [.38, .67]
2. Civic perception of the Romanian group	3.41 [3.27, 3.55]	0.85		1

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The same pattern of results is found for the ethnic and civic perception of the Romanian group, with the former being higher than the latter. This difference was significant, $t_{(130)} = 11.58$, $p < .001$, and represented a large effect size, $r = 0.71$. Moreover, a strong, positive correlation was found between the ethnic and civic perception of the Romanian group (Table 19).

For exploratory purposes, the mean differences between the ethnic perception of the three groups was examined through a One-Way Repeated Measures Anova test. The results showed that there are significant differences between the mean scores of the three variables ($F_{(2, 226.54)} = 52.41^4$, $p < .001$). The same analysis was carried out for evaluating the mean differences between the civic perception of the three groups. Results showed that there are significant differences between the mean scores of the three variables ($F_{(2, 260)} = 12.28^5$, $p < .001$).

Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed statistically significant differences between the means compared, the results being presented in **Table 20**, together with the corresponding effect size values.

Table 20. Bonferroni adjusted test for the differences between the three ethnic perception means

Ethnic perception		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Romanian group	Catalan group	8.64	< .001	.47
	Spanish group	6.44	< .001	.35
Spanish group	Catalan group	4.75	< .001	.26
Civic perception				
Romanian group	Catalan group	4.20	< .001	.25
	Spanish group	6.68	1	.05
Spanish group	Catalan group	4.13	< .001	.24

8.2. Strength of identification as outcome variable

The present section explores the influence of several socio-demographic and language related variables on the participants' strength of identification. Furthermore, the effect of parental strength of identification with the three groups is also analysed.

In order to create a more comprehensive image of the relationship between these variables and strength of identification with the three groups, each time the moderating effect of attendance at Romanian classes was also analysed.

⁴ Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.84$, $p < .001$, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh–Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .87$).

⁵ Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been met, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.96$, $p = .085$.

In the second part of this section, a summary of the results obtained is presented. Following, in the third part of the present section the combined effects of the variables which previous analyses had found to influence strength of identification are explored.

8.2.1. Individual effect of various variables on strength of identification

First, analyses investigated the influence of socio-demographic variables, followed by that of language related variables, and by that of parental strength of identification, respectively. The same order was maintained in the description of the results, the variables investigated being presented by similarity in type.

8.2.1.1. The effect of attendance at Romanian classes

One of the first analyses carried out aimed to determine the effect of attendance at Romanian classes on the participants' strength of identification with the three groups. First, descriptive data is provided regarding the strength of identification of students based on their attendance at Romanian classes, followed by an investigation of the differences in strength of identification determined by attendance at Romanian classes.

Descriptive data of the strength of identification of students based on attendance at Romanian classes.

Overall, both participants who attended Romanian classes and those who did not reported similarly high strength of identification with the three groups. **Table 21** presents the means and standard deviation values for strength of identification of the participants by attendance at Romanian classes.

Furthermore, the distribution of scores for strength of identification with the three groups by attendance at Romanian classes suggests that the same overall tendencies are maintained as for the entire sample (**Figure 32**, **Figure 33**, and **Figure 34**).

Table 21. Descriptive statistics for strength of identification by attendance at Romanian classes

Attendance at Romanian classes	Strength of identification with						
	Catalan group			Spanish group		Romanian group	
	N	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Attended	43	2.49 [2.22, 2.75]	0.88	2.86 [2.62, 3.09]	0.80	3.65 [3.41, 3.85]	0.72
Did not attend	88	2.55 [2.33, 2.75]	0.96	2.84 [2.68, 3.00]	0.77	3.49 [3.32, 3.64]	0.82

For the purpose of comparing between the scores of the two groups, using the mean value of the scale as reference, strength of identification can be divided into below average strength of identification and above average strength of identification.

Doing so reveals that regardless of attendance at Romanian classes, similar proportions of the participants reported below and above average strength of identification with the Catalan group, respectively. Thus, of the participants who attended Romanian classes, 55.8% reported above average strength of identification with the Catalan group, compared to 48.9% of those who did not attend Romanian classes (Figure 32).

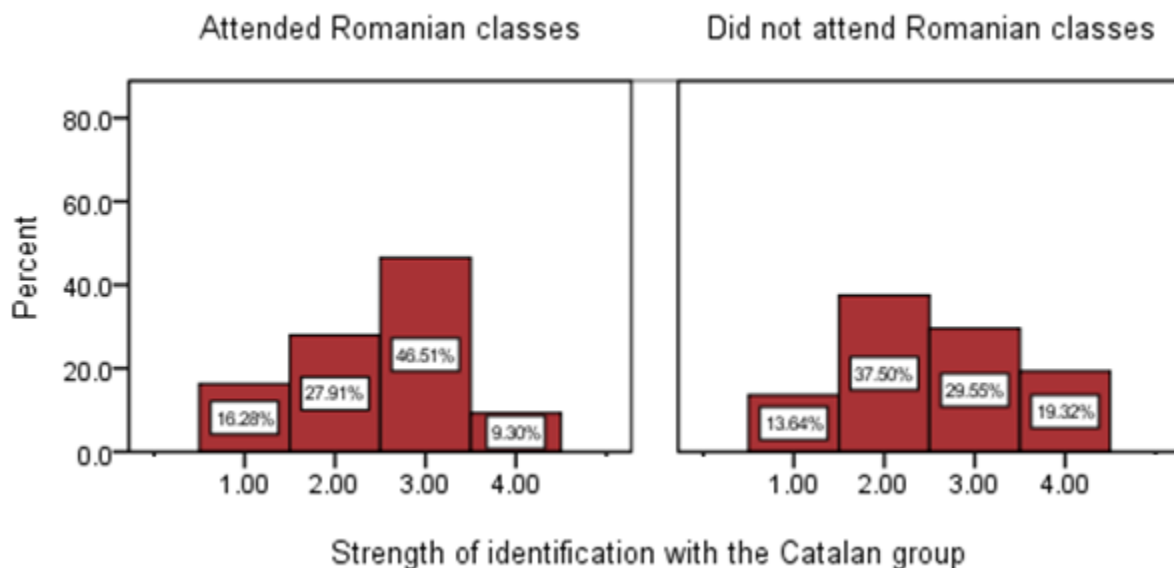


Figure 32. Distribution of strength of identification with the Catalan group, by attendance to Romanian classes

For strength of identification with the Spanish group, a majority of participants in both groups expressed above average values – 74.4% of the participants who attended Romanian classes, and 70.5% of the participants who did not attend Romanian classes, respectively (Figure 33).

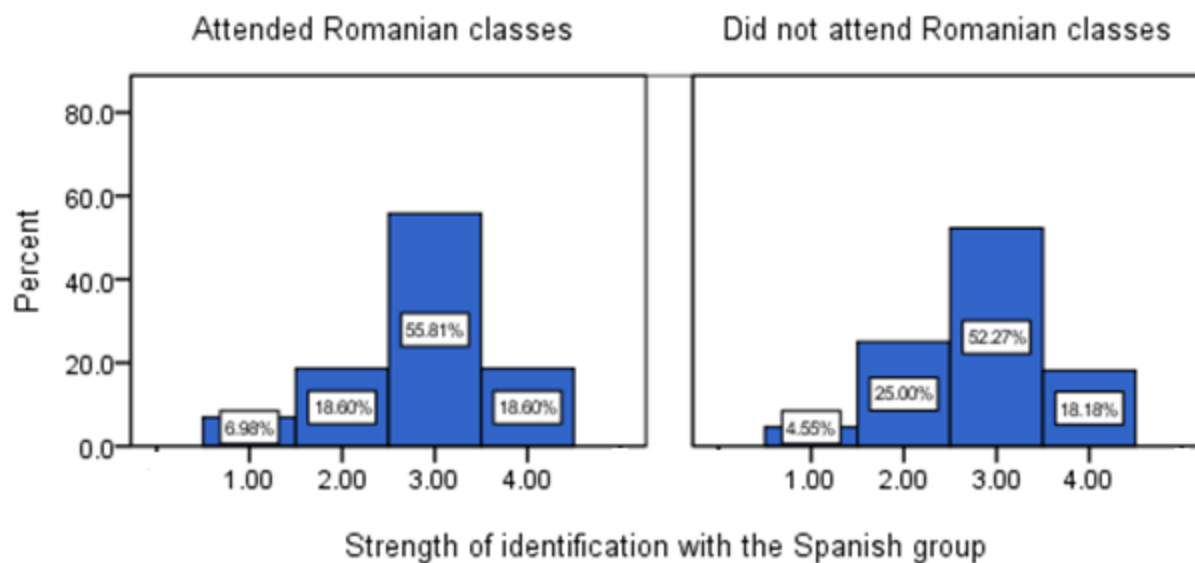


Figure 33. Distribution of strength of identification with the Spanish group, by attendance to Romanian classes

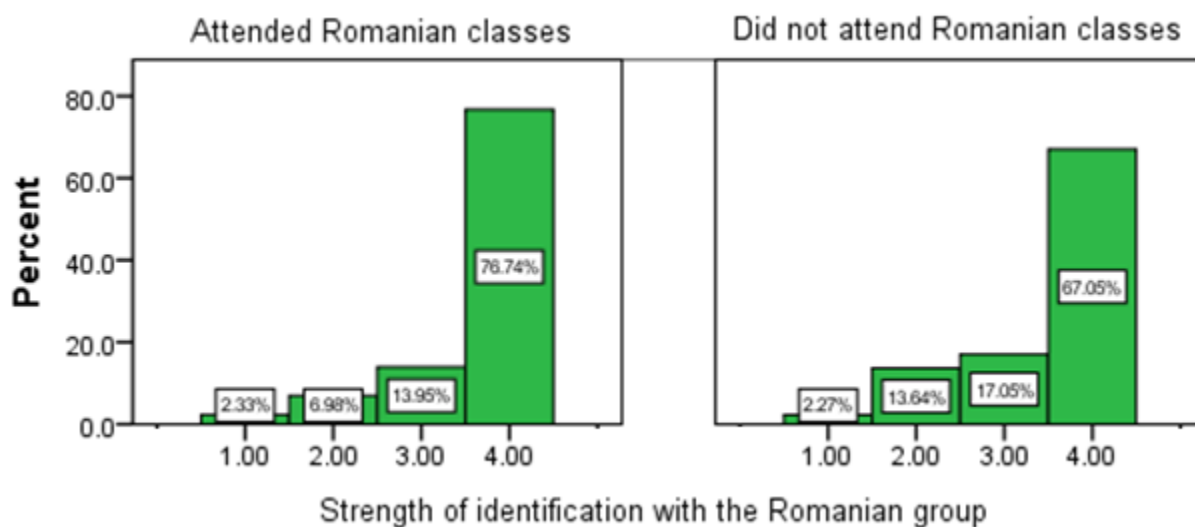


Figure 34. Distribution of strength of identification with the Romanian group, by attendance at Romanian classes

The results were similar for the strength of identification with the Romanian group, where 90.7% of the participants who attended Romanian classes and 84.1% of those who did not, expressed above average strength of identification with the Romanian group (Figure 34).

In summary, as the data presented above shows, although the mean values for strength of identification with the three groups analysed were similar in both conditions, a slightly larger

percentage of participants who attended Romanian classes reported above average strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian group, respectively, than participants who did not attend these classes.

The effect of attendance at Romanian classes.

In order to examine the effect of attendance at Romanian classes on the strength of identification with the three groups, a mixed design ANOVA was conducted. Attendance at Romanian classes was introduced as the between-subject factor (*attended Romanian classes* and *did not attend Romanian classes*), while strength of identification with the three groups was introduced in the analysis as the within-subjects factor.

The analysis revealed no significant interaction effect of the two variables ($F_{(1.91, 246.11)} = 0.48^{6,7}$, $p = .610$) which indicates that the strength of identification with each of the three groups under scrutiny did not differ between participants who attended Romanian classes and those who did not.

This is also further indicated by the simple effects of the variables, described below. Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed that in both conditions the same overall pattern was preserved as for the entire sample. The statistical results are presented in **Table 22** together with the corresponding effect size values. In other words, the highest strength of identification was with the Romanian group, followed by strength of identification with the Spanish group, and by strength of identification with the Catalan group, respectively, for both students who attended Romanian classes and for those who had not (also represented in **Figure 35**).

However, as it can also be seen in **Table 22**, while for participants who did not attend Romanian classes all the differences between the mean scores were statistically significant, in the case of participants who attended Romanian classes the difference between the strength of identification

⁶ Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.93$, $p = .009$, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .95$).

⁷ Results revealed a significant main effect of strength of identification, $F_{(1.91, 246.11)} = 44.79$, $p < .001$, with participants reporting significantly higher strength of identification with the Romanian group than with the Spanish and the Catalan groups, respectively, and a significantly higher strength of identification with the Spanish group than with the Catalan group (see also section 8.1.4.). Moreover, the analysis showed no significant main effect of attendance at Romanian classes, $F_{(1, 129)} = 0.25$, $p = .620$, indicating that both participants who had attended these classes and those who did not reported similar strength of identification overall.

with the Spanish group and that with the Catalan group did not maintain its statistical significance

Table 22. Bonferroni adjusted test for differences between the three means of strength of identification by attendance at Romanian classes

Strength of identification		Attendance at Romanian classes					
		Attended			Did not attend		
		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Romanian group	Catalan group	5.60	< .001	.31	6.46	< .001	.35
	Spanish group	4.32	< .001	.24	5.06	< .001	.28
Spanish group	Catalan group	2.24	.079	.12	2.54	.036	.14

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

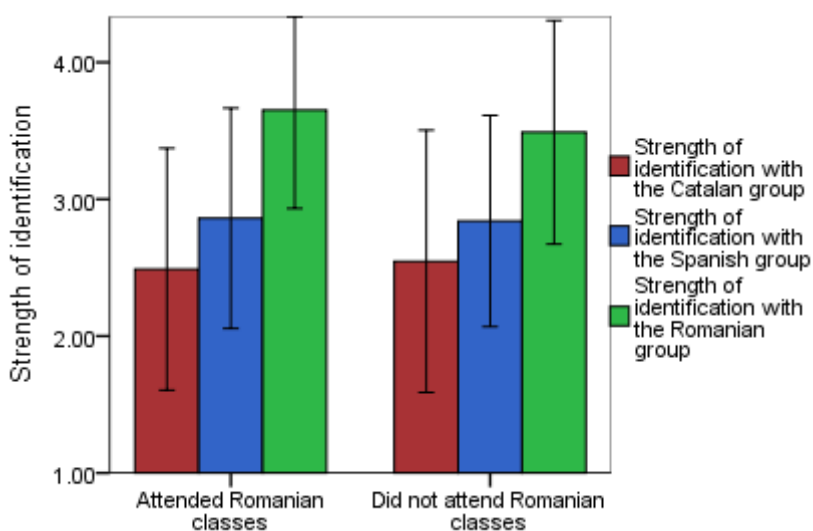


Figure 35. Means of strength of identification by attendance at Romanian classes (Error Bars: +/- 1SD)

8.2.1.2. The effect of gender

Next it was investigated whether gender influenced the strength of identification of the participants. Furthermore, the interaction between gender and attendance at Romanian classes on the students' strength of identification was explored.

With this purpose in mind, a mixed-design ANOVA was conducted. Attendance at Romanian classes (*attended Romanian classes* and *did not attend Romanian classes*) and gender (*Females*

and *Males*) were introduced as the between-subject factors, while strength of identification with the three groups was introduced in the analysis as the within-subjects factor. Descriptive data and the results of the statistical analyses conducted are presented in **Table 23**.

Table 23. Descriptive statistics for strength of identification by gender and attendance at Romanian classes

Gender	Attendance at Romanian classes	N	Strength of identification with					
			Catalan group		Spanish group		Romanian group	
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Females	Attended	28	2.29 [1.92, 2.66]	1.01	2.86 [2.55, 3.17]	0.80	3.68 [3.42, 3.89]	0.61
	Did not attend	46	2.74 [2.49, 2.98]	0.93	2.78 [2.55, 3.02]	0.84	3.37 [3.10, 3.62]	0.88
Males	Attended	15	2.87 [2.67, 3.00]	0.35	2.87 [2.42, 3.30]	0.83	3.60 [3.07, 4.00]	0.91
	Did not attend	42	2.33 [2.05, 2.61]	0.95	2.90 [2.70, 3.10]	0.69	3.62 [3.39, 3.82]	0.73

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The analysis indicated that there was no significant interaction effect between gender and strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 246.83)} = 0.005$, $p = .994$)^{8,9,10}, suggesting that there were no significant differences between male and female participants' strength of identification with either of the three groups.

However, a significant interaction between gender, attendance at Romanian classes, and strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 246.83)} = 4.62$, $p = .011$) was found, which suggests that attendance at Romanian language classes moderates the effect of gender on the participants' strength of identification with the three groups. In order to break down this interaction, the simple effects of each variable were further analysed using Bonferroni adjusted multiple comparisons.

⁸ Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.93$, $p = .011$, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .97$)

⁹ Results indicated that there was no significant main effect of gender on the participants' strength of identification with the three groups ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.84$, $p = .361$). Further, no main effect of attendance at Romanian classes was found ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.61$, $p = .437$). However, the existence of a main effect of strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 246.83)} = 40.09$, $p < .001$) was indicated.

¹⁰ The analysis indicated that there were no interaction effects between gender and attendance at Romanian classes ($F_{(1, 127)} = 1.10$, $p = .297$) or between attendance at Romanian classes and strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 246.83)} = 0.17$, $p = .837$).

The results, summarized in **Table 24** and represented in **Figure 36**, point to an effect of gender by attendance at Romanian classes in the case of strength of identification with only one of the three groups analysed.

Table 24. Bonferroni adjusted tests for the simple effect of gender at each combination of attendance at Romanian classes and strength of identification

Attendance at Romanian classes	Gender		Strength of identification with								
			Catalan group			Spanish group			Romanian group		
			<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Attended	Females	Males	-1.99	.049	-.18	-0.04	.970	-.00	0.32	.755	.03
Did not attend	Females	Males	2.08	.039	.18	-0.73	.468	-.06	-1.48	.139	-.13

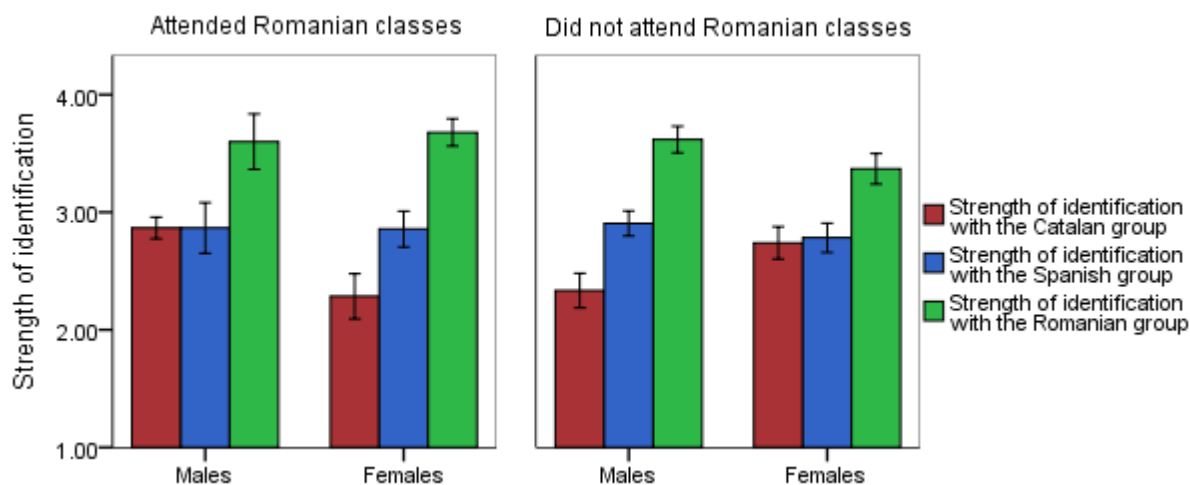


Figure 36. Means of strength of identification by gender and attendance at Romanian classes (Error Bars: +/- 1SD)

Thus, there were significant differences determined by gender on strength of identification with the Catalan group for both students who attended Romanian classes ($F_{(1, 127)} = 3.96, p = .049$) and for those who did not attend these classes ($F_{(1, 127)} = 4.35, p = .039$). More specifically, female students who attended Romanian classes reported lower strength of identification with the Catalan group than male students who attended these classes. For students who did not attend Romanian classes the opposite is observed, as female students reported significantly higher strength of identification with the Catalan group than male students.

No significant gender differences were found for strength of identification with the Spanish group between students who attended Romanian classes ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.01, p = .970$) or between those who did not ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.53, p = .468$). Similarly, no significant gender differences were found for strength of identification with the Romanian group between students who attended Romanian classes ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.98, p = .755$) or between those who did not ($F_{(1, 127)} = 2.22, p = .139$).

Next, the simple effect of attendance at Romanian classes on the participants' strength of identification was analysed by gender. The results indicated an effect of attendance at Romanian classes by gender in the case of strength of identification with the Catalan group (Table 25).

Table 25. Bonferroni adjusted tests for the simple effect of attendance at Romanian classes at each combination of gender and strength of identification

Gender	Attendance at Romanian classes		Strength of identification with								
			Catalan group			Spanish group			Romanian group		
			<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Females	Attended	Did not attend	-2.07	.040	-.18	0.40	.693	.04	1.64	.103	.15
Males	Attended	Did not attend	1.95	.054	.17	-0.16	.872	-.01	-0.08	.936	-.01

Thus, while no significant difference in strength of identification was found between male participants who attended Romanian classes and those who did not ($F_{(1, 127)} = 3.78, p = .054$), the difference between those who attended Romanian classes and those who did not is statistically significant for female participants ($F_{(1, 127)} = 4.30, p = .040$).

No significant differences by attendance were found for strength of identification with the Spanish group for female ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.16, p = .693$) or male ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.03, p = .872$) students. Similarly, no significant differences were found for female ($F_{(1, 127)} = 2.70, p = .103$) or male ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.007, p = .936$) students regarding strength of identification with the Romanian group.

Lastly, the simple effect of strength of identification was analysed. The results, summarized in Table 26, indicate that there were significant differences between strength of identification with the three groups for female students who attended Romanian classes ($F_{(2, 126)} = 15.08, p < .001$),

while no significant differences in means for strength of identification were found for male students who attended these classes ($F_{(2, 126)} = 3.04, p = .051$). Bonferroni adjusted tests showed that female students who attended Romanian classes reported significantly higher strength of identification with the Romanian group than with the Spanish or Catalan groups, respectively, while strength of identification with the Spanish group was significantly higher than that with the Catalan group.

Table 26. Bonferroni adjusted tests for the simple effect of strength of identification at each combination of attendance at Romanian classes and gender

Attendance at Romanian classes	Strength of identification with		Gender					
			Females			Males		
			<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Attended	Catalan group	Spanish group	-2.84	.015	-.16	0.00	1	.00
		Romanian group	-5.51	< .001	-.31	-2.13	.107	-.12
	Spanish group	Romanian group	-3.60	.001	-.20	-2.34	.060	-.13
Did not attend	Catalan group	Spanish group	-0.28	1	-.02	-3.30	.002	-.18
		Romanian group	-0.28	.005	-.02	-6.24	< .001	-.35
	Spanish group	Romanian group	-3.20	.004	-.18	-3.84	.001	-.21

For students who did not attend Romanian classes, significant differences between strength of identification with the three groups were found both for female ($F_{(2, 126)} = 6.34, p = .002$) and male ($F_{(2, 126)} = 19.33, p < .001$) participants. Bonferroni adjusted tests revealed that both female and male participants who did not attend Romanian classes identified most strongly with the Romanian group. However, while for female students no significant difference was found between strength of identification with the Catalan group and strength of identification with the Spanish group, male participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group was significantly higher than that with the Catalan group (Table 26).

8.2.1.3. The effect of family socio-cultural status

Next, analyses carried out explored the effect of socio-cultural status of the family in the participants' strength of identification with the three groups, and whether this effect differed by attendance at Romanian classes.

In this sense, a mixed-design ANOVA analysis was conducted. Attendance at Romanian classes (*attended Romanian classes* and *did not attend Romanian classes*) and family socio-cultural status (*Non-University Education* and *University Education*) were introduced as the between-subject factors, the within-subject factors was represented by strength of identification with the three groups. Descriptive data for the variables included in the analysis is presented in **Table 27**.

Table 27. Descriptive statistics for strength of identification by family socio-cultural status and attendance at Romanian classes

Family socio-cultural status	Attendance at Romanian classes	N	Strength of identification with					
			Catalan group		Spanish group		Romanian group	
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Non-University Education	Attended	32	2.53 [2.22, 2.83]	0.92	2.84 [2.58, 3.10]	0.81	3.66 [3.37, 3.90]	0.75
	Did not attend	60	2.54 [2.29, 2.78]	0.93	2.90 [2.69, 3.11]	0.77	3.53 [3.30, 3.74]	0.79
University Education	Attended	11	2.36 [1.88, 2.80]	0.81	2.91 [2.38, 3.33]	0.83	3.64 [3.20, 3.91]	0.67
	Did not attend	28	2.57 [2.19, 2.93]	1.03	2.71 [2.43, 2.96]	0.76	3.39 [3.08, 3.68]	0.88

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The analysis indicated that there was no significant interaction effect between family socio-cultural status and strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 245.86)} = 0.003, p = .996$)^{11,12,13}, suggesting that

¹¹ Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.93, p = .009$, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .97$)

¹² No significant main effect of family socio-cultural status on the participants' strength of identification with the three groups was found ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.52, p = .471$). Similarly, no main effect of attendance at Romanian classes was found ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.27, p = .604$). Nevertheless, a main effect of strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 245.86)} = 35.13, p < .001$) was indicated.

¹³ There were no interaction effects between family socio-cultural status and attendance at Romanian classes ($F_{(1, 127)} = 0.09, p = .770$) or between attendance at Romanian classes and strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 245.86)} = 0.64, p = .524$).

there were no significant differences by family socio-cultural status between the participants' strength of identification with either of the three groups.

Furthermore, there was found no significant interaction between family socio-cultural status, attendance at Romanian classes, and strength of identification ($F_{(1,94, 245.86)} = 0.42, p = .651$). This suggests that the attendance at Romanian language classes does not moderate the effect of family socio-cultural status on the participants' strength of identification with the three groups. In other words, there are no significant differences by family socio-cultural status between students who attended Romanian classes and those who did not, regarding their strength of identification with each of the three groups (as also suggested by **Figure 37**).

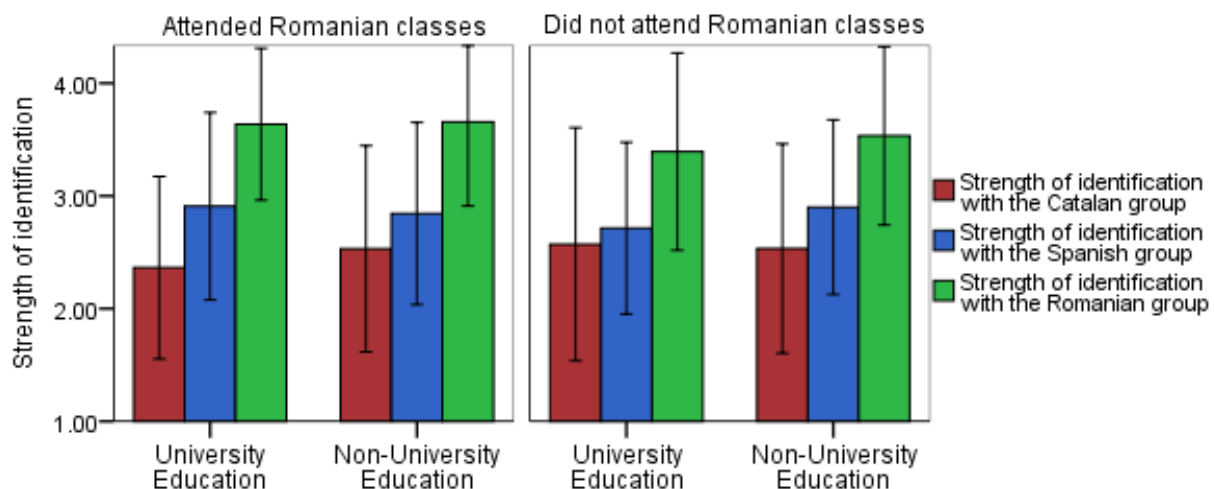


Figure 37. Means of strength of identification by family socio-cultural status and attendance at Romanian classes
(Error Bars: +/- 1SD)

8.2.1.4. The effect of family socio-professional status

Furthermore, analyses also explored the effect of family socio-professional status on the strength of identification of the participants, furthermore taking into account the students' attendance at Romanian classes.

The method used for the exploration of this effect was mixed-design ANOVA. Attendance at Romanian classes (*attended Romanian classes* and *did not attend Romanian classes*) and family

socio-professional status (*Lower* and *Higher*) were introduced as the between-subject factors. Descriptive data and the results of the statistical analyses conducted are presented in **Table 28**.

Table 28. Descriptive statistics for strength of identification by family socio-professional status and attendance at Romanian classes

Family socio-professional status	Attendance at Romanian classes	N	Strength of identification with					
			Catalan group		Spanish group		Romanian group	
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Lower	Attended	38	2.47 [2.18, 2.74]	0.92	2.82 [2.56, 3.05]	0.83	3.61 [3.36, 3.84]	0.75
	Did not attend	74	2.54 [2.32, 2.76]	0.98	2.85 [2.68, 3.01]	0.73	3.50 [3.30, 3.68]	0.82
Higher	Attended	5	2.60 [2.20, 2.86]	0.55	3.20 [3.11, 3.67]	0.45	4.00	0
	Did not attend	14	2.57 [2.13, 3.00]	0.85	2.79 [2.26, 3.29]	0.97	3.43 [2.93, 3.82]	0.85

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The results showed no significant interaction effect between family socio-professional status and strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 246.16)} = 0.04, p = .960$)^{14,15,16}, suggesting that no significant differences were encountered by family socio-professional status between the participants' strength of identification with either of the three groups.

Moreover, the analysis revealed no significant interaction between family socio-cultural status, attendance at Romanian classes, and strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 246.16)} = 0.19, p = .824$). This suggests that attendance at Romanian language classes did not moderate the effect of family socio-professional status on the participants' strength of identification with the three groups. In other words, there are no significant differences by family socio-professional status between

¹⁴ Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.93, p = .009$, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .97$)

¹⁵ No significant main effect of family socio-professional status on the participants' strength of identification with the three groups was found ($F_{(1, 127)} = 1.12, p = .291$). Moreover, no main effect of attendance at Romanian classes was found ($F_{(1, 127)} = 1.82, p = .180$). However, the existence of a main effect of strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 246.16)} = 20.75, p < .001$) was highlighted.

¹⁶ Results indicated that no interaction effects between family socio-professional status and attendance at Romanian classes ($F_{(1, 127)} = 1.80, p = .182$) or between attendance at Romanian classes and strength of identification ($F_{(1.94, 246.16)} = 0.55, p = .574$) existed.

students who attended Romanian classes and those who did not, regarding their strength of identification with each of the three groups (as also suggested by **Figure 38**).

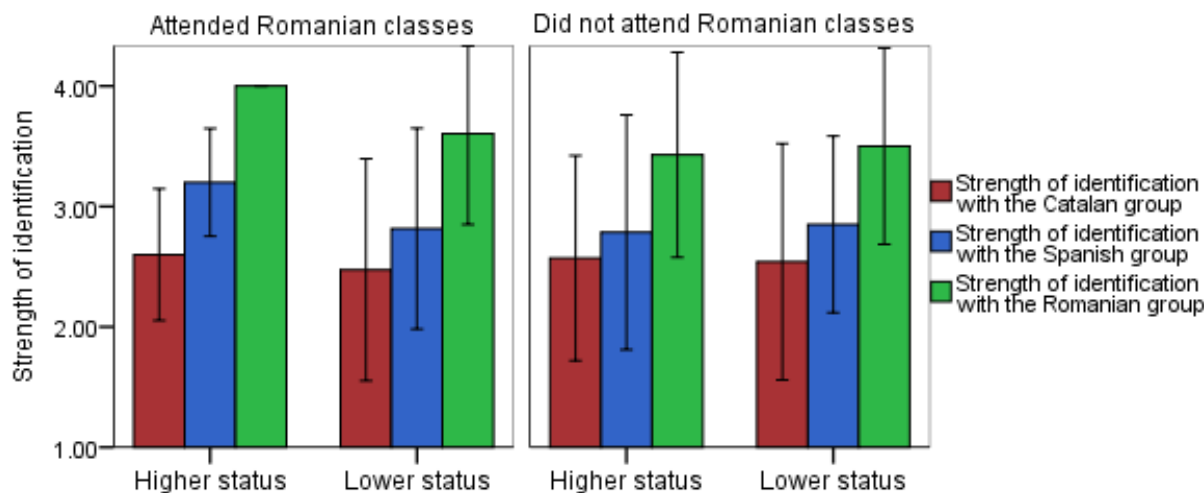


Figure 38. Means of strength of identification by family socio-professional status and attendance at Romanian classes
(Error Bars: +/- 1SD)

8.2.1.5. *The effect of length of residence in Catalonia*

Another variable of interest for this research was represented by the length of residence in Catalonia of the participants. The descriptive statistics are summarized in **Table 29**, together with the correlation coefficients for length of residence and strength of identification.

Table 29. Descriptive statistics and correlations matrix for length of residence and strength of identification

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Length of residence in Catalonia	5.71 [5.29, 6.15]	2.46	.26** [.06, .42]	.10 [-.11, .28]	-.29** [-.42, -.14]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.38, 2.69]	0.93		.21* [.03, .38]	-.26** [-.41, -.08]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.71, 2.98]	0.78			-.17 [-.32, .001]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.6]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

A positive, low correlation was found between length of residence in Catalonia and the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group, while between length of residence in Catalonia and strength of identification with the Romanian group a low, negative relationship was revealed. No significant correlation was found between the participants' length of residence in Catalonia and their strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Next, simple regression analyses were conducted in order to investigate the effect of length of residence in Catalonia on the participants' strength of identification with each of the three groups. Additionally, moderation analyses were carried out in order to verify whether attendance at Romanian classes interacted with the effect of length of residence on each of the three variables measuring strength of identification. The results are presented below for each of the three groups.

8.2.1.5.1. The effect of length of residence on strength of identification with the Catalan group

The first simple regression investigated the effect of length of residence in Catalonia on the strength of identification with the Catalan group.

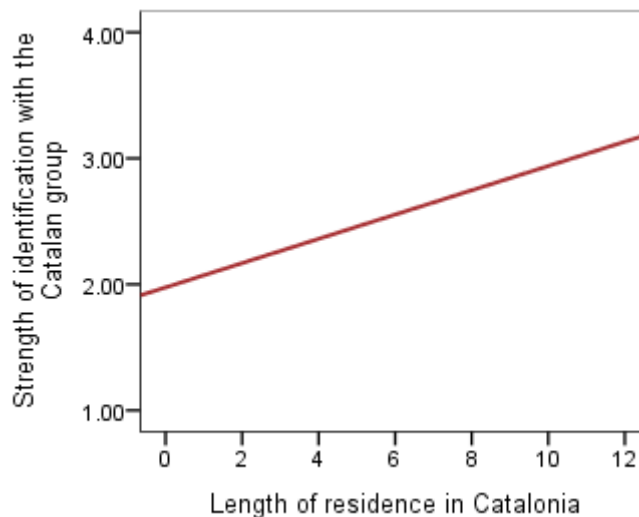


Figure 39. The effect of length of residence on strength of identification with the Catalan group

The results showed that length of residence in Catalonia had a significant effect on strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = 0.10$ [0.03, 0.16], $SE_b = 0.03$, $\beta = .26$, $p = .003$), explaining 7% of its variance. The positive relationship between these two variables suggested that when length of residence in Catalonia increases, the strength of identification with the Catalan group also increases (**Figure 39**).

Next, analyses explored the effect of length of residence in Catalonia on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes.

The effect of length of residence in Catalonia on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

The first moderation analysis carried out revealed the absence of an interaction effect, indicating that the effect of the participants' length of residence in Catalonia over strength of identification with the Catalan group did not vary depending on their attendance at Romanian classes. The results of the analysis are summarized in **Table 30**.

Table 30. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of length of residence in Catalonia and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.53 [2.36, 2.69]	0.08		< .001
Length of residence in Catalonia	0.10 [0.02, .017]	0.04	.10	.012
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.01[-0.36, 0.35]	0.18	-.01	.967
Length of residence in Catalonia x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.01[-.018, .15]	0.08	-.01	.890

Note. $R^2 = .07$, $p = .65$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.5.2. The effect of length of residence in Catalonia on strength of identification with the Spanish group

Next, analyses aimed to identify the influence of length of residence in Catalonia on strength of identification with the Spanish group. The results of the simple regression carried out revealed

that length of residence in Catalonia had no significant effect ($b = 0.03$ [-0.03, 0.09], $SE_b = 0.03$, $\beta = .10$, $p = .271$).

The effect of length of residence in Catalonia on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

Furthermore, moderation analysis indicated that there was no interaction effect between length of residence in Catalonia and the participants' attendance at Romanian language courses for their strength of identification with the Spanish group (Table 31).

Table 31. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of length of residence in Catalonia and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [2.70, 2.99]	0.07		< .001
Length of residence in Catalonia	0.03 [-0.03, 0.10]	0.03	.03	.347
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.04 [-0.27, 0.35]	0.16	.04	.795
Length of residence in Catalonia x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.02 [-0.12, 0.17]	0.07	.02	.734

Note. $R^2 = .01$, $p = .812$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.5.3. The effect of length of residence in Catalonia on strength of identification with the Romanian group

For the effect of length of residence in Catalonia on strength of identification with the Romanian group, simple regression analysis revealed the existence of a negative, significant influence ($b = -0.09$ [-0.14, -0.04], $SE_b = 0.03$, $\beta = -.29$, $p = .001$), with an 8% of the variance in strength of identification with the Romanian group being explained by the model. The relationship between these variables suggests that when length of residence in Catalonia increases, the strength of identification with the Romanian group decreases (Figure 40).

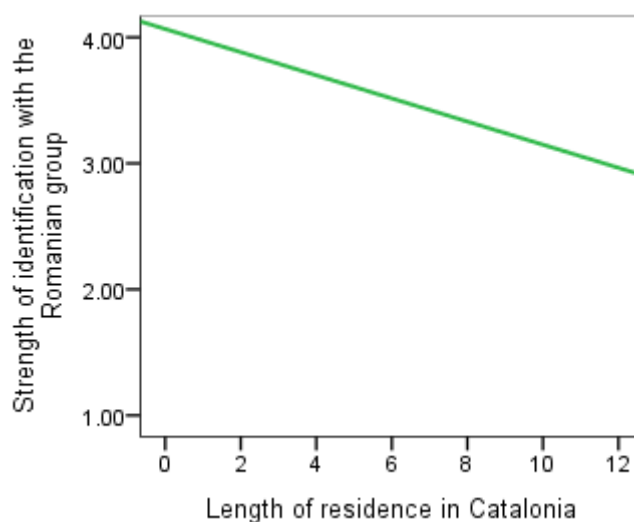


Figure 40. The effect of length of residence on strength of identification with the Romanian group

The effect of length of residence in Catalonia on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

Further, a moderation analysis was carried out in order to explore the effect of the interaction between length of residence in Catalonia and attendance at Romanian classes on the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group.

The results, summarised in **Table 32**, indicate that the effect of length of residence in Catalonia over the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group was not moderated by their attendance at Romanian classes.

Table 32. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of length of residence in Catalonia and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.54 [3.41, 3.68]	0.07		< .001
Length of residence in Catalonia	-0.09 [-0.14, -0.04]	0.03	-.09	.001
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.12 [-0.16, 0.40]	0.14	.12	.413
Length of residence in Catalonia x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.01 [-0.10, 0.12]	0.06	.001	.836

Note. $R^2 = .09$, $p = .010$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.6. The effect of language attitudes

The next set of analyses focused on the effect of language attitudes on the students' strength of identification. For this purpose simple regressions were carried out for language attitudes towards Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian. Furthermore, it was also analysed whether effects varied depending on the participants' attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented separately by strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, respectively.

8.2.1.6.1. The effect of language attitudes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

Analyses investigated the effect of language attitudes on strength of identification with the Catalan group, as well as whether this effect varied depending on the students' attendance at Romanian classes.

However, first of all, the associations between the variables were checked for the whole sample, the results being presented in **Table 33**. As shown, at general level, strength of identification with the Catalan group was found to correlate positively with attitudes towards Catalan, and negatively with attitudes towards Spanish. No significant correlation was found between strength of identification with the Catalan group and attitudes towards Romanian.

Table 33. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for attitudes towards language and strength of identification with the Catalan group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.38, 2.69]	0.93	.59** [.47, .68]	-.27** [-.41, -.12]	-.02 [-.20, .16]
2. Attitudes towards Catalan	4.35 [3.54, 5.19]	4.77		-.21* [-.34, -.08]	.18* [.01, .34]
3. Attitudes towards Spanish	6.99 [6.55, 7.40]	2.63			-.04 [-.19, .12]
4. Attitudes towards Romanian	6.44 [5.86, 6.98]	3.25			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Simple regression analyses revealed the existence of a statistically significant positive effect of attitudes towards Catalan on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = 0.11$ [0.09, 0.14], $SE_b = 0.14$, $\beta = .59$, $p < .001$), explaining 34% of its variance. The relationship between these variables suggests that when attitudes towards Catalan are more favourable, the strength of identification with the Catalan group increases (**Figure 41**).

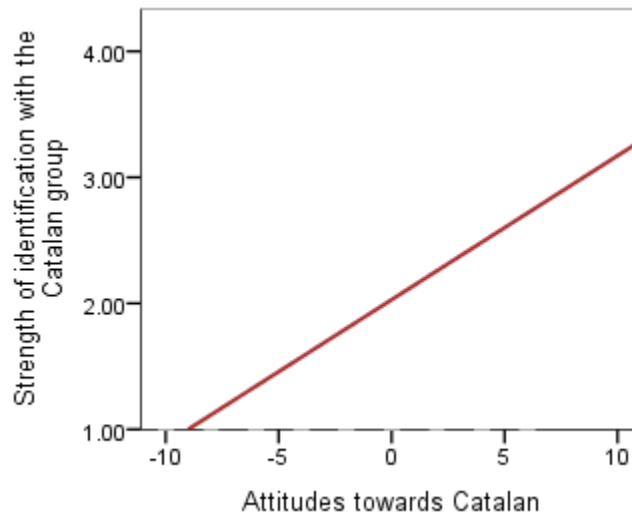


Figure 41. The effect of attitudes towards Catalan on strength of identification with the Catalan group

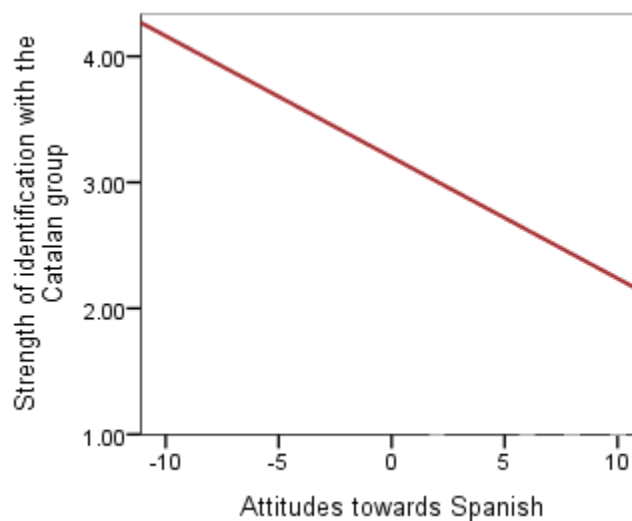


Figure 42. The effect of attitudes towards Spanish on strength of identification with the Catalan group

For attitudes towards Spanish, the relationship uncovered with strength of identification with the Catalan group was negative ($b = -0.10$ [-0.15, -0.05], $SE_b = 0.03$, $\beta = -.27$, $p = .002$) and weaker. However, it was nevertheless significant and explained 7% of the variance of scores for this variable. The relationship suggests that as attitudes towards Spanish are more favourable, strength of identification with the Catalan group decreases (**Figure 42**).

Lastly, no significant relationship was found between attitudes towards Romanian and strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = -0.01$ [-0.06, 0.05], $SE_b = 0.03$, $\beta = -.02$, $p = .850$).

Next, moderation analyses were carried out in order to see if effects of language attitudes on strength of identification with the Catalan group were moderated by the participants' attendance at Romanian classes.

The effect of attitudes towards Catalan on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

The results of the moderation analysis, summarized in **Table 34**, indicated that the interaction between attitudes towards Catalan and attendance at Romanian classes was not significant. The effects of attitudes towards Catalan on strength of identification with the Catalan group did not therefore vary depending on the participants' attendance at Romanian classes.

Table 34. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of attitudes towards Catalan and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.52 [2.39, 2.66]	0.07		< .001
Attitudes towards Catalan	0.12 [0.09, 0.14]	0.01	.12	< .001
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.05 [-0.22, 0.33]	0.14	.05	.700
Attitudes towards Catalan x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.02 [-0.07, 0.03]	0.03	-.02	.491

Note. $R^2 = .35$, $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of attitudes towards Spanish on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

For attitudes towards Spanish, the moderation analysis revealed no significant interaction between attitudes towards Spanish and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group. This indicates that the effect of attitudes towards Spanish on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group did not vary depending on their attendance at Romanian classes (Table 35).

Table 35. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of attitudes towards Spanish and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.52 [2.36, 2.68]	0.08		< .001
Attitudes towards Spanish	-0.09 [-0.15, -0.04]	0.03	-.10	.001
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.02 [-0.36, 0.32]	0.17	-.02	.896
Attitudes towards Spanish x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.08 [-0.04, 0.21]	0.06	.08	.191

Note. $R^2 = .09$, $p = .003$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of attitudes towards Romanian on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis revealed no significant interaction effect between attitudes towards Romanian and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group. The summary of the results of the moderation analysis is presented in Table 36.

Table 36. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Attitudes towards Spanish and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.54 [2.37, 2.70]	0.08		< .001
Attitudes towards Romanian	-0.01 [-0.07, 0.05]	0.03	-.01	.789
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.04 [-0.39, 0.32]	0.18	-.04	.847
Attitudes towards Romanian x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.05 [-0.17, 0.08]	0.07	-.05	.482

Note. $R^2 = .01$, $p = .862$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.6.2. The effect of language attitudes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

Next, the analyses carried out explored the effects of language attitudes on the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group, and whether attendance at Romanian classes moderated these effects. First of all, for this purpose, the correlations between the variables involved in the analysis were computed.

As the **Table 37** shows, at general level strength of identification with the Spanish group was found to be negatively correlated with attitudes towards Romanian. No significant correlation was found between strength of identification with the Spanish group and attitudes towards Catalan and attitudes towards Spanish, respectively.

Table 37. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for attitudes towards language and strength of identification with the Spanish group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.71, 2.98]	0.78	-.09 [-.26, .10]	.08 [-.10, .27]	-.19* [-.35, .01]
2. Attitudes towards Catalan	4.35 [3.54, 5.19]	4.77		-.21* [-.34, -.08]	.18* [.01, .34]
3. Attitudes towards Spanish	6.99 [6.55, 7.40]	2.63			-.04 [-.19, .12]
4. Attitudes towards Romanian	6.44 [5.86, 6.98]	3.25			

Note. * $p < .05$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Simple regression analyses carried out in order to explore the effects of attitudes towards the three languages on strength of identification with the Spanish group revealed the existence of a single significant effect, that of attitudes towards Romanian ($b = -0.05$ [-0.09, 0.00], $SE_b = 0.02$, $\beta = -.19$, $p = .034$). The negative effect, explaining 4% of the variance of the scores for the variable, suggested that when attitudes towards Romanian are more favourable, strength of identification with the Spanish group decreases (**Figure 43**).

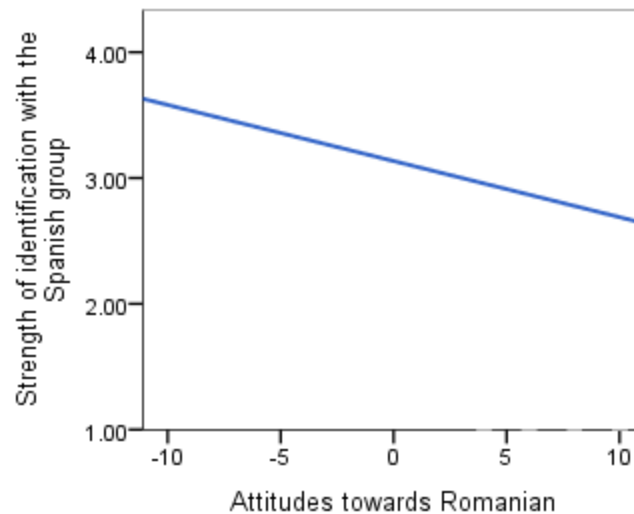


Figure 43. The effect of attitudes towards Romanian on strength of identification with the Spanish group

No significant relationship was found with attitudes towards Catalan ($b = -0.01$ $[-0.05, 0.02]$, $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = -.09$, $p = .335$) or with attitudes towards Spanish ($b = 0.02$ $[-0.03, 0.08]$, $SE_b = 0.03$, $\beta = .82$, $p = .352$).

Next, moderation analyses were carried out in order to determine whether effects of language attitudes on strength of identification with the Spanish group were moderated by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

The effect of attitudes towards Catalan on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis carried out for attitudes towards Catalan, summarized in **Table 38**, indicates the presence of an interaction effect, which is represented in **Figure 44**. This suggests that the effect of attitudes towards Catalan on strength of identification with the Spanish group varies by attendance at Romanian classes.

Table 38. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of attitudes towards Catalan and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	b	SE _b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.86 [2.73, 3.00]	0.07		< .001
Attitudes towards Catalan	-0.02 [-0.05, 0.02]	0.02	-.02	.293
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.03 [-0.27, 0.32]	0.15	.03	.860
Attitudes towards Catalan x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.07 [.005, 0.14]	0.03	.07	.036

Note. $R^2 = .05$, $p = .151$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

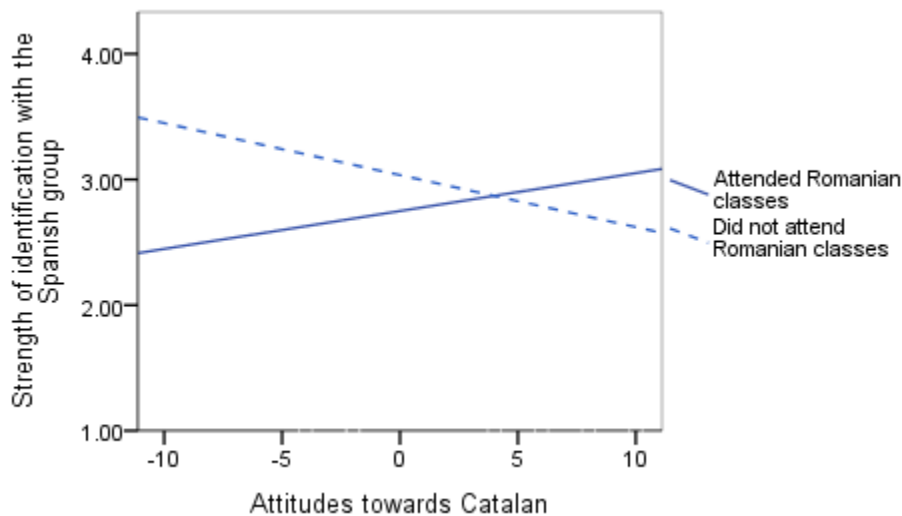


Figure 44. Interaction effect of attitudes towards Catalan and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

Further, in order to break down the interaction effect, simple regressions were carried out on the two groups of participants by attendance at Romanian classes. The model obtained for the group which attended Romanian classes was statistically non-significant, while the regression model obtained for the group which did not attend Romanian classes was significant (Table 39). More specifically, for participants who did not attend Romanian classes, a significant negative effect of attitudes towards Catalan on strength of identification with the Spanish group was found, indicating that more favourable attitudes towards Catalan predicted a lower strength of identification with the Spanish group. Attitudes towards Catalan accounted for 6% of the variance of scores for strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Table 39. Summary of the simple regressions testing the effect of attitudes towards Catalan on strength of identification with the Spanish group, by attendance at Romanian classes

	R^2	b	SE_b	β	p
Attended Romanian classes	.04	0.03 [-0.01, 0.08]	0.02	.20	.211
Did not attend Romanian classes	.06	-0.04 [-0.08, -.002]	0.02	-.24	.022

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of attitudes towards Spanish on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

The effect of the attitudes towards Spanish moderated by attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group was also explored through moderation analysis. The results, summarized in **Table 40**, indicate the absence of an interaction effect between attitudes towards Spanish and attendance at Romanian classes.

Table 40. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of attitudes towards Catalan and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.84 [2.70, 2.99]	0.07		< .001
Attitudes towards Spanish	0.03 [-0.04, 0.09]	0.03	.03	.412
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.001 [-0.32, 0.32]	0.16	-.001	.994
Attitudes towards Spanish x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.04 [-0.11, 0.19]	0.08	.04	.605

Note. $R^2 = .01$, $p = .844$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of attitudes towards Romanian on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

Similar results were found for the effect of attitudes towards Romanian on the students' strength of identification with the Spanish group. The multiple regression carried out found no significant interaction effect between attitudes towards Romanian and attendance at Romanian classes. A summary of the results is displayed in **Table 41**.

Table 41. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of attitudes towards Romanian and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [2.71, 2.99]	0.07		< .001
Attitudes towards Romanian	-0.05 [-0.09, 0.001]	0.02	-.05	.055
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.07 [-0.24, 0.37]	0.15	.07	.664
Attitudes towards Romanian x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.01 [-0.12, 0.10]	0.06	-.01	.843

Note. $R^2 = .04$, $p = .273$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.6.3. The effect of language attitudes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

In order to explore the effect of language attitudes on the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group and the moderation effect of attendance at Romanian classes, the associations between the variables involved in the analysis were first computed (Table 42).

As the table shows, at general level, strength of identification with the Romanian group was found to be positively correlated with attitudes towards Romanian. No significant correlation was found between strength of identification with the Romanian group and attitudes towards Catalan or attitudes towards Spanish, respectively.

Table 42. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for attitudes towards language and strength of identification with the Romanian group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.68]	0.79	-.13 [-.27, .06]	-.08 [-.23, .08]	.38** [.19, .56]
2. Attitudes towards Catalan	4.35 [3.54, 5.19]	4.77		-.21* [-.34, -.08]	.18* [.01, .34]
3. Attitudes towards Spanish	6.99 [6.55, 7.40]	2.63			-.04 [-.19, .12]
4. Attitudes towards Romanian	6.44 [5.86, 6.98]	3.25			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Simple regression analyses revealed only one significant relationship between language attitudes and strength of identification with the Romanian group. Thus, a significant, positive relationship was found with attitudes towards Romanian ($b = 0.09$ [0.05, 0.13], $SE_b = 0.02$, $\beta = .38$, $p < .001$), explaining 15% of the variance of the scores for this variable. These results suggest that when attitudes towards Romanian are more favourable, strength of identification with the Romanian group increases (Figure 45).

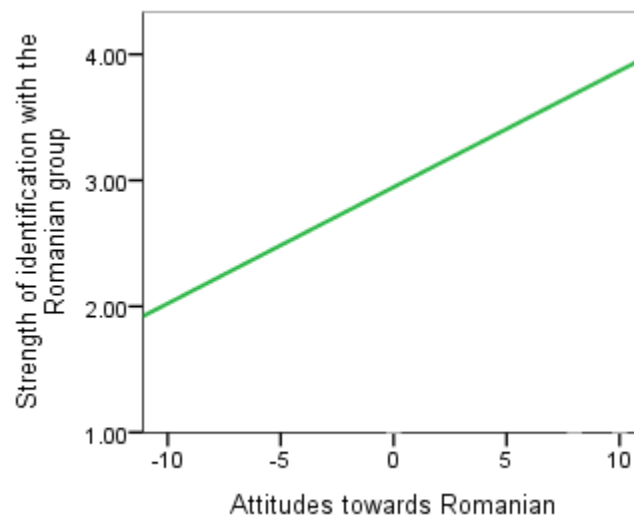


Figure 45. The effect of attitudes towards Romanian on strength of identification with the Romanian group

No significant relationship was found with attitudes towards Catalan ($b = -0.02$ [-0.05, 0.01], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = -.13$, $p = .155$) or with attitudes towards Spanish ($b = -0.02$ [-0.07, 0.03], $SE_b = 0.03$, $\beta = -.76$, $p = .388$).

Following, moderation analyses were carried out in order to determine whether effects of language attitudes on strength of identification with the Romanian group were moderated by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

The effect of attitudes towards Catalan on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

First off, the effect of attitudes towards Catalan was explored. The multiple regression carried out showed no significant interaction between attitudes towards Catalan and the participants' attendance at Romanian classes on the strength of identification with the Romanian group. The results of the analysis are reported in **Table 43**.

Table 43. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Attitudes towards Catalan and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.54 [3.40, 3.68]	0.07		< .001
Attitudes towards Catalan	-0.02 [-0.05, 0.01]	0.02	-.02	.236
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.14 [-0.15, 0.43]	0.15	.14	.352
Attitudes towards Catalan x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.02 [-0.08, 0.04]	0.03	-.02	.507

Note. $R^2 = .03$, $p = .098$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of attitudes towards Spanish on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

Next, the effects of attitudes towards Spanish were explored. The results are shown in **Table 44**. The multiple regression carried out indicated that no significant interaction exists between attitudes towards Spanish and the participants' attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group.

Table 44. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of attitudes towards Spanish and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.54 [3.40, 3.68]	0.07		< .001
Attitudes towards Spanish	-0.02 [-0.08, 0.03]	0.03	-.02	.357
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.17 [-0.13, 0.46]	0.15	.17	.261
Attitudes towards Spanish x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.05 [-0.05, 0.15]	0.05	.05	.319

Note. $R^2 = .02$, $p = .455$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of attitudes towards Romanian on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

Further, the analyses focused on the relationship between attitudes towards Romanian and the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group. The summarized results of the analysis, presented in **Table 45**, show that the interaction between the participants' attitudes towards Romanian and their attendance at Romanian classes did not have a significant effect on the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group.

Table 45. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Attitudes towards Romanian and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.55 [3.41, 3.68]	0.07		< .001
Attitudes towards Romanian	0.09 [0.04, 0.14]	0.02	.09	< .001
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.09 [-0.20, 0.38]	0.15	.09	.555
Attitudes towards Romanian x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.02 [-0.14, 0.10]	0.06	.02	.728

Note. $R^2 = .15$, $p < .010$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.7. The effect of language competences

Further, analyses were conducted in order to investigate the effect of language competences on students' strength of identification. Simple regression analyses were used in order to determine the main effects of Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian competences on strength of identification with each of the three groups analysed. Moreover, moderation analyses were conducted in order to analyse if these effects varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented for each of the three groups of interest in the present research.

8.2.1.7.1. The effect of language competences on strength of identification with the Catalan group

The first analyses conducted focused on strength of identification with the Catalan group, exploring the influence which the Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian competences, respectively,

had on the scores for this variable. First, the associations between these variables were verified for the whole sample (Table 46), followed by simple regressions which examined the influence of language competences on strength of identification with the Catalan group.

A negative correlation was found between strength of identification with the Catalan group and Romanian language competences. No significant relationship was found with Spanish or with Catalan language competences, respectively.

Table 46. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for language competences and strength of identification with the Catalan group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.38, 2.69]	0.93	.15 [-.03, .33]	.10 [-.10, .31]	-.22* [-.38, -.05]
2. Catalan competences	33.33 [31.86, 34.83]	8.90		.81*** [.75, .89]	.36*** [.22, .45]
3. Spanish competences	33.76 [32.05, 35.40]	10.01			.36*** [.20, .49]
4. Romanian competences	30.24 [28.81, 31.61]	8.50			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

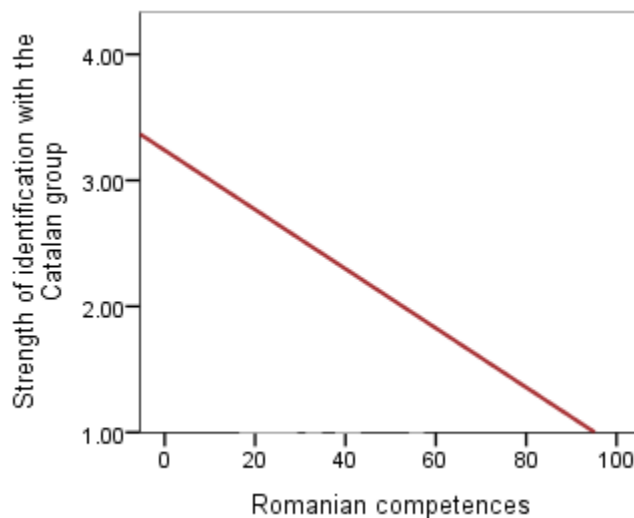


Figure 46. The effect of Romanian competences on strength of identification with the Catalan group

Simple regression analyses revealed the existence of a negative effect of Romanian competences on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group, explaining 5% of its variance ($b = -0.02$ [-0.04, -0.01], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = -.22$, $p = 0.014$). The relationship between these variables suggests that when Romanian competences increase, strength of identification with the Catalan group decreases (**Figure 46**).

No significant relationship was found with Catalan competences ($b = 0.02$ [-0.00, 0.04], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = .15$, $p = .083$), nor with Spanish competences ($b = 0.01$ [-0.01, 0.03], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = -.10$, $p = .262$).

Further, moderation analyses were carried out in order to determine if the effects of competences in each of the three languages were moderated by the participants' attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented in the following paragraphs.

The effect of Catalan competences on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

First, the relationship between Catalan competences and strength of identification with the Catalan group was explored. The analysis revealed that the interaction between the participants' Catalan competences and their attendance at Romanian classes did not have a significant effect on strength of identification with the Catalan group. The results are summarized in **Table 47**.

Table 47. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Catalan competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.53 [2.36, 2.69]	0.08		< .001
Catalan competences	0.02 [-0.003, 0.04]	0.01	.17	.100
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.06 [-0.40, 0.28]	0.17	-.06	.717
Catalan competences x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.001[-0.04, 0.04]	0.02	-.001	.953

Note. $R^2 = .02$, $p = .397$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Spanish competences on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

Next, the relationship between Spanish competences and the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group was explored. The results, summarized in **Table 48**, indicated that no significant interaction effect exists between participants' Spanish competences and their attendance at Romanian classes on the strength of identification with the Catalan group.

Table 48. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Spanish competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.53 [2.36, 2.69]	0.08		< .001
Spanish competences	0.01 [-0.01, 0.03]	0.01	.01	.327
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.06 [-0.41, 0.28]	0.17	-.06	.720
Spanish competences x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.002 [-0.04, 0.03]	0.02	-.003	.888

Note. $R^2 = .11$, $p = .370$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Romanian competences on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

Table 49. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Romanian language competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.53 [2.36, 2.69]	0.09		< .001
Romanian language competences	-0.02 [-0.04, -0.003]	0.01	-.02	.021
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.04 [-0.33, 0.41]	0.19	.04	.831
Romanian language competences x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.002 [-0.04, 0.04]	0.02	.02	.930

Note. $R^2 = .05$, $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The moderation analysis exploring whether the effect of Romanian language competences on strength of identification with the Catalan group varied by attendance at Romanian classes

indicated that the moderation effect was statistically non-significant (Table 49). In other words, the effect of Romanian language competences on strength of identification with the Catalan group did not vary by attendance at Romanian classes.

8.2.1.7.2. The effect of language competences on strength of identification with the Spanish group

The following set of analyses focused on the relationship existing between language competences and strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Table 50. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for attitudes towards language and strength of identification with the Spanish group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.71, 2.98]	0.78	-.08 [.00, .10]	-.12 [-.31, .08]	-.27** [-.42, -.11]
2. Catalan competences	33.33 [31.86, 34.83]	8.90		.81*** [.75, .89]	.36*** [.22, .45]
3. Spanish competences	33.76 [32.05, 35.40]	10.01			.36*** [.20, .49]
4. Romanian competences	30.24 [28.81, 31.61]	8.50			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

As in the previous case, first the descriptive statistics and the correlations between the variables were computed (Table 50), followed by simple regressions which examined the influence of language competences on the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Simple regression analyses indicated the presence of a negative effect of Romanian competences ($b = -0.03$ [-0.04, -0.01], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = -.27$, $p = .002$), explaining 7% of the variance of the scores for the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group. The relationship between these variables suggests that when Romanian competences increase, strength of identification with the Spanish group decreases (Figure 47).

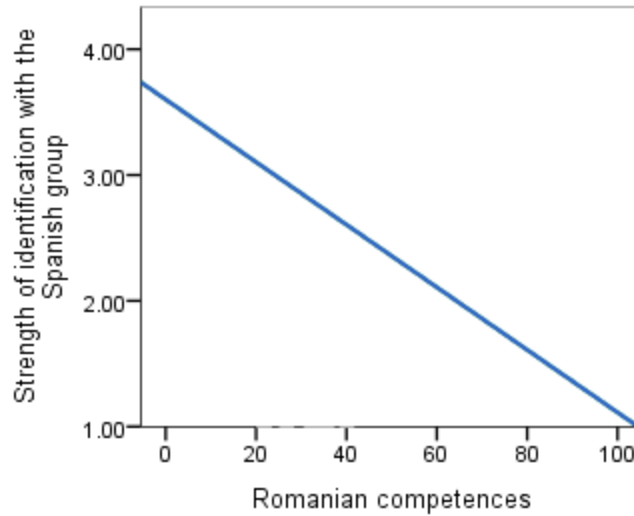


Figure 47. The effect of Romanian competences on strength of identification with the Spanish group

No significant influences of Catalan competences ($b = -0.01$ [-0.02, 0.01], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = -.08$, $p = .380$) or of Spanish competences ($b = -0.01$ [-0.02, 0.01], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = -.12$, $p = .175$) were found on the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Next, moderation analyses were carried out as to determine whether the effects of language competences on strength of identification with the Spanish group were moderated by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

The effect of Catalan competences on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

Table 51. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Catalan competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [2.71, 2.99]	0.07		< .001
Catalan competences	-0.01[-0.02, 0.01]	0.01	-.07	.456
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.02 [-0.28, 0.32]	0.15	.02	.880
Catalan competences x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.01 [-0.05, 0.03]	0.02	-.01	.586

Note. $R^2 = .01$, $p = .848$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The moderation analysis carried out indicate that there is no significant effect of the interaction between Catalan competences and attendance at Romanian classes on participants' scores for strength of identification with the Spanish group (Table 51).

The effect of Spanish competences on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

The absence of a significant effect of moderation is also indicated by the analysis carried out for Spanish competences, indicating that the interaction between the participants' Spanish competences and attendance at Romanian classes did not have a significant effect on strength of identification with the Spanish group (Table 52).

Table 52. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Spanish competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [2.71, 2.99]	0.07		< .001
Spanish competences	-0.01 [-.07, .01]	0.01	-.01	.286
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.03 [-0.28, 0.33]	0.16	.03	.867
Spanish competences x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.002 [-0.04, 0.04]	0.02	-.002	.920

Note. $R^2 = .01$, $p = .746$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Romanian competences on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

The next moderation analysis explored whether the effect of Romanian competences on the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results, presented in Table 53, indicate that there is no significant interaction between the two variables.

Table 53. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Romanian competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [2.71, 2.99]	0.07		< .001
Romanian competences	-0.03 [-0.04, -0.01]	0.01	-.03	< .001
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.13 [-0.16, 0.43]	0.15	.13	.372
Romanian competences x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.004 [-0.03, 0.02]	0.01	-.004	.785

Note. $R^2 = .08$, $p = .004$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.7.3. The effect of language competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group

The last set of analyses presented in this section focused on the effect of language competences on the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group. As formerly, the descriptive statistics and associations between the variables were computed (Table 54), followed by simple regressions which investigated the influence of language competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group.

Significant correlations were found with language competences in all three languages. Thus, a negative relationship was found with Catalan competences, as well as with Spanish competences. For Romanian competences, the relationship with strength of identification with the Romanian group was found to be positive.

Table 54. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for attitudes towards language and strength of identification with the Romanian group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.68]	0.79	-.17* [-.33, -.01]	-.23** [-.40, -.07]	.18* [-.008, .35]
2. Catalan competences	33.33 [31.86, 34.83]	8.90		.81*** [.75, .89]	.36*** [.22, .45]
3. Spanish competences	33.76 [32.05, 35.40]	10.01			.36*** [.20, .49]
4. Romanian competences	30.24 [28.81, 31.61]	8.50			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The simple regression analyses revealed the existence of a negative influence of Catalan competences on the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group, explaining 3% of its variance ($b = -0.02$ [-0.03, -0.001], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = -.17$, $p = .048$). These results suggest that when Catalan competences increase, strength of identification with the Romanian group decreases (Figure 48).

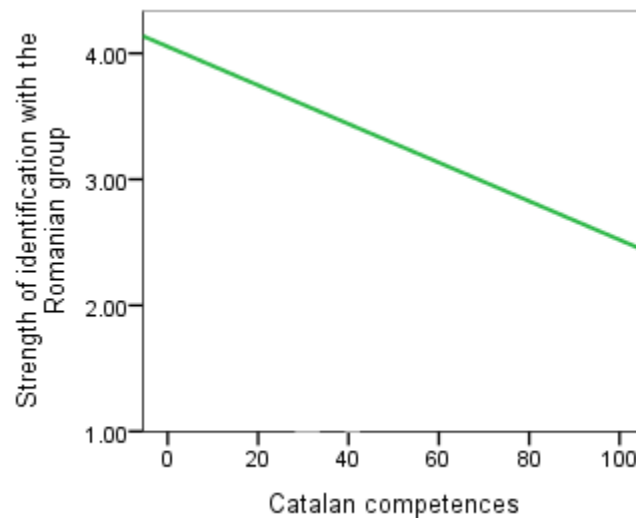


Figure 48. The effect of Catalan competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group

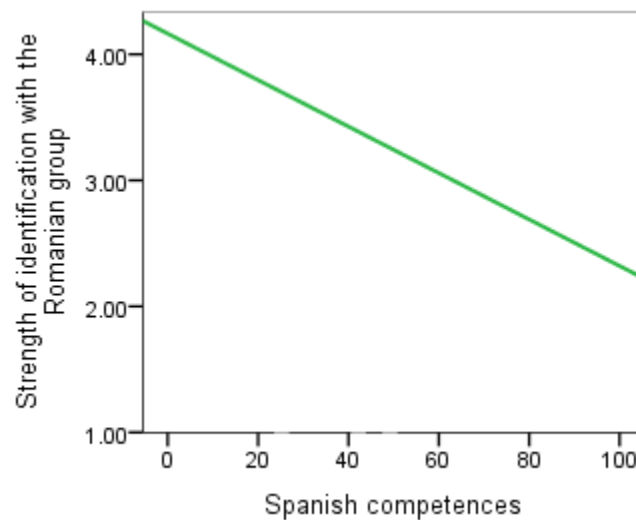


Figure 49. The effect of Spanish competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group

A similar relationship (represented in **Figure 49**) was found with Spanish competences, which explains 6% of the variance of scores for strength of identification with the Romanian group, ($b = -0.02$ [-0.03, -0.004], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = -.23$, $p = .007$).

Additionally, simple regression analysis revealed a significant, positive influence of Romanian competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group ($b = 0.02$ [-0.001, 0.03], $SE_b = 0.01$, $\beta = .18$, $p = .043$), explaining 3% of its variance. This relationship suggests that as Romanian competences increase, strength of identification with the Romanian group increases as well (**Figure 50**).

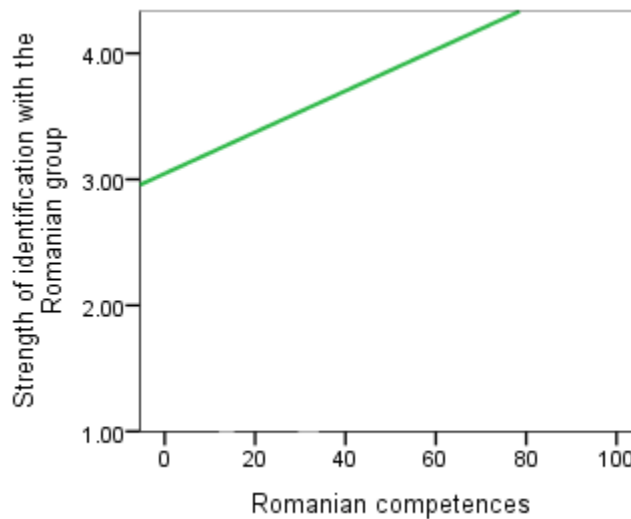


Figure 50. The effect of Romanian competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group

Next, moderation analyses were carried out in order to verify whether the effects of language competences vary depending on participants' attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

The effect of Catalan competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

First the analyses focused on determining whether the effects of Catalan language competences were moderated by attendance at Romanian classes. The results, summarized in **Table 55**, signal the existence of a significant interaction between Catalan language competences and attendance

at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group (also represented in Figure 51).

Table 55. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Catalan competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.54 [3.40, 3.67]	0.07		< .001
Catalan competences	-0.02 [-0.03, -0.001]	0.01	-.02	.034
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.16 [-0.12, 0.44]	0.14	.16	.250
Catalan competences x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.04 [0.01, 0.07]	0.01	.04	.011

Note. $R^2 = .08$, $p = .019$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

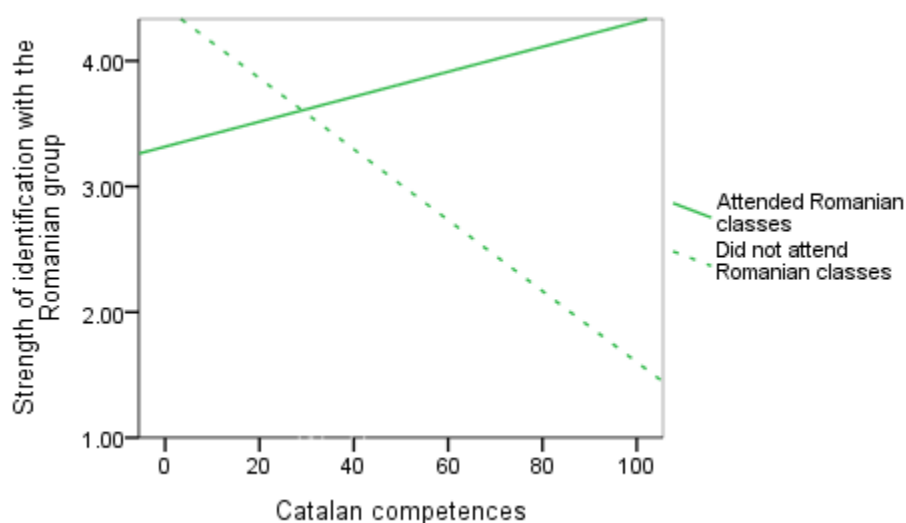


Figure 51. Interaction effect of Catalan competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

Further, the effect of Catalan competences was broken down by attendance at Romanian classes. The simple regression analyses carried out showed a significant, negative relationship for students who did not attend Romanian classes, explaining 10% of the variance of scores for their strength of identification with the Romanian group. This relationship suggests that for participants who did not attend Romanian classes, an increase in Catalan competences led to a decrease in strength of identification with the Romanian group (Table 56).

Table 56. Summary of the simple regressions testing the effect of Catalan competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group, by attendance at Romanian classes

	R^2	b	SE_b	β	p
Attended Romanian classes	.02	0.01[-0.01, 0.03]	0.01	.13	.425
Did not attend Romanian classes	.10	-0.03 [-0.05, -0.01]	0.01	-.31	.004

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

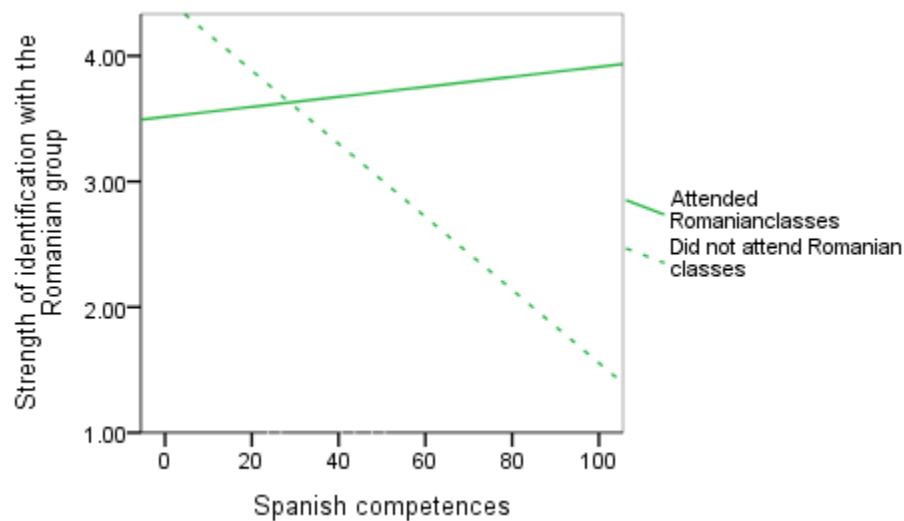
The effect of Spanish competence on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

Next, a moderation analysis was carried out in order to determine whether the effects of Spanish attitudes were moderated by attendance at Romanian classes.

Table 57. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Spanish competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.54 [3.40, 3.67]	0.07		< .001
Spanish competences	-0.02 [-0.03, 0.004]	0.01	-.02	.013
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.17 [-0.11, 0.45]	0.14	.17	.241
Spanish competences x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.03 [0.003, 0.06]	0.02	.33	.034

Note. $R^2 = .10$, $p = .012$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

**Figure 52. Interaction effect of Spanish competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group**

The results, presented in **Table 57**, indicate the presence of a statistically significant interaction between the two variables on scores for strength of identification with the Romanian group (also represented in **Figure 52**).

The effect of Spanish competences was further explored through simple regression analyses by dividing the sample into two groups by their attendance at Romanian classes. The results showed a negative, significant relationship for participants who did not attend Romanian classes. For this group of students, Spanish competences explained 13% of the variance of scores for their strength of identification with the Romanian group. The results suggest that an increase in Spanish competences led to a decrease in strength of identification with the Romanian group (**Table 58**).

Table 58. Summary of the simple regressions testing the effect of Spanish language competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group, by attendance at Romanian classes

	R^2	b	SE_b	β	p
Attended Romanian classes	.003	0.004 [-0.02, 0.03]	0.01	.06	.728
Did not attend Romanian classes	.13	-0.03[-0.05, -0.01]	0.01	-.36	.001

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Romanian competence on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

Table 59. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Romanian competences and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.52 [3.38, 3.67]	0.07		< .001
Romanian competences	0.01 [-0.004, 0.03]	0.01	.01	.134
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.07 [-0.23, 0.38]	0.15	.07	.628
Romanian competences x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.02 [-0.01, 0.05]	0.02	.02	.236

Note. $R^2 = .05$, $p = .010$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

A third moderation analysis was conducted in order to determine whether the effect of Romanian competences on strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results indicated that no significant effect of interaction exists, as shown in **Table 59**.

8.2.1.8. The effect of language use at home

Further, the effect of participants' language use at home on their strength of was analysed. The relationship existing between the use of Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian at home and the participants' strength of identification with the three groups was investigated through simple regression. Furthermore, analyses also focused on determining whether the effect of language use at home was moderated by attendance at Romanian classes.

8.2.1.8.1. The effect of language use at home on strength of identification with the Catalan group

First, analyses were carried out in order to explore the relationship existing between language use at home and strength of identification with the Catalan group. The associations between the variables were checked (**Table 60**), followed by simple regressions which focused on the influence of language use at home on strength of identification with the Catalan group.

Table 60. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for language use at home and strength of identification with the Catalan group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.38, 2.69]	0.93	.27** [.09, .43]	-.09 [-.27, .08]	.04 [-.15, .23]
2. Catalan use at home	0.16 [0.12, 0.20]	0.24		.38*** [.21, .54]	-.44*** [-.60, -.28]
3. Spanish use at home	0.32 [0.26 0.40]	0.39			-.85*** [-.91, -.79]
4. Romanian use at home	1.53 [1.45, 1.61]	0.50			

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

A positive correlation was found between strength of identification with the Catalan group and Catalan use at home. No significant correlations were found with Spanish use at home or with Romanian use at home.

Simple regression analyses indicated a positive effect of Catalan use at home on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = 1.03$ [0.36, 1.70], $SE_b = 0.33$, $\beta = .27$, $p = .002$), explaining 7% of the variance of their scores to this variable. The relationship between these variables suggests that an increase in Catalan use at home leads to an increase in strength of identification with the Catalan group (Figure 53).

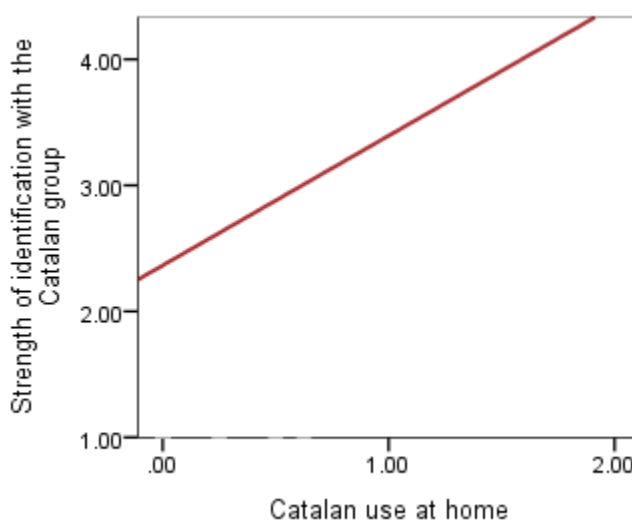


Figure 53. The effect of Catalan use at home on strength of identification with the Catalan group

No significant effect of Spanish use at home ($b = -0.23$ [-0.62, 0.18], $SE_b = 0.21$, $\beta = -.09$, $p = .284$) was found. Similarly, no significant effect was found for Romanian use at home either ($b = 0.08$ [-0.28, 0.43], $SE_b = 0.16$, $\beta = .04$, $p = .634$).

The next step consisted in conducting moderation analyses, with the goal of investigating whether the effects of language use at home on participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented in the following.

The effect of Catalan use at home on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

For Catalan use at home no interaction effect was revealed (Table 61), suggesting that the effects of Catalan use at home on strength of identification with the Catalan group did not vary by attendance at Romanian classes.

Table 61. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Catalan use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.53 [2.37, 2.69]	0.08		< .001
Catalan use at home	1.05 [0.33, 1.76]	0.36	1.05	.004
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.04 [-0.36, 0.29]	0.16	-.04	.822
Catalan use at home x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.36 [-1.18, 1.89]	0.78	.36	.647

Note. $R^2 = .07$, $p = .040$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Spanish use at home on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

As in the case of Catalan use at home, no interaction effect was found between Spanish use at home and attendance at Romanian classes, as the results of the moderation analysis presented in Table 62 indicate.

Table 62. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Spanish use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.53 [2.36, 2.69]	0.08		< .001
Spanish use at home	-0.22 [-0.66, -0.21]	0.22	-.22	.309
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.06 [-0.40, 0.29]	0.17	-.06	.745
Spanish use at home x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.02 [-0.88, 0.93]	.46	.02	.963

Note. $R^2 = .01$, $p = .760$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Romanian use at home on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

For Romanian use at home, no significant interaction effect was indicated by the moderation analysis conducted, suggesting that the effect of Romanian use at home on strength of identification with the Catalan group did not vary by attendance at Romanian classes (**Table 63**).

Table 63. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Romanian use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.53 [2.36, 2.70]	0.08		< .001
Romanian use at home	0.07 [-0.32, 0.47]	0.20	.07	.716
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.06 [-0.42, 0.30]	0.18	-.06	.744
Romanian use at home x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.11[-1.04, 0.81]	0.47	-.11	.807

Note. $R^2 = .004$, $p = .936$. BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.8.2. The effect of language use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group

Further was investigated the relationship existing between language use at home and strength of identification with the Spanish group. After the associations between the variables were verified, simple regression analyses were used to investigate the effect of language use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group.

As shown in **Table 64**, a positive correlation was found with Spanish use at home. No significant correlations were found with Catalan use at home or with Romanian use at home.

The simple regressions carried out revealed the presence of a positive, significant effect of Spanish use at home ($b = 0.35$ [-0.06, 0.74], $SE_b = 0.17$, $\beta = .18$, $p = .044$), which explained 3% of the variance of scores for the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group (**Figure 54**). This suggests that as Spanish use at home increases, so does the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group.

No significant effects were found for Catalan use at home ($b = 0.01$ [-0.44, 0.62], $SE_b = 0.29$, $\beta = .03$, $p = .724$), or for Romanian use at home ($b = -0.20$ [-0.47, 0.07], $SE_b = 0.14$, $\beta = -.13$, $p = .139$).

Table 64. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for language use and strength of identification with the Spanish group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.71, 2.98]	0.78	.03 [-.13, .18]	.18* [-.03, .36]	-.13 [-.31, .06]
2. Catalan use at home	0.16 [0.12, 0.20]	0.24		.38*** [.21, .54]	-.44*** [-.60, -.28]
3. Spanish use at home	0.32 [0.26 0.40]	0.39			-.85*** [-.91, -.79]
4. Romanian use at home	1.53 [1.45, 1.61]	0.50			

Note. * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

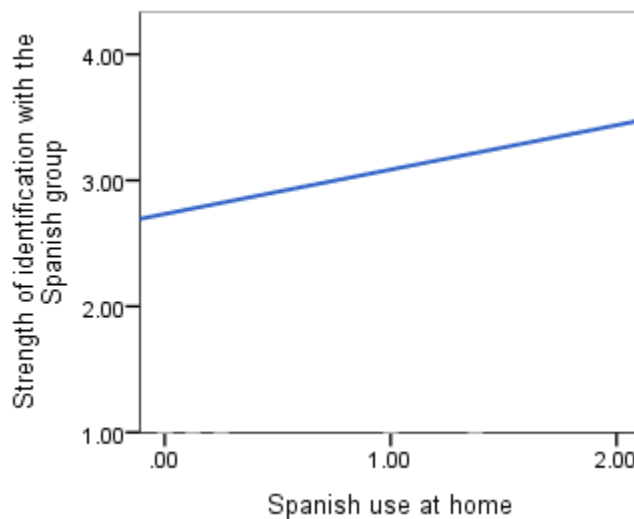


Figure 54. The effect of Spanish use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group

Next, moderation analyses were conducted in order to investigate whether the effects of language use at home varied depending on attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

The effect of Catalan use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

Results, summarized in **Table 65**, indicate that the effect of Catalan use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group was moderated by attendance at Romanian classes (also represented in **Figure 55**).

Table 65. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Catalan use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [2.72, 2.99]	0.07		< .001
Catalan use at home	0.21 [-0.28, 0.69]	0.25	.21	.395
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.03 [-.25, .32]	0.14	.03	.817
Catalan use at home x Attendance at Romanian classes	1.73 [0.63, 2.84]	0.56	1.73	.002

Note. $R^2 = .06$, $p = .018$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

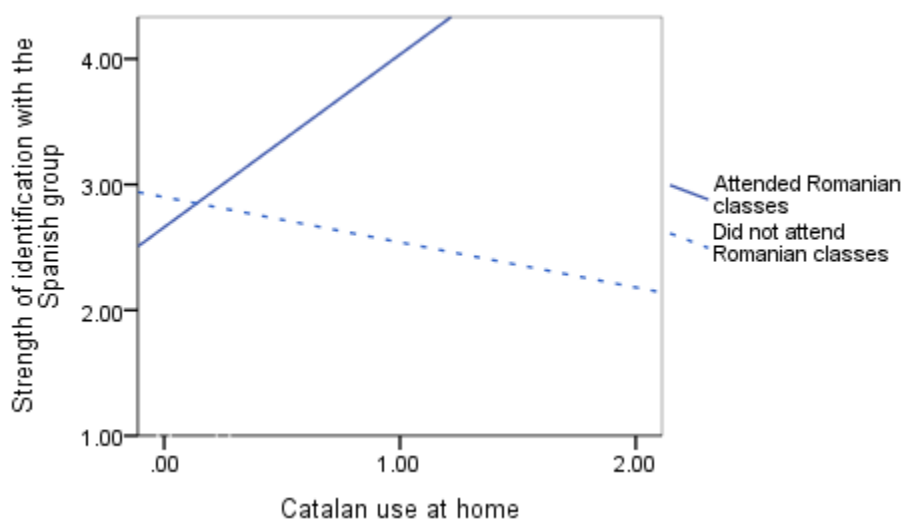


Figure 55. Interaction effect of Catalan use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

Next, the effect of Catalan use at home was explored by attendance at Romanian classes. The simple regressions carried out indicated the presence of a significant, positive relationship between the variables for students who attended Romanian classes. The effect, explaining 37% of the variance of participants' scores for strength of identification with the Spanish group,

suggests that an increase in Catalan use at home leads to higher strength of identification with the Spanish group for students who attended Romanian classes (Table 66). For students who did not attend these classes, no significant effect of Catalan use at home was found.

Table 66. Summary of the simple regressions testing the effect of Catalan use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group, by attendance at Romanian classes

	R^2	b	SE_b	β	p
Attended Romanian classes	.37	1.38 [.30, 2.42]	0.53	.37	.014
Did not attend Romanian classes	.12	-0.36 [-0.93, 0.16]	0.33	-.12	.277

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Spanish use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

Further, a moderation analysis was carried out in order to investigate whether the effect of Spanish use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results, summarised in Table 67, indicate that the interaction effect was not significant.

Table 67. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Spanish use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [2.71, 2.98]	0.07		< .001
Spanish use at home	0.36 [-0.004, 0.77]	0.21	.36	.078
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.02 [-0.28, 0.31]	0.15	.02	.904
Spanish use at home x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.35 [-0.57, 1.26]	0.46	.35	.454

Note. $R^2 = .04$, $p = .337$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Romanian use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis investigating whether the effect of Romanian use at home on strength of identification with the Spanish group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. Results, summarized in **Table 68**, indicate that no significant moderation exists.

Table 68. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Romanian language use and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [2.71, 2.99]	0.07		< .001
Romanian use at home	-0.23 [-0.53, 0.07]	0.15	-.23	.138
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.04 [-0.26, 0.34]	0.15	.04	.796
Romanian use at home x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.40 [- 1.10, 0.30]	0.35	-.40	.258

Note. $R^2 = .03$, $p = .413$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.8.3. The effect of language use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group

The effect of language use at home was also investigated for the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group. First, the associations between the variables were verified, followed by simple regressions aiming to determine the influence of language use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group.

The correlation matrix reveals negative correlations with Catalan use at home and with Spanish use at home, respectively. No significant correlation was found with Romanian use at home (**Table 69**).

Simple regressions carried out revealed a significant, negative effect of Catalan use at home ($b = -0.73 [-1.45, -0.06]$, $SE_b = 0.28$, $\beta = -.22$, $p = .011$), explaining 5% of the variance of the participants' scores for strength of identification with the Romanian group. The results suggested that an increase in Catalan use at home led to a decreased strength of identification with the Romanian group (**Figure 56**).

For Spanish use at home ($b = -0.28$ [-0.64, 0.09], $SE_b = 0.18$, $\beta = -.14$, $p = .109$) and Romanian use at home ($b = 0.20$ [-0.06, 0.50], $SE_b = 0.14$, $\beta = .13$, $p = .141$), no significant effects on the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group were found.

Table 69. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for language use and strength of identification with the Spanish group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.68]	0.79	-.22* [-.43, .008]	-.14 * [-.33, .04]	.13 [-.04, .31]
2. Catalan use at home	0.16 [0.12, 0.20]	0.24		.38*** [.21, .54]	-.44*** [-.60, -.28]
3. Spanish use at home	0.32 [0.26 0.40]	0.39			-.85*** [-.91, -.79]
4. Romanian use at home	1.53 [1.45, 1.61]	0.50			

Note. * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

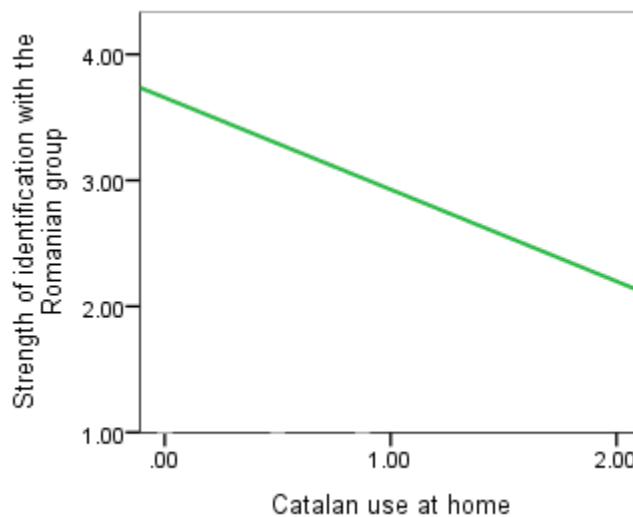


Figure 56. The effect of Catalan use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group

Next, for the each language use at home, moderation analyses were carried out in order to verify whether their effects on strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are further presented.

The effect of Catalan use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

First it was investigated whether the effect of Catalan use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results indicate that there is a significant moderation effect, as it can be seen in **Table 70** and in **Figure 57**.

Table 70. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Catalan use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.55 [3.42, 3.68]	0.07		< .001
Catalan use at home	-0.62 [-1.24, -0.02]	0.31	-.62	.049
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.16 [-0.11, 0.43]	0.14	.16	.243
Catalan use at home x Attendance at Romanian classes	1.61 [0.45, 2.78]	0.59	1.61	.007

Note. $R^2 = .11$, $p = .022$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

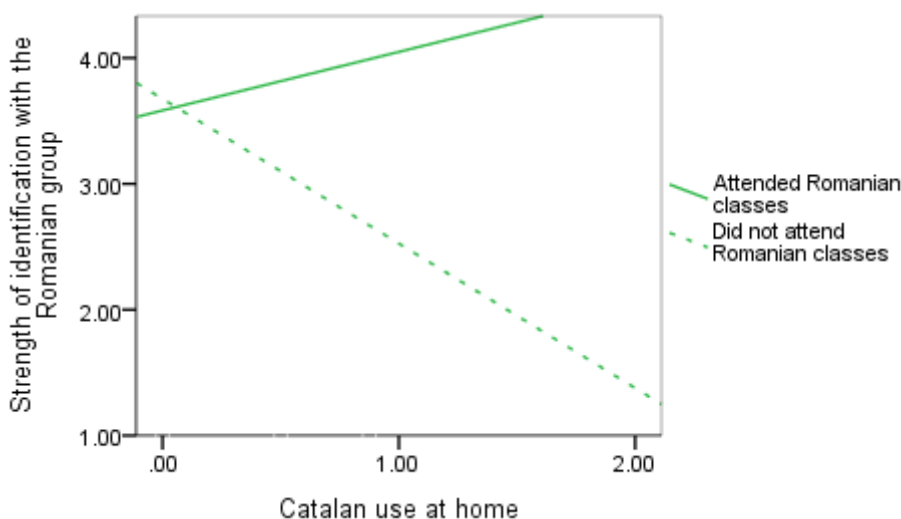


Figure 57. Interaction effect of Catalan use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

The effect of Catalan use at home was further explored by attendance at Romanian classes. Simple regression analyses indicated a significant, negative effect for students who did not attend Romanian classes, accounting for 35% of the variance of scores of strength of identification (**Table 71**). This relationship suggests that for students who did not attend Romanian classes, an

increase in Catalan use at home leads to a decrease in strength of identification with the Romanian group. No significant relationship was found for students who attended Romanian classes.

Table 71. Summary of the simple regressions testing the effect of Spanish use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group, by attendance at Romanian classes

	R^2	b	SE_b	β	p
Attended Romanian classes	.14	0.47 [-1.40, -0.40]	0.51	.14	.367
Did not attend Romanian classes	.35	-1.15 [-0.55, 0.30]	0.33	-.35	.001

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Spanish use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

Next, a moderation analysis was conducted in order to determine whether the effect of Spanish use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The findings show that no significant moderation exists (Table 72).

Table 72. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Spanish use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.54 [3.40, 3.68]	0.07		< .001
Spanish use at home	-0.28 [-0.70, 0.14]	0.21	-.28	.188
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.16 [-0.12, 0.45]	0.14	.16	.261
Spanish use at home x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.10 [-0.86, 1.06]	0.48	.10	.839

Note. $R^2 = .03$, $p = .384$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Romanian use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

Similarly, it was also investigated whether the effect of Romanian use at home on strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The

moderation analysis used in this purpose revealed no significant interaction effect. The results are summarized in **Table 73**.

Table 73. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Romanian use at home and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.54 [3.41, 3.68]	0.07		< .001
Romanian use at home	0.19 [-0.12, 0.49]	0.15	.19	.232
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.16 [-0.13, 0.44]	0.14	.16	.284
Romanian use at home x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.17 [-0.86, 0.53]	0.35	-.17	.632

Note. $R^2 = .03$, $p = .422$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.9. *The effect of language use in different social contexts*

Also of importance in the context of the present research was the participants' use of Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian languages in different social contexts. The relationship existing between these variables and the participants' strength of identification with the three groups was investigated through simple regression. Furthermore, analyses also examined whether the effects of language use in different social contexts were moderated by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

8.2.1.9.1. The effect of language use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Catalan group

The relationship with strength of identification with the Catalan group was the first to be investigated. First, associations between the variables were checked (**Table 74**), followed by simple regressions which examined the influence of use in different social contexts of each language on strength of identification with the Catalan group.

A positive correlation was found between strength of identification with the Catalan group and Catalan use in different social contexts. A similar, but negative correlation was found with

Spanish use in different social contexts. Strength of identification with the Catalan group did not correlate significantly with Romanian use in different social contexts.

Table 74. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for language use in different social contexts and strength of identification with the Catalan group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.38, 2.69]	0.93	.49*** [.31, .64]	-.47*** [-.58, -.33]	-.07 [-.23, .11]
2. Catalan use in different social contexts	0.79 [0.73, 0.85]	0.38		-.63*** [-.74, -.49]	-.25** [-.40, -.08]
3. Spanish use in different social contexts	0.92 [0.85, 1.00]	0.40			-.44*** [-.57, -.29]
4. Romanian use in different social contexts	0.43 [0.37, 0.50]	0.37			

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The simple regression analyses conducted indicated the existence of a statistically significant positive effect of Catalan use in different social contexts on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = 1.21$ [0.78, 1.62], $SE_b = 0.19$, $\beta = .39$, $p < .001$), explaining 24% of its variance. The relationship between these variables suggests that higher Catalan use in different social contexts leads to higher strength of identification with the Catalan group (Figure 58).

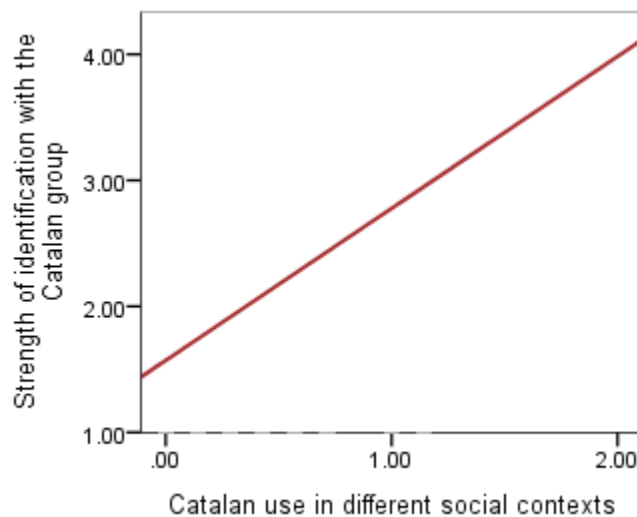


Figure 58. The effect of Catalan use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Catalan group

For Spanish use in different social contexts, simple regression revealed a negative effect on strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = -1.10 [-1.40, -0.78]$, $SE_b = 0.18$, $\beta = -.47$, $p < .001$), explaining 22 % of the variance of the scores for this variable (**Figure 59**).

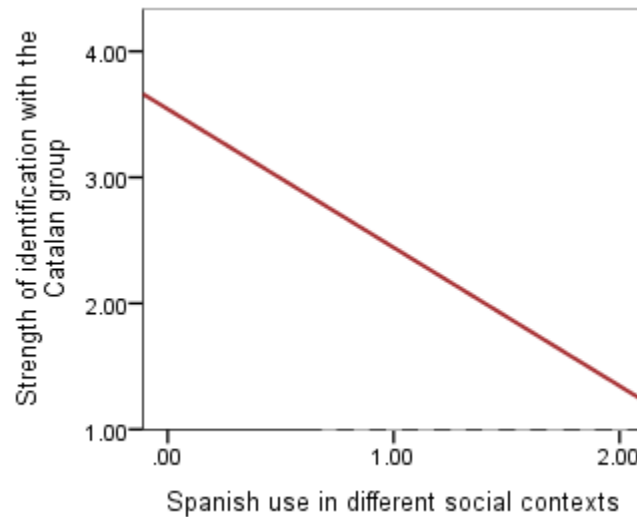


Figure 59. The effect of Spanish use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Catalan group

No significant effect of Romanian use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Catalan group was found ($b = -0.17 [-0.56, 0.27]$, $SE_b = 0.22$, $\beta = -.07$, $p = .433$).

Furthermore, it was investigated whether the effects of language use in different social contexts on participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results of the moderation analyses for the use in different social contexts of each language investigated are presented below.

The effect of Catalan use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

The results of the multiple regression conducted for Catalan use in different social contexts, summarized in **Table 75**, indicate that no significant moderation effect is present, suggesting that

the effect of Catalan use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group did not vary by attendance at Romanian classes.

Table 75. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Catalan use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.53 [2.39, 2.67]	0.07		< .001
Catalan use in different social contexts	1.22 [0.80, 1.64]	0.21	1.22	< .001
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.07 [-0.22, 0.36]	0.15	.07	.616
Catalan use in different social contexts x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.05 [-0.82, 0.92]	0.44	.05	.912

Note. $R^2 = .24$, $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Spanish use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

The next moderation analysis focused on the interaction effect of Spanish use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group. The results, presented in **Table 76**, indicate that no significant interaction effect exists.

Table 76. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Spanish use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.53 [2.38, 2.67]	0.07		< .001
Spanish use in different social contexts	-1.12 [-1.44, -0.79]	0.17	-1.12	< .001
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.03[-0.34, 0.27]	0.15	-.03	.825
Spanish use in different social contexts x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.16 [-0.87, 0.56]	.36	-.16	.667

Note. $R^2 = .22$, $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Romanian use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

Lastly, a moderation analysis was conducted in order to determine whether the effect of Romanian use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Catalan group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results indicate that no significant moderation exists, as shown in Table 77.

Table 77. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Romanian use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.54 [2.38, 2.71]	0.08		< .001
Romanian use in different social contexts	-0.15 [-0.59, 0.29]	0.22	-.15	.498
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.01 [-0.36, 0.34]	0.18	-.01	.963
Romanian use in different social contexts x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.47 [-1.39, 0.44]	0.46	-.47	.307

Note. $R^2 = .01$, $p = .618$. BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.9.2. The effect of language use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group

Table 78. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for language use in different social contexts and strength of identification with the Catalan group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.71, 2.98]	0.78	-.31*** [-.45, -.17]	.41*** [.27, .54]	-.26** [-.41, -.10]
2. Catalan use in different social contexts	0.79 [0.73, 0.85]	0.38		-.63*** [-.74, -.49]	-.25** [-.40, -.08]
3. Spanish use in different social contexts	0.92 [0.85, 1.00]	0.40			-.44*** [-.57, -.29]
4. Romanian use in different social contexts	0.43 [0.37, 0.50]	0.37			

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The relationship existing between language use in different social contexts and strength of identification with the Spanish group was investigated next. Again, the associations between the variables were verified first (Table 78), and afterwards simple regressions investigating the influence of language use on strength of identification with the Spanish group were carried out.

A medium, negative correlation was found between strength of identification with the Spanish group and Catalan use in different social contexts. A similar, positive relationship was found with Spanish use in different social contexts, while for Romanian use in different social contexts a weak, negative correlation was revealed.

The simple regression analyses revealed significant main effects on strength of identification with the Spanish group for all three variables measuring language use in different social context. Use of Catalan in different social contexts was found to have a negative effect on strength of identification with the Spanish group ($b = -0.63$ [-0.40, -0.31], $SE_b = 0.17$, $\beta = -.31$, $p < .001$), explaining 9% of the variance of the scores for this variable, which suggests that higher use of Catalan in different social contexts led to lower strength of identification with the Spanish group (Figure 60).

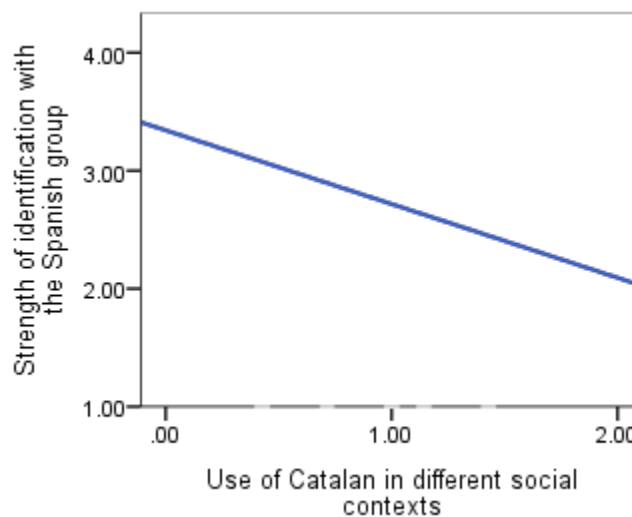


Figure 60. The effect of Catalan use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group

Spanish use in different social contexts had a positive effect ($b = 0.80$ [0.53, 1.08], $SE_b = 0.16$, $\beta = .41$, $p < .001$) on strength of identification with the Spanish group, and explained 17% of the

variance of scores for this variable. The relationship found suggests that higher use of Spanish in different social contexts leads to higher strength of identification with the Spanish group (Figure 61).

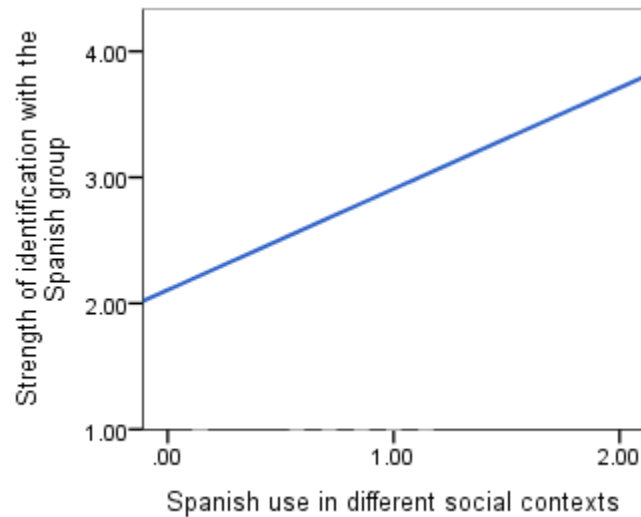


Figure 61. The effect of Spanish use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group

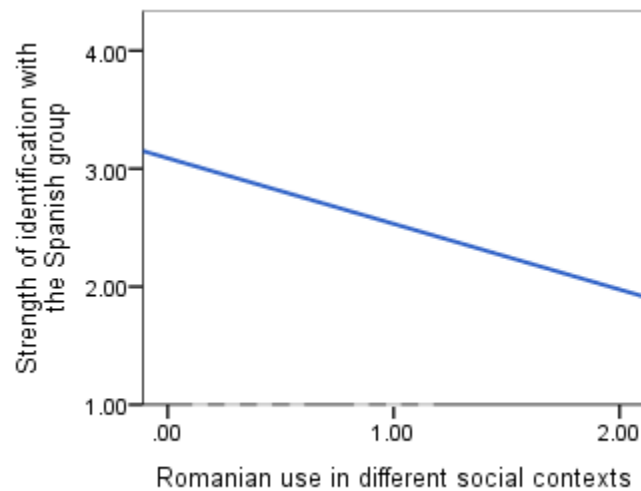


Figure 62. The effect of Romanian use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group

A negative effect was also revealed for Romanian use in different social contexts ($b = -0.56$ [-0.92, -0.21], $SE_b = 0.18$, $\beta = -.26$, $p = .002$), explaining 7% of the variance of the scores for

strength of identification with the Spanish group. The relationship suggests that higher use of Romanian in different social contexts led to lower strength of identification with the Spanish group (Figure 62).

Further, moderation analyses were conducted in order to investigate whether the effects found varied depending on attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

The effect of Catalan use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis conducted in order to determine whether the effect of Catalan use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group varied by attendance at Romanian classes revealed that no significant moderation exists, as shown in Table 79.

Table 79. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Catalan use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.86 [2.72, 2.99]	0.07		< .001
Catalan use in different social contexts	-0.61 [-0.98, -0.25]	0.18	-.61	.001
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.03 [-0.34, 0.27]	0.15	-.03	.839
Catalan use in different social contexts x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.37 [-0.47, 1.21]	0.42	.37	.383

Note. $R^2 = .10$, $p = .004$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Spanish use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

Next, a moderation analysis was conducted in order to determine whether the effect of Spanish use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group varied by

attendance at Romanian classes. The results indicate that no significant moderation exists, as **Table 80** describes.

Table 80. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Spanish use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [2.72, 2.97]	0.06		< .001
Spanish use in different social contexts	0.78 [0.48, 1.08]	0.15	.79	< .001
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.01 [-0.28, 0.29]	0.14	.01	.969
Spanish use in different social contexts x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.20 [-0.91, 0.51]	0.36	-.20	.574

Note. $R^2 = .16$, $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Romanian use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis conducted in order to determine whether the effect of Romanian use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Spanish group varied by attendance at Romanian classes, summarized in **Table 81**, indicated that no significant interaction effect between the two variables exists.

Table 81. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Romanian use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.84 [2.70, 2.97]	0.07		< .001
Romanian use in different social contexts	-0.59 [-0.96, -0.22]	0.19	-.59	.002
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.10 [-0.20, 0.40]	0.15	.10	.524
Romanian use in different social contexts x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.28 [-0.51, 1.07]	0.40	.28	.490

Note. $R^2 = .08$, $p = .018$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.9.3. The effect of language use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group

The same steps were taken in order to verify the effects of language use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group. Thus, after verifying the associations between the variables (Table 82), the influence of language use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group was explored through simple regressions.

Table 82. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for language use in different social contexts and strength of identification with the Catalan group

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.68]	0.93	-.14 [-.33, .06]	-.12 [-.29, .04]	.26** [.11, .40]
2. Catalan use in different social contexts	0.79 [0.73, 0.85]	0.38		-.63*** [-.74, -.49]	-.25** [-.40, -.08]
3. Spanish use in different social contexts	0.92 [0.85, 1.00]	0.40			-.44*** [-.57, -.29]
4. Romanian use in different social contexts	0.43 [0.37, 0.50]	0.37			

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The correlation matrix reveals a single significant positive correlation, with Romanian use in different social contexts. Strength of identification with the Romanian group did not correlate significantly with Catalan use in different social contexts or with Spanish use in different social contexts.

Simple regression analyses indicated a positive effect of Romanian use in different social contexts ($b = 0.56$ [0.23, 0.88], $SE_b = 0.18$, $\beta = .26$, $p = .003$), explaining 7% of the variance of scores for this variable. These results suggest that higher Romanian use in different social contexts determined higher strength of identification with the Romanian group (Figure 63).

No significant effects of Catalan use in different social contexts ($b = -0.29$ [-0.69, 0.10], $SE_b = 0.18$, $\beta = -.14$, $p = .117$) or Spanish use in different social contexts ($b = -0.25$ [-0.58, 0.08], $SE_b = 0.18$, $\beta = -.12$, $p = .157$) on strength of identification with the Romanian group were identified.

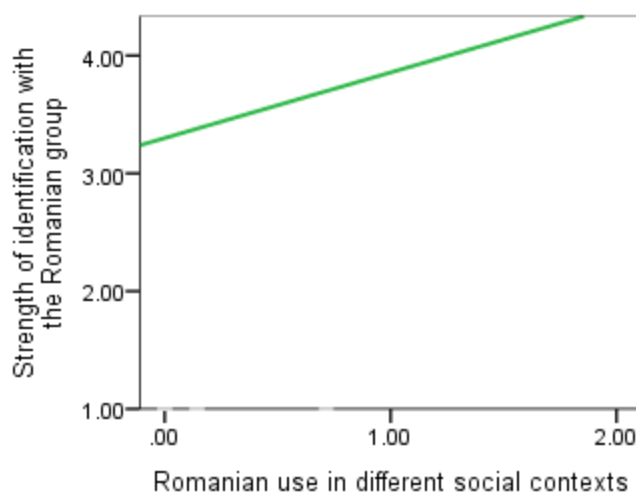


Figure 63. The effect of Romanian use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group

Next, moderation analyses were carried out in order to investigate whether the effect of language use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

The effect of Catalan use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

First it was investigated whether the effect of Catalan use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results indicate that no significant moderation exists, as it can be seen in **Table 83**.

Table 83. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Catalan use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.55 [3.42, 3.69]	0.07		< .001
Catalan use in different social contexts	-0.24 [-0.61, 0.13]	0.19	-.24	.208
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.15 [-0.13, 0.44]	0.14	.15	.288
Catalan use in different social contexts x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.47 [-0.27, 1.21]	0.37	.47	.215

Note. $R^2 = .04$, $p = .336$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Spanish use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

The next moderation analysis carried out aimed at determining whether the effect of Spanish use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. Results indicate that no significant moderation exists (Table 84).

Table 84. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Spanish use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.54 [3.41, 3.68]	0.07		< .001
Spanish use in different social contexts	-0.33 [-0.67, -0.01]	0.17	-.33	.057
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.17 [-0.10, 0.44]	0.14	.17	.206
Spanish use in different social contexts x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.68 [-1.41, 0.06]	0.37	-.68	.071

Note. $R^2 = .04$, $p = .006$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of Romanian use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis aimed at determining whether the effect of Romanian use in different social contexts on strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes revealed no significant interaction effect. Results are summarized in Table 85.

Table 85. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of Romanian use in different social contexts and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.07		< .001
Romanian use in different social contexts	0.54 [0.22, 0.86]	0.16	.54	.001
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.08 [-0.21, 0.37]	0.15	.08	.592
Romanian use in different social contexts x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.02 [-0.62, 0.65]	0.32	.02	.953

Note. $R^2 = .07$, $p = .005$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.10. The effect of parental strength of identification

Next, the effect of parental strength of identification was taken into consideration. Statistical analyses were carried out in order to investigate the effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian groups, respectively, on the participants' strength of identification. Furthermore, moderation analyses were conducted in order to examine the interaction between parental strength of identification and attendance to Romanian classes. The results are presented separately for each of the groups of interest for the present research.

8.2.1.10.1. The effect of parental strength of identification on strength of identification with the Catalan group

In order to verify the effects of parental strength of identification on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group, the associations between the variables and descriptive statistics were first computed (Table 86). Afterwards, the relationship between parental strength of identification and strength of identification with the Catalan group was explored through simple regression.

The correlation matrix revealed only one significant relationship for strength of identification with the Catalan group, namely parental strength of identification with the Romanian group. No significant correlation was found with parental strength of identification with the Spanish group or with the Catalan group.

Table 86. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for parental strength of identification and strength of identification with the Catalan group ($N = 108$)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.54 [2.36, 2.71]	0.94	.18 [.02, .35]	-.08 [-.27, .12]	-.21* [-.39, -.03]
2. Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.25 [2.09, 2.42]	0.84		.49*** [.32, .63]	-.28** [-.47, -.09]
3. Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.77 [2.61, 2.94]	0.87			-.15 [-.34, .05]
4. Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.60 [3.45, 3.73]	0.78			

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The simple regression analyses carried out indicate a negative significant effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = -0.25$ [-0.46, -0.02], $SE_b = 0.11$, $\beta = -.21$, $p = .028$), explaining 5% of its variance. These results suggest that an increase in parental strength of identification with the Romanian group led to a decrease in participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group (Figure 64).

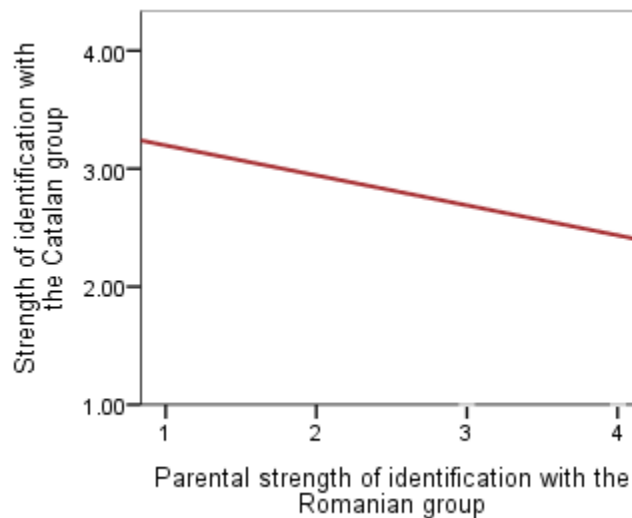


Figure 64. The effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on strength of identification with the Catalan group

No significant effects of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = 0.20$ [0.01, 0.34], $SE_b = 0.11$, $\beta = .18$, $p = .061$) and of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group ($b = -0.09$ [-0.30, 0.14], $SE_b = 0.11$, $\beta = -.08$, $p = .412$) were found.

Next, moderation analyses were conducted in order to determine whether the effects of parental strength of identification were moderated by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

The effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis aimed at determining whether the effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group on strength of identification with the Catalan group varied by attendance at Romanian classes revealed the existence of a significant interaction effect. The results are summarized in **Table 87** and represented in **Figure 65**.

Table 87. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group (N = 108)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.55 [2.37, 2.73]	0.09		< .001
Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.23 [0.03, 0.43]	0.10	.23	.026
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.07 [-0.45, 0.30]	0.19	-.07	.701
Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.37 [-0.74, -0.003]	0.19	-.37	.049

Note. $R^2 = .06$, $p = .100$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

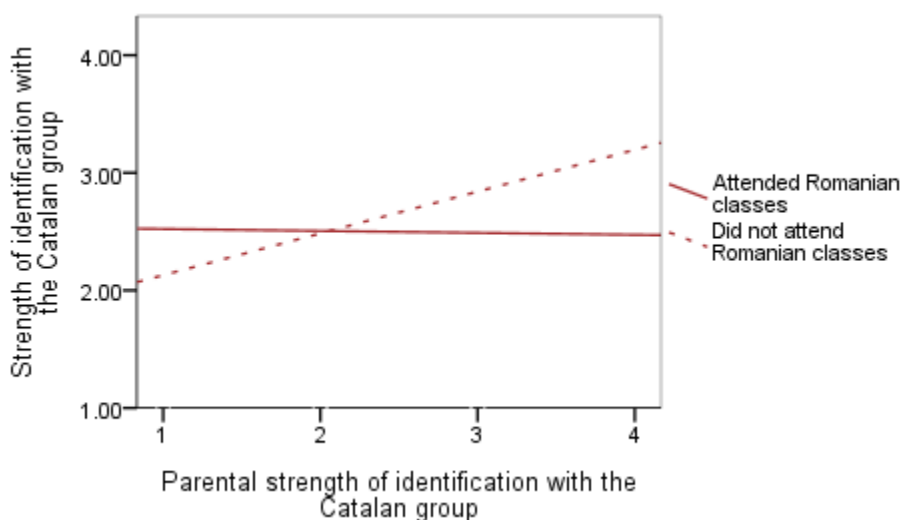


Figure 65. Interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

An analysis of the effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes¹⁷ revealed a significant, positive relationship for students who did not attend these classes, suggesting that an increase in parents' strength of identification with the Catalan group led to an increase in strength of identification with the Catalan group, the effect explaining 8 % of the variance of scores for this variable (Table 88).

Table 88. Summary of the simple regressions testing the effect of Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group on strength of identification with the Catalan group, by attendance at Romanian classes

	R^2	b	SE_b	β	p
Attended Romanian classes	.00	-0.02 [-0.28, 0.20]	0.16	-.02	.919
Did not attend Romanian classes	.08	0.36 [0.08, 0.65]	0.14	.29	.013

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

Next it was investigated whether the effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group on the students' strength of identification with the Catalan group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The results revealed no significant interaction effect (Table 89).

Table 89. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group ($N = 108$)

	b	SE_b	β	p
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.54 [2.36, 2.73]	0.09		< .001
Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.09 [-0.18, 0.24]	0.11	-.09	.136
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.03 [-0.40, 0.33]	0.18	-.03	.332
Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.16 [-0.61, 0.29]	0.23	-.16	.292

Note. $R^2 = .01$, $p = .733$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

¹⁷ For simple regression analyses by attendance at Romanian classes where parental strength of identification represented the predictor, the number of participants who attended Romanian classes was $N = 36$, while the number of students who did not attend these classes was $N = 72$.

The effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on strength of identification with the Catalan group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis aimed at determining whether the effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group varied by attendance at Romanian classes revealed a significant interaction effect. The results are summarized in Table 90.

Table 90. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group (N = 108)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	2.54 [2.36, 2.71]	0.09		< .001
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.24 [-0.43, -0.05]	0.10	-.24	.013
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.05 [-0.42, 0.32]	0.19	-.05	.786
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.42 [0.01, 0.82]	0.20	.42	.043

Note. $R^2 = .07$, $p = .016$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

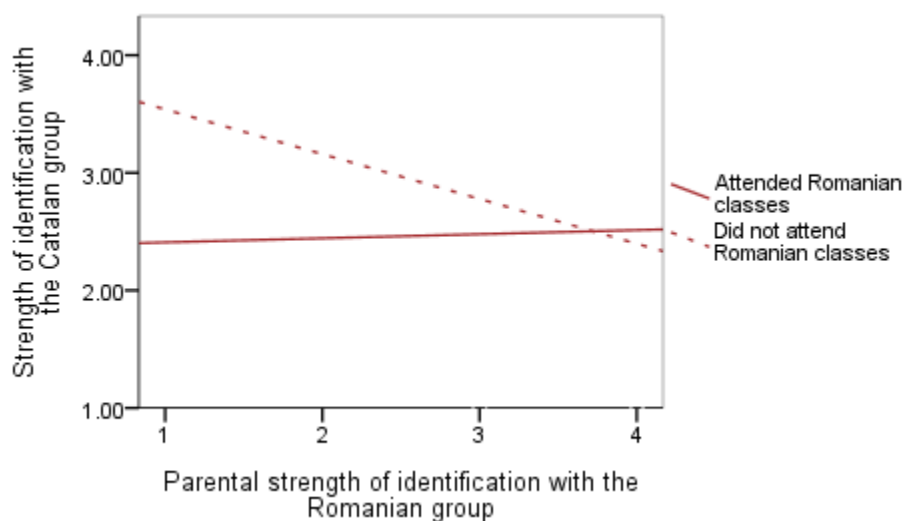


Figure 66. Interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Catalan group

Further, simple regressions were used in order to explore the effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes. The analysis revealed no significant effect for students who attended Romanian classes. However, a significant, negative relationship was found for students who did not attend these classes, suggesting that an increase in parental strength of identification with the Romanian group determined a decrease in the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group. The relationship accounted for 10% of the variance of scores for the strength of identification with the Romanian group of participants who did not attend Romanian classes (Table 91).

Table 91. Summary of the simple regressions testing the effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on strength of identification with the Catalan group, by attendance at Romanian classes

	R^2	b	SE_b	β	p
Attended Romanian classes	.001	0.04 [-0.26, 0.39]	0.20	.03	.862
Did not attend Romanian classes	.10	-0.38 [-0.61, -0.11]	0.14	-.31	.008

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.10.2. The effect of parental strength of identification on strength of identification with the Spanish group

Next, the analyses explored the effect of parental strength of identification on the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Table 92. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for parental strength of identification and strength of identification with the Spanish group ($N = 108$)

Variable	M	SD	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.88 [2.73, 3.03]	0.78	.02 [-.21, .24]	.29** [.11, .47]	-.17 [-.33, .00]
2. Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.25 [2.09, 2.42]	0.84		.49*** [.32, .63]	-.28 ** [-.47, -.09]
3. Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.77 [2.61, 2.94]	0.87			-.15 [-.34, .05]
4. Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.60 [3.45, 3.73]	0.78			

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The first step consisted in computing descriptive statistics and the associations between the variables (Table 92). A single significant, positive correlation was identified, between students' strength of identification with the Spanish group and parental strength of identification with the Spanish group. No significant relationship was identified with parental strength of identification with the Romanian or with the Catalan group, respectively.

Next, simple regressions were carried out in order to verify the relationship between parental strength of identification and the students' strength of identification with the Spanish group. The simple regression analyses revealed only the significant effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group ($b = 0.26$ [0.10, 0.43], $SE_b = 0.08$, $\beta = .29$, $p = .002$), which explained 8% of the variance of scores for participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group (Figure 67). These results suggest that parental strength of identification with the Spanish group increase leads to the increase of participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group.

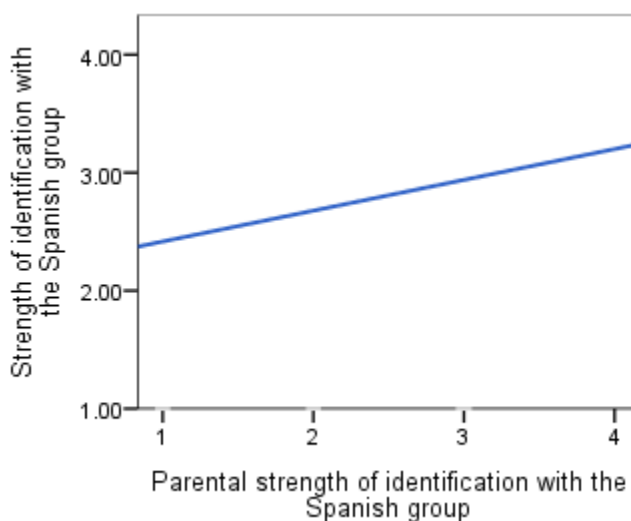


Figure 67. The effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group on strength of identification with the Spanish group

No significant influence of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = 0.01$ [-0.18, 0.21], $SE_b = 0.09$, $\beta = .02$, $p = .881$) and no significant influence of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group ($b = -0.17$ [-0.34, -0.30], $SE_b = 0.10$, $\beta = -.17$, $p = .077$) were found.

Next, moderation analyses were carried out in order to explore whether the effect of parental strength of identification on strength of identification with the Spanish group was moderated by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented in the following subsections.

The effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

The results of the first moderation analysis, summarized in **Table 93**, indicate that the effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group on strength of identification with the Spanish group was not moderated by attendance at Romanian classes.

Table 93. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group (N = 108)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.89 [2.74, 3.04]	0.08		< .001
Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.03 [-0.18, 0.24]	0.11	.02	.767
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.02 [-0.29, 0.34]	0.16	.03	.881
Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.27 [-0.69, 0.15]	0.21	-.27	.202

Note. $R^2 = .06$, $p = .100$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis carried out did not reveal any significant interaction (**Table 94**), suggesting that the effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group on participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group did not vary by attendance at Romanian classes.

Table 94. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group (N = 108)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.89 [2.74, 3.03]	0.07		< .001
Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.26 [-0.10, 0.42]	0.08	.26	.002
Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.02 [-0.33, 0.30]	0.16	-.02	.904
Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.18 [-0.50, 0.14]	0.16	-.18	.256

Note. $R^2 = .09$, $p = .022$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on strength of identification with the Spanish group by attendance at Romanian classes

Lastly, it was investigated whether the effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on strength of identification with the Spanish group varied by attendance at Romanian classes. The analysis, the results of which are summarized in **Table 95**, revealed no significant interaction effect.

Table 95. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Spanish group (N = 108)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	2.88 [2.73, 3.03]	0.08		< .001
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.17 [-0.34, 0.42]	0.09	-.17	.062
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.02 [-0.33, 0.01]	0.16	.02	.912
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.21 [-0.17, 0.59]	0.19	.21	.274

Note. $R^2 = .04$, $p = .163$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.10.3. The effect of parental strength of identification on strength of identification with the Romanian group

Further the analyses carried out investigated the effect of parental strength of identification on the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group. To begin with, the associations between the variables were verified, and the descriptive statistics were computed (Table 96). Next, simple regression analysis was used in order to determine the effects of parental strength of identification on the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group.

Table 96. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for parental strength of identification and strength of identification with the Catalan group (N = 108)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.56 [3.41, 3.69]	0.77	-.20* [-.38, -.02]	-.17 [-.37, .04]	.26** [.006, .51]
2. Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.25 [2.09, 2.42]	0.84		.49*** [.32, .63]	-.28** [-.47, -.09]
3. Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.77 [2.61, 2.94]	0.87			-.15 [-.34, .05]
4. Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.60 [3.45, 3.73]	0.78			

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

A negative correlation was found between the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group and parental strength of identification with the Catalan group, while for parental strength of identification with the Romanian group the correlation was positive. No significant correlation was found with parental strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Simple regression analyses indicated a negative effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group ($b = -0.18$ [-0.36, -0.01], $SE_b = 0.09$, $\beta = -.20$, $p = .037$), which accounted for 4% of the variance of participants' scores for strength of identification with the Romanian group (Figure 68).

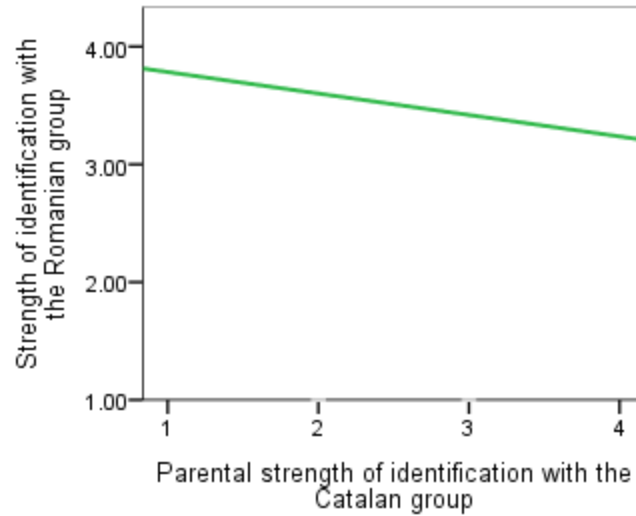


Figure 68. The effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group on strength of identification with the Romanian group

A second effect, this time positive, was found for parental strength of identification with the Romanian group ($b = 0.25$ [0.01, 0.54], $SE_b = 0.09$, $\beta = .26$, $p = .006$). This effect explained 7% of the variance of scores for participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group (Figure 69).

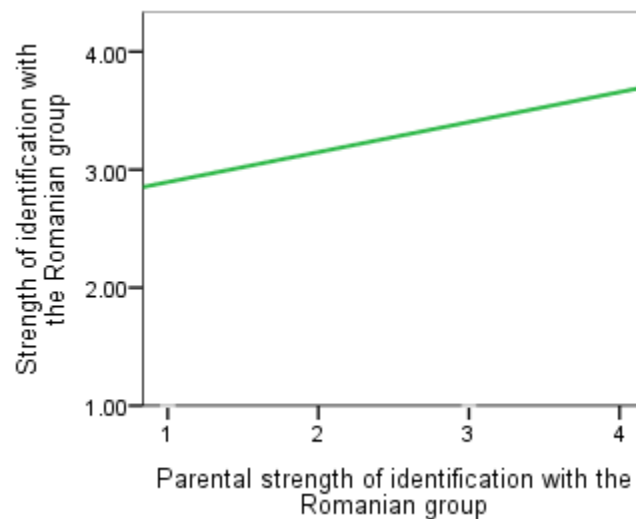


Figure 69. The effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on strength of identification with the Romanian group

No significant effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group on participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group was found ($b = -0.15$ [-0.33, 0.03], $SE_b = 0.08$, $\beta = -.17$, $p = .081$).

Next, moderation analyses were carried out in order to investigate if the effects of parental strength of identification were moderated by attendance at Romanian classes. The results are presented below.

The effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis did not reveal a significant interaction effect between parental strength of identification with the Catalan group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian of the participants (Table 97).

Table 97. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group ($N = 108$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.55 [3.40, 3.70]	0.07		< .001
Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.20 [-0.39, -0.01]	0.10	-.20	.040
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.19 [-0.09, 0.48]	0.14	.19	.179
Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group x Attendance at Romanian classes	0.12 [-0.25, 0.48]	0.21	.12	.518

Note. $R^2 = .06$, $p = .122$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

Further, the moderation analysis carried out in order to investigate whether the effect of parental identification with the Spanish group on strength of identification with the Romanian group was

moderated by attendance at Romanian classes revealed the lack of a significant interaction effect. The summarized results are shown in **Table 98**.

Table 98. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group ($N = 108$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.56 [3.41, 3.71]	0.07		< .001
Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.16 [-0.36, 0.04]	0.10	-.16	.110
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.20 [-0.08, 0.48]	0.14	.20	.159
Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.14 [-0.53, 0.26]	0.20	-.14	.500

Note. $R^2 = .05$, $p = .130$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on strength of identification with the Romanian group by attendance at Romanian classes

The moderation analysis which investigated whether the effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group on the participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group varied by attendance at Romanian classes revealed no significant interaction effect. The results are summarized in **Table 99**.

Table 99. Summary of the multiple regression for the interaction effect of parental strength of identification with the Romanian group and attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group ($N = 108$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.56 [3.41, 3.70]	0.07		< .001
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.24 [-0.05, 0.53]	0.15	.24	.100
Attendance at Romanian classes	0.16 [-0.13, 0.45]	0.15	.16	.278
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group x Attendance at Romanian classes	-0.33 [-0.25, 0.48]	0.28	-.33	.244

Note. $R^2 = .10$, $p = .303$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.1.11. Summary of results

Previously, in [section 8.2.1.](#), the effects of certain variables on strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups were examined. Furthermore, it was also investigated if these effects varied by attendance at Romanian classes. Several significant interactions were found. The results of these analyses are summarised in **Table 100**. The main effects of each variable are presented for strength of identification with each of the three groups, for the entire sample. Additionally, the table specifies whether these effects were moderated by attendance at Romanian classes. Where such interaction exists, the effects by attendance at Romanian classes are also presented.

As the table shows, length of residence in Catalonia, attitudes towards Catalan, attitudes towards Spanish, Romanian competences, Catalan use at home, Catalan use in different social contexts, Spanish use in different social contexts, and parental strength of identification with the Romanian group each had a significant effect *on the strength of identification with the Catalan group* of the participants. Furthermore, analyses uncovered interaction effects with attendance at Romanian classes for gender, parental strength of identification with the Catalan group, and parental strength of identification with the Romanian group, respectively, on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group.

For *strength of identification with the Spanish group*, significant effects of attitudes towards Romanian, Romanian competences, Spanish use at home, Catalan use in different social contexts, Spanish use in different social contexts, Romanian use in different social contexts, and parental strength of identification with the Spanish group were found. Interaction effects for attitudes towards Catalan and Catalan use at home with attendance at Romanian classes on students' strength of identification with the Spanish group were also revealed.


Finally, significant effects of length of residence in Catalonia, attitudes towards Romanian, Catalan competences, Spanish competences, Romanian competences, Catalan use at home, Romanian use in different social contexts, parental strength of identification with the Catalan group, and parental strength of identification with the Romanian group, were found for *strength of identification with the Romanian group*. Furthermore, interaction effects with attendance at Romanian classes on strength of identification with the Romanian group were found for Catalan competences, Spanish competences, and for Catalan use at home.

Table 100. Summary of results for strength of identification as outcome variable - individual effect of various variables on strength of identification
 STRENGTH OF IDENTIFICATION WITH

VARIABLES	CATALAN GROUP		SPANISH GROUP		ROMANIAN GROUP		ME
	Attendance at Romanian classes		Attendance at Romanian classes		Attendance at Romanian classes		
	Attended	Did not attend	Attended	Did not attend	Attended	Did not attend	
Attendance at Romanian classes	∅		∅		∅		
Gender	∅		∅		∅		
	$M_{females} <$ M_{males}	$M_{females} >$ M_{males}	YES	∅	No	∅	No
Family socio-cultural status	∅		∅		∅		No
Family socio-professional status	∅		∅		∅		No
Length of residence in Catalonia	$R^2 = .07, b = 0.10$		∅		$R^2 = .08, b = -0.09$		No
Attitudes towards Catalan	$R^2 = .34, b = 0.11$		∅		∅		No
			∅	$R^2 = .06, b = -0.04$	∅		YES
Attitudes towards Spanish	$R^2 = .07, b = -0.10$		∅		∅		No
Attitudes towards Romanian	∅		$R^2 = .04, b = -0.05$		$R^2 = .15, b = 0.09$		No
Catalan competences	∅		∅		$R^2 = .03, b = -0.02$		YES
					∅	$R^2 = .10, b = -0.03$	
Spanish competences	∅		∅		$R^2 = .06, b = -0.02$		YES
					∅	$R^2 = .13, b = -0.03$	
Romanian competences	$R^2 = .05, b = -0.02$		$R^2 = .07, b = -0.03$		$R^2 = .03, b = 0.02$		No

(table continues)

VARIABLES	STRENGTH OF IDENTIFICATION WITH								
	CATALAN GROUP			SPANISH GROUP			ROMANIAN GROUP		
	Attendance at Romanian classes		ME	Attendance at Romanian classes		ME	Attendance at Romanian classes		ME
Attended	Did not attend		Attended	Did not attend		Attended	Did not attend		
Catalan use at home	$R^2 = .07, b = 1.03$		No	Ø		YES	$R^2 = .05, b = -0.73$		YES
				$R^2 = .37, b = 1.38$	Ø		Ø	$R^2 = .35, b = -1.15$	
Spanish use at home	Ø		No	$R^2 = .03, b = 0.35$		No	Ø		No
Romanian use at home	Ø		No	Ø		No	Ø		No
Catalan use in different social contexts	$R^2 = .24, b = 1.21$		No	$R^2 = .09, b = -0.63$		No	Ø		No
Spanish use in different social contexts	$R^2 = .22, b = -1.10$		No	$R^2 = .17, b = 0.80$		No	Ø		No
Romanian use in different social contexts	Ø		No	$R^2 = .07, b = -0.56$		No	$R^2 = .07, b = 0.56$		No
Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group	Ø		YES	Ø		No	$R^2 = .04, b = -0.18$		No
	Ø	$R^2 = .08, b = 0.36$							
Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group	Ø		No	$R^2 = .08, b = 0.26$		No	Ø		No
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	$R^2 = .05, b = -0.25$		YES	Ø		No	$R^2 = .07, b = 0.25$		No
	Ø	$R^2 = .10, b = -0.38$							

Note. ME – Presence of a moderation effect by attendance at Romanian classes, Ø – absence of a significant effect,  - not applicable.

8.2.2. Explanatory models for strength of identification

Following the investigation of the individual effects of the variables, the results of which were presented in the previous section, further analyses focused on the combined effects of those variables which were found to influence the participants' strength of identification. The goal was to determine the way in which the investigated variables behaved when analysed simultaneously and their relative importance in explaining the participants' strength of identification. For this purpose, multiple regression analysis was used given that it allows comparing between the effects of different predictor variables.

In order to diagnose multicollinearity, variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance indicators were examined. Values of the VIF over the recommended cut-off value of 5, and tolerance indicators under the value of 0.2 were considered to indicate multicollinearity (Field, 2013; O'Brien, 2007; Sava, 2004), which resulted in the respective predictors being removed from the analysis.

Separate multiple regressions were conducted for strength of identification with the Catalan group, strength of identification with the Spanish group, and strength of identification with the Romanian group, respectively. The results are presented in the following subsections.

8.2.2.1. *Strength of identification with the Catalan group*

A simultaneous multiple regression was conducted in order to investigate the cumulative influence of length of residence in Catalonia, attitudes towards Catalan, attitudes towards Spanish, Romanian language competences, use of Catalan at home, use of Catalan in different social contexts, use of Spanish in different social contexts, and parental strength of identification with the Romanian group.

The descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables introduced in the multiple regression explaining strength of identification with the Catalan group are presented in **Table 101** and in **Table 102**, respectively.

Table 101. Descriptive statistics for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining strength of identification with the Catalan group (N = 108)

Variable	M	SD
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.54 [2.37, 2.70]	0.94
Length of residence in Catalonia	5.55 [5.13, 5.98]	2.47
Attitudes towards Catalan	4.41 [3.52, 5.26]	4.65
Attitudes towards Spanish	7.07 [6.56, 7.57]	2.70
Romanian language competences	30.45 [28.72, 32.24]	8.41
Use of Catalan at home	0.16 [0.12, 0.21]	0.25
Use of Catalan in different social contexts	0.79 [0.72, 0.86]	0.38
Use of Spanish in different social contexts	0.94 [0.86, 1.02]	0.40
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.60 [3.44, 3.73]	0.78

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 102. Correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining strength of identification with the Catalan group (N = 108)

Variable	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	.24* [.02, .43]	.60*** [.50, .71]	-.30** [-.45, -.12]	-.17 [-.37, .03]	.26** [.06, .43]	.51*** [.33, .66]	-.50*** [-.63, -.35]	-.21* [-.39, -.02]
2. Length of residence in Catalonia		.08 [-.08, .23]	.05 [-.16, .25]	-.35*** [-.52, -.15]	.13 [-.05, .30]	.18 [-.04, .38]	-.05 [-.24, .15]	.05 [-.20, .28]
3. Attitudes towards Catalan			-.27** [-.40, -.13]	-.12 [-.32, .07]	.27** [.14, .38]	.50*** [.37, .62]	-.38*** [-.55, -.16]	-.12 [-.26, .04]
4. Attitudes towards Spanish				-.03 [-.19, .14]	-.01 [-.23, .18]	-.23* [-.41, -.04]	.29** [.13, .45]	.10 [-.08, .29]
5. Romanian language competences					.03 [-.15, .21]	.06 [-.11, .23]	-.20* [-.36, -.04]	.08 [-.10, .24]
6. Use of Catalan at home						.39*** [.22, .53]	-.18 [-.33, -.01]	-.19 [-.43, .05]
7. Use of Catalan in different social contexts							-.64*** [-.77, -.47]	.05 [-.13, .24]
8. Use of Spanish in different social contexts								-.07 [-.22, .08]
9. Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group								

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The resulted model was significant, the combined effect of the variables investigated accounting for 54% of the variance of strength of identification with the Catalan group (Table 103).

Nevertheless, only three of the eight variables examined were found to be significant predictors. In order of importance, as indicated by the standardized coefficients, these are: attitudes towards Catalan ($\beta = .35$, $p < .001$), use of Spanish in different social contexts ($\beta = -.31$, $p = .001$), and parental strength of identification with the Romanian group ($\beta = -.18$, $p = .013$).

Table 103. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of strength of identification with the Catalan group ($N = 108$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Catalan group				
Constant	3.87 [2.56, 5.12]	0.60		<.001
Length of residence in Catalonia	0.05 [-0.02, 0.13]	0.03	.14	.067
Attitudes towards Catalan	0.07 [0.04, 0.11]	0.02	.35	<.001
Attitudes towards Spanish	-0.03 [-0.08, 0.03]	0.03	-.08	.280
Romanian language competences	-0.02 [-0.03, 0.004]	0.01	-.14	.073
Use of Catalan at home	0.08 [-0.53, 0.67]	0.29	.02	.787
Use of Catalan in different social contexts	0.24 [-0.32, 0.83]	0.25	.10	.338
Use of Spanish in different social contexts	-0.74 [-1.22, -0.29]	0.22	-.31	.001
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.22 [-0.37, -0.07]	0.09	-.18	.013

Note. $R^2 = .54$, $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.2.2. *Strength of identification with the Spanish group*

Next, another multiple regression was conducted in order to explain strength of identification with the Spanish group. The predictors included in the analysis were attitudes towards Romanian, Romanian language competences, use of Spanish at home, use of Catalan in different social contexts, use of Spanish in different social contexts, use of Romanian in different social contexts, and parental strength of identification with the Spanish group. The descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables introduced in the multiple regression analysis explaining strength of identification with the Spanish group are presented in Table 104 and Table 105, respectively.

Table 104. Descriptive statistics for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining strength of identification with the Spanish group (N = 108)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.88 [2.74, 3.02]	0.78
2. Attitudes towards Romanian	6.31 [5.67, 6.91]	3.33
3. Romanian language competences	30.45 [28.88, 32.03]	8.41
4. Use of Spanish at home	0.32 [0.24, 0.39]	0.38
5. Use of Catalan in different social contexts	0.79 [0.72, 0.86]	0.38
6. Use of Spanish in different social contexts	0.94 [0.87, 1.01]	0.40
7. Use of Romanian in different social contexts	0.42 [0.35, 0.49]	0.38
8. Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.77 [2.60, 2.94]	0.87

Note. BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 105. Correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining strength of identification with the Spanish group (N = 108)

Variable	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-.22* [-.39, -.02]	-.22* [-.38, -.03]	.28** [.14, .42]	-.36*** [-.52, -.20]	.44*** [.30, .58]	-.29** [-.45, -.13]	.29** [.12, .45]
2. Attitudes towards Romanian		.28** [.09, .45]	-.27** [-.42, -.12]	-.03 [-.27, .21]	-.20* [-.41, .03]	.35*** [.20, .49]	-.18 [-.35, -.01]
3. Romanian language competences			-.18 [-.33, -.02]	.06 [-.10, .23]	-.20* [-.36, -.03]	.43*** [.24, .59]	-.23* [-.41, -.05]
4. Use of Spanish at home				-.10 [-.27, .06]	.31** [.13, .48]	-.27** [-.42, -.12]	.30** [.12, .46]
5. Use of Catalan in different social contexts					-.64*** [-.76, -.49]	-.19* [-.36, -.01]	-.20* [-.38, -.02]
6. Use of Spanish in different social contexts						-.48*** [-.61, -.34]	.30** [.11, .47]
7. Use of Romanian in different social contexts							-.19* [-.37, -.01]
8. Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group							

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

An initial analysis revealed that 79% of the variance of the regression coefficients of use of Catalan in different social contexts and use of Spanish in different social contexts were dependent, being associated with the same small eigenvalue. This indicated that there was multicollinearity between the two variables. Further, after consulting the VIF and tolerance

indicators the decision to remove the variable use of Spanish in different social contexts from the analysis was taken, given its VIF of 5.26 and tolerance value of 0.19.

The multiple regression with the remaining variables was then carried out. Results indicated that the model was significant and explained 30% of the variance of strength of identification with the Spanish group (Table 106). However, only two of the six variables included in the regression were indicated as significant predictors, namely use of Catalan in different social contexts ($\beta = -.38, p < .001$), and use of Romanian in different social contexts ($\beta = -.29, p = .006$).

Table 106. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of strength of identification with the Spanish group (N = 108)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Spanish group				
Constant	3.53 [2.60, 4.29]	0.42		<.001
Attitudes towards Romanian	-0.02 [-0.06, 0.02]	0.02	-.08	.414
Romanian language competences	0 [-0.02, 0.02]	0.01	-.004	.966
Use of Spanish at home	0.23 [-0.10, 0.57]	0.19	.11	.228
Use of Catalan in different social contexts	-0.78 [-1.15, -0.39]	0.18	-.38	<.001
Use of Romanian in different social contexts	-0.59 [-1.01, -0.18]	0.21	-.29	.006
Parental strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.10 [-0.06, 0.28]	0.08	.11	.230

Note. $R^2 = .30, p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.2.2.3. Strength of identification with the Romanian group

For strength of identification with the Romanian group, the multiple regression conducted explored the influence of length of residence in Catalonia, attitudes towards Romanian, Catalan language competences, Spanish language competences, Romanian language competences, use of Catalan at home, use of Romanian in different social contexts, parental strength of identification with the Catalan group, and parental strength of identification with the Romanian group. The descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for these variables are presented in Table 107 and Table 108.

Table 107. Descriptive statistics for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining strength of identification with the Romanian group (N =108)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.56 [3.41, 3.69]	0.77
2. Length of residence in Catalonia	5.55 [5.09, 6.03]	2.47
3. Attitudes towards Romanian	6.31 [6.67, 6.93]	3.33
4. Catalan language competences	33.45 [31.78, 35.17]	8.73
5. Spanish language competences	33.82 [31.93, 35.77]	10.07
6. Romanian language competences	30.45 [28.82, 32.06]	8.41
7. Use of Catalan at home	0.16 [0.12, 0.21]	0.25
8. Use of Romanian in different social contexts	0.42 [0.35, 0.49]	0.38
9. Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.25 [2.09, 2.41]	0.84
10. Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.60 [3.45, 3.74]	0.78

Note. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 108. Correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining strength of identification with the Romanian group (N =108)

Variable	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-.28** [-.42, -.11]	.44*** [.24, .62]	-.22* [-.39, -.04]	-.25* [-.44, -.04]	.20* [.01, .37]	-.29** [-.50, -.05]	.28** [.13, .41]	-.20* [-.38, -.02]	.26** [.02, .50]
2. Length of residence in Catalonia		-.08 [-.23, .11]	.44*** [.26, .59]	.50*** [.33, .65]	-.35*** [-.52, -.17]	.13 [-.16, .31]	-.25** [-.40, -.08]	-.01 [-.19, .18]	.05 [-.17, .26]
3. Attitudes towards Romanian			-.02 [-.19, .15]	-.02 [-.18, .17]	.28** [.10, .45]	-.08 [-.26, .07]	.35*** [.20, .47]	.001 [-.19, .19]	.11 [-.05, .28]
4. Catalan language competences				.82*** [.75, .87]	.28** [.10, .44]	.20* [.02, .34]	-.09 [-.27, .11]	.08 [-.15, .30]	.02 [-.21, .24]
5. Spanish language competences					.28** [.10, .44]	.16 [-.04, .33]	-.08 [-.27, .12]	.02 [-.20, .23]	.03 [-.19, .24]
6. Romanian language competences						.03 [-.15, .19]	.43*** [.26, .58]	-.006 [-.20, .19]	.08 [-.12, .25]
7. Use of Catalan at home							-.14 [-.29, .03]	.11 [-.09, .29]	-.19 [-.42, .07]
8. Use of Romanian in different social contexts								-.07 [-.25, .12]	.11 [-.05, .25]
9. Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group									-.28** [-.47, -.09]
10. Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group									

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The resulting model, summarized in **Table 109**, was significant and explained 39% of the variance for strength of identification with the Romanian group. However, the model only had two significant predictors, attitudes towards Romanian ($\beta = .37, p < .001$) and Catalan use at home ($\beta = -.18, p = .035$). The other variables were not found to significantly influence strength of identification with the Romanian group.

Table 109. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of strength of identification with the Romanian group ($N = 108$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Strength of identification with the Romanian group				
Constant	3.24 [2.13, 4.21]	0.48		<.001
Length of residence in Catalonia	-0.03 [-0.11, 0.06]	0.04	-.10	.380
Attitudes towards Romanian	0.09 [0.05, 0.13]	0.02	.37	<.001
Catalan language competences	0.04 [-0.02, 0.03]	0.01	.04	.778
Spanish language competences	-0.02 [-0.04, 0.03]	0.01	-.23	.130
Romanian language competences	0.01 [-0.02, 0.03]	0.01	.10	.414
Use of Catalan at home	-0.55 [-1.11, 0.04]	0.26	-.18	.035
Use of Romanian in different social contexts	0.02 [-0.25, 0.28]	0.19	.01	.907
Parental strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.13 [-0.29, 0.04]	0.08	-.14	.100
Parental strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.15 [-0.08, 0.41]	0.08	.15	.080

Note. $R^2 = .39, p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3. Strength of identification as predictor variable

Following the first set of analyses, described above, we further conducted several multiple regression analyses with the goal of examining the cumulative influence of strength of identification with the Catalan, Spanish and Romanian groups on certain variables which in the existing literature have been associated with adaptation and inclusion in the host society. These variables were *ethnic perception of the group*, *civic perception of the group*, *cultural differences*, *well-being*, and *acculturation attitudes and strategies*.

Moreover, the results were each time accompanied by analyses that differentiated between the participants who attended Romanian classes and those who did not. The goal was to investigate the hypothetical impact of *attendance at Romanian classes* on the patterns of results emerged, and thus create a more comprehensive view of the explanatory power of participants' strength of

identification with the three groups, considered simultaneously, regarding each of the variables examined.

8.3.1. The effect of strength of identification on the ethnic perception and on the civic perception of the groups

In order to investigate the combined effects of participants' strength of identification on the ethnic perception and on the civic perception of the three groups, respectively, six multiple regressions were conducted. Moreover, each time, additional analyses by attendance at Romanian classes were performed. The results are presented below.

8.3.1.1. The effect of strength of identification on the ethnic perception of the Catalan group

First, we aimed to determine the cumulative influence of strength of identification with the three groups on the ethnic perception of the Catalan group. The descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables introduced in the multiple regression analysis explaining the ethnic perception of the Catalan group are presented in **Table 110**.

Table 110. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining ethnic perception of the Catalan group ($N = 131$)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Ethnic perception of the Catalan group	3.55 [3.42, 3.68]	0.80	.31*** [.14, .47]	.03 [-.16, .22]	-.09 [-.25, .09]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .007]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The results indicated that the model was significant and explained 10% of the variance of ethnic perception of the Catalan group (Table 111). Only one of the variables was indicated as significant predictor, this being strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .32, p < .001$).

Table 111. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ethnic perception of the Catalan group ($N = 131$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Ethnic perception of the Catalan group				
Constant	3.01 [1.92, 4.23]	0.49		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.27 [-0.09, 0.45]	0.08	.32	<.001
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.04 [-0.25, 0.16]	0.09	-.04	.668
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.01 [-0.20, 0.16]	0.09	-.01	.903

Note. $R^2 = .10, p = .004$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the ethnic perception of the Catalan group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Next, analyses determined the influence of strength of identification with each group, considered simultaneously, on the ethnic perception of the Catalan group **for students who attended Romanian classes**. The results indicated that the model was significant, and explained 14% of the variance of ethnic perception of the Catalan group (Table 112). Only one of the variables was indicated as significant predictor, this being strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .36, p = .040$).

Table 112. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ethnic perception of the Catalan group for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Ethnic perception of the Catalan group				
Constant	2.17 [0.08, 4.70]	0.97		.030
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.35 [-0.07, 0.64]	0.16	.36	.040
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.04 [-0.35, 0.42]	0.19	.04	.826
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.09 [-0.29, 0.36]	0.19	.08	.623

Note. $R^2 = .14, p = .105$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Furthermore, analyses explored the influence of strength of identification with each group, considered simultaneously, on the ethnic perception of the Catalan group **for students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The results indicated that the model was significant and explained 9% of the variance of ethnic perception of the Catalan group (Table 113). Only one of the variables was indicated as being a significant predictor, namely strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .27, p = .015$).

Table 113. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ethnic perception of the Catalan group for students who do not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Ethnic perception of the Catalan group				
Constant	3.43 [2.22, 4.82]	0.59		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.22 [0.04, 0.42]	0.09	.27	.015
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.09 [-0.37, 0.17]	0.11	-.08	.424
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.05 [-0.27, 0.17]	0.11	-.05	.633

Note. $R^2 = .09, p = .050$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.1.2. *The influence of strength of identification on civic perception of the Catalan group*

Next, the simultaneous influence of strength of identification with the three groups on civic perception of the Catalan group was investigated. Descriptive statistics and the correlation matrix for the variables introduced in the multiple regression are presented in Table 114.

The results, summarised in Table 115, indicate that the model was significant and explained 9% of the variance of the civic perception of the Catalan group. However, only one of the three variables was found to be a significant predictor, namely strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .30, p = .001$).

Table 114. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining civic perception of the Catalan group (N = 131)

Variable	M	SD	2.	3.	4.
1. Civic perception of the Catalan group	3.10 [2.97, 3.23]	0.80	.27** [.12, .43]	-.05 [-.20, .11]	-.05 [-.21, .13]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .007]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 115. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of civic perception of the Catalan group (N = 131)

	b	SE _b	β	p
Civic perception of the Catalan group				
Constant	2.74 [1.88, 3.63]	0.49		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.26 [0.11, 0.41]	0.08	.30	.001
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.11 [-0.27, 0.06]	0.09	-.11	.222
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.01 [-0.17, 0.18]	0.09	.01	.941

Note. $R^2 = .09$, $p = .009$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The influence of strength of identification on civic perception of the Catalan group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Additionally, the combined effect of strength of identification with the three groups on the civic perception of the Catalan group was investigated for **students who attended Romanian classes**. The results, summarised in **Table 116**, indicate that the model was not significant. Nevertheless, one of the three variables was found to be a significant predictor, this being strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .42$, $p = .001$).

Next, analyses carried out explored the combined effect of strength of identification with the three groups on the civic perception of the Catalan group for **students who did not attend Romanian classes**. Results, summarised in **Table 117**, indicate that the model was not significant. Nevertheless, one of the three variables was found to be a significant predictor, this being strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .27$, $p = .001$).

Table 116. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of civic perception of the Catalan group for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Civic perception of the Catalan group				
Constant	2.90 [1.09, 5.08]	0.88		.002
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.37 [0.04, 0.63]	0.15	.42	.019
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.22 [-0.55, 0.07]	0.17	-.23	.218
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.04 [-0.44, 0.30]	0.17	-.04	.821

Note. $R^2 = .13$, $p = .129$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 117. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of civic perception of the Catalan group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Civic perception of the Catalan group				
Constant	2.76 [1.57, 4.01]	0.62		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.23 [0.04, 0.41]	0.09	.27	.018
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.09 [-0.28, 0.10]	0.11	-.08	.428
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.01 [-0.19, 0.22]	0.11	.01	.911

Note. $R^2 = .07$, $p = .092$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.1.3. *The effect of strength of identification on the ethnic perception of the Spanish group*

The multiple regression explaining the ethnic perception of the Spanish group was further carried out. The descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables introduced in the multiple regression are presented in **Table 118**.

Further, the results presented in **Table 119**, indicated that the model was significant and explained 8% of the variance, pointing to the existence of two significant predictors: strength of identification with the Spanish group ($\beta = .20$, $p = .022$) and strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .18$, $p = .041$). These predictors had similar importance, as shown by the standardized coefficients.

Table 118. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining ethnic perception of the Spanish group ($N = 131$)

Variable	M	SD	2.	3.	4.
1. Ethnic perception of the Spanish group	3.80 [3.68, 3.92]	0.70	.20* [.03, .37]	.23** [.04, .41]	.01 [-.17, .17]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .01]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 119. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ethnic perception of the Spanish group ($N = 131$)

	b	SE_b	β	p
Ethnic perception of the Spanish group				
Constant	2.64 [1.75, 3.55]	0.43		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.14 [-0.005, 0.29]	0.07	.18	.041
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.18 [-0.06, 0.35]	0.08	.20	.022
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.08 [-0.07, 0.23]	0.08	.09	.314

Note. $R^2 = .08$, $p = .011$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the ethnic perception of the Spanish group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Furthermore, the multiple regression explaining the ethnic perception of the Spanish group was carried out for those **students who attended Romanian classes**. The results, presented in **Table 120**, indicated that the model was not significant. Nevertheless, strength of identification with the Catalan group was found to be a significant predictor of the ethnic perception of the Spanish group for students who attended Romanian classes ($\beta = .37$, $p = .041$).

Subsequently, the analysis aimed at determining the combined effect of strength of identification with the three groups on the ethnic perception of the Spanish group for **students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The results indicated that the model was not significant (**Table 121**). However, strength of identification with the Spanish group was found to be a significant

predictor of the ethnic perception of the Spanish group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($\beta = .22, p = .041$).

Table 120. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ethnic perception of the Spanish group for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Ethnic perception of the Spanish group				
Constant	2.56 [0.76, 4.26]	0.90		.007
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.33 [-0.01, 0.61]	0.15	.37	.038
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.07 [-0.30, 0.44]	0.18	.07	.681
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.05 [-0.22, 0.37]	0.17	.05	.769

Note. $R^2 = .16, p = .074$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 121. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ethnic perception of the Spanish group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Ethnic perception of the Spanish group				
Constant	2.85 [1.81, 4.05]	0.49		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.08 [-0.07, 0.22]	0.08	.11	.321
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.19 [-0.02, 0.36]	0.09	.22	.042
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.07 [-0.10, 0.22]	0.09	.09	.439

Note. $R^2 = .06, p = .144$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.1.4. The effect of strength of identification on the civic perception of the Spanish group

Next was conducted the multiple regression for civic perception of the Spanish group. Table 122 presents the correlation matrix for the variables introduced in the analysis.

The results, summarised in Table 123, indicate no significant results. None of the variables measuring strength of identification were found to be significant predictors of civic perception of the Spanish group.

Table 122. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining civic perception of the Spanish group (N = 131)

Variable	M	SD	2.	3.	4.
1. Civic perception of the Spanish group	3.36 [3.24, 3.50]	0.80	.17 [.002, .33]	.16 [-.003, .34]	.02 [-.15, .18]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .007]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 123. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of civic perception of the Spanish group (N = 131)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Civic perception of the Spanish group				
Constant	2.30 [1.45, 3.15]	0.50		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.14 [-0.01, 0.28]	0.08	.16	.087
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.15 [-0.04, 0.32]	0.09	-.14	.108
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.08 [-0.08, 0.25]	0.09	.08	.363

Note. $R^2 = .05$, $p = .084$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the civic perception of the Spanish group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Further, the influence of strength of identification on the civic perception of the Spanish group was measured for **students who attended Romanian classes**. The results, summarised in **Table 124**, indicate that the model was not significant. Nevertheless, strength of identification with the Catalan group was found to be a significant predictor of the civic perception of the Spanish group for students who attended Romanian classes ($\beta = .39$, $p = .030$).

Table 124. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of civic perception of the Spanish group for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	b	SE_b	β	p
Civic perception of the Spanish group				
Constant	3.45 [1.66, 5.37]	1.04		.002
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.40 [0.09, 0.75]	0.18	.39	.030
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.24 [-0.63, 0.08]	0.21	-.22	.241
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.11 [-0.51, 0.21]	0.20	-.09	.583

Note. $R^2 = .12$, $p = .170$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Additionally, the influence of strength of identification on the civic perception of the Spanish group was measured **for students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The results, summarised in **Table 125**, indicate that the model was not significant. Nevertheless, strength of identification with the Spanish group was found to be a significant predictor of the civic perception of the Spanish group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($\beta = .10$, $p = .015$).

Table 125. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of civic perception of the Spanish group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	b	SE_b	β	p
Civic perception of the Spanish group				
Constant	2.01 [0.99, 3.20]	0.56		.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.09 [-0.08, 0.27]	0.09	.12	.289
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.26 [0.06, 0.45]	0.10	.26	.015
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.12 [-0.09, 0.30]	0.10	.13	.252

Note. $R^2 = .08$, $p = .052$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.1.5. *The effect of strength of identification on the ethnic perception of the Romanian group*

Next, a multiple regression explaining the ethnic perception of the Romanian group was carried out. The descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables introduced in the analysis are presented in **Table 126**.

Table 126. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining ethnic perception of the Romanian group (N = 131)

Variable	M	SD	2.	3.	4.
1. Ethnic perception of the Romanian group	4.18 [4.06, 4.29]	0.66	.10 [-.08, .28]	-.07 [-.24, .13]	.20* [.03, .36]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .007]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The results indicated that the model obtained was significant and explained 7% of the variance for the ethnic perception of the Romanian group (Table 127). However, only one of the variables proved to be a significant predictor for ethnic perception of the Romanian group, namely strength of identification with the Romanian group ($\beta = .24$, $p = .041$).

Table 127. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ethnic perception of the Romanian group (N = 131)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Ethnic perception of the Romanian group				
Constant	3.32 [2.44, 4.14]	0.41		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.12 [-0.01, 0.27]	0.06	.18	.053
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.06 [-0.23, 0.12]	0.07	-.07	.4520
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.20 [0.05, 0.37]	0.07	.24	.009

Note. $R^2 = .07$, $p = .025$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on ethnic perception of the Romanian group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Moreover, a multiple regression explaining the ethnic perception of the Romanian group was carried out only **for those students who attended Romanian classes**. The results, presented in Table 128 indicated that the model was not significant. Nevertheless, strength of identification

with the Catalan group was found to be a significant predictor of the ethnic perception of the Romanian group for students who attended Romanian classes ($\beta = .40, p = .021$).

Table 128. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ethnic perception of the Romanian group for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Ethnic perception of the Romanian group				
Constant	2.75 [0.12, 4.21]	0.79		.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.32 [0.03, 0.62]	0.14	.40	.021
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.12 [-0.50, 0.24]	0.16	-.14	.437
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.24 [-0.06, 0.79]	0.15	.24	.124

Note. $R^2 = .18, p = .050$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Next, the same analysis was carried out for those **students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The results, presented in **Table 129**, indicated that the model was not significant. Nevertheless, strength of identification with the Romanian group was found to be a significant predictor of the ethnic perception of the Romanian group for these students ($\beta = .22, p = .041$).

Table 129. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ethnic perception of the Romanian group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Ethnic perception of the Romanian group				
Constant	3.70 [2.68, 4.86]	0.45		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.05 [-0.10, 0.20]	0.07	.07	.530
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.07 [-0.25, 0.10]	0.09	-.08	.446
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.17 [-0.01, 0.35]	0.09	.22	.048

Note. $R^2 = .06, p = .191$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.1.6. The effect of strength of identification on civic perception of the Romanian group

Further, multiple regression aimed to explain the civic perception of the Romanian group. **Table 130** presents the descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables of interest in the analysis.

Table 130. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining civic perception of the Romanian group (N = 131)

Variable	M	SD	2.	3.	4.
5. Civic perception of the Romanian group	3.41 [3.27, 3.56]	0.85	.18* [.01, .35]	-.04 [-.22, .14]	.02 [-.16, .20]
6. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
7. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .007]
8. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The results of the multiple regression are summarised in **Table 131**. As it can be seen, the amount of the variance explained by the model is not statistically significant. However, one of the predictors included in the model, strength of identification with the Catalan group, was found to have a significant effect on the civic perception of the Romanian group.

Table 131. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of civic perception of the Romanian group (N = 131)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Civic perception of the Romanian group				
Constant	2.94 [1.82, 3.95]	0.53		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.20 [0.04, 0.36]	0.08	.21	.020
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.09 [-0.31, 0.14]	0.10	-.08	.384
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.06 [-0.13, 0.29]	0.10	.06	.519

Note. $R^2 = .04$, $p = .128$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the civic perception of the Romanian group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Following, the multiple regression explaining the civic perception of the Romanian group was carried out for those **students who attended Romanian classes**. The results, presented in **Table 132**, indicated that the model was not significant. Nevertheless, strength of identification with the

Catalan group was found to be a significant predictor of the civic perception of the Romanian group for students who attended Romanian classes ($\beta = .46, p = .009$).

Table 132. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of civic perception of the Romanian group for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Civic perception of the Romanian group				
Constant	2.69 [-0.05, 5.38]	1.00		.010
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.47 [0.14, 0.89]	0.17	.46	.009
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.32 [-0.78, 0.09]	0.20	-.28	.116
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.10 [-0.17, 0.35]	0.19	.08	.620

Note. $R^2 = .17, p = .057$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Additionally, the multiple regression explaining the civic perception of the Romanian group was carried out for those **students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The results, presented in **Table 133**, indicated that the model was not significant and that none of the variables were significant predictors for the civic perception of the Romanian group of students who did not attend Romanian classes.

Table 133. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of civic perception of the Romanian group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Civic perception of the Romanian group				
Constant	3.19 [1.74, 4.45]	0.64		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.11 [-0.08, 0.31]	0.10	.13	.255
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.03 [-0.28, 0.21]	0.12	-.03	.786
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.02 [-0.20, 0.30]	0.12	-.02	.834

Note. $R^2 = .02, p = .712$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.2. The effect of strength of identification on the perceived cultural differences

In order to investigate the combined effect of strength of identification with the three groups on the perceived cultural differences, multiple regression analyses were conducted on the perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group, perceived cultural

differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group, and on the perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group, respectively.

However, a preliminary set of analyses focused on determining how members of each of the three groups were rated. Moreover, the link between strength of identification and the way in which participants rated members of the three groups was also explored.

Furthermore, the results were each time accompanied by analyses that differentiated between the participants who attended Romanian classes and those who did not.

8.3.2.1. Preliminary analyses

At group level the subjects rated members of all three groups above the midpoint value of three. However, the mean rating for Romanians was the highest ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 0.57$). Spanish were rated slightly less favourably ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 0.55$), while Catalans were rated the least favourably ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 0.58$).

Additionally, the statistical significance of the differences between the mean ratings of members of the three groups was examined through a One-Way Repeated Measures Anova test. The results showed that there are significant differences between the mean scores ($F_{(1.85, 240.96)} = 13.84^{18}$, $p < .001$). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed statistically significant differences between the three means compared, the results being presented in **Table 134** together with the corresponding effect size values.

Table 134. Bonferroni adjusted test for the differences between the ratings of members of the three groups ($N = 131$)

	Rating of	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Romanians	Catalans	4.72	< .001	.29
	Spanish	2.45	.044	.15
Spanish	Catalans	0.33	.004	.02

¹⁸ Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.91$, $p = .002$, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh–Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .93$).

The data illustrates that the rating of Romanians was significantly higher than that of Catalans and than that of Spanish, the differences representing small effect sizes. Also, the rating of Spanish was found to be significantly higher than that of Catalans, although the mean difference represents a small effect size.

Further, the cumulative influence of the strength of identification with the three groups on the participants' ratings of the members of each group was explored through a series of multiple regression analyses. The correlation matrix for the variables of interest included in the analyses conducted is presented in **Table 135**. Each time, the differentiation between students who attended Romanian classes and those who did not was made.

Table 135. Correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regressions explaining the ratings of members of the three groups (N = 131)

Variable	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Rating of Catalans	.60*** [.44, .74]	.33*** [.16, .50]	.25** [.07, .42]	.03 [-.13, .19]	-.20* [-.35, -.02]
2. Rating of Spanish		.43*** [.29, .56]	.06 [-.14, .24]	.27** [.09, .44]	-.12 [-.29, .05]
3. Rating of Romanians			.16 [-.02, .33]	.10 [-.09, .28]	.15 [-.02, .31]
4. Strength of identification with the Catalan group				.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
5. Strength of identification with the Spanish group					-.17 [-.33, .007]
6. Strength of identification with the Romanian group					

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.2.1.1. The effect of strength of identification on the rating of members of the Catalan group

A first multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to determine the combined influence of strength of identification with the three groups on the way in which participants rated Catalans. The analysis resulted in a significant model, explaining 8% of the variance for the rating of members of the Catalan group (**Table 136**). The model had a single significant predictor, strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .23, p = .013$).

Table 136. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of the rating of Catalans ($N = 131$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Rating of members of the Catalan group				
Constant	3.78 [3.06, 4.40]	0.36		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.14 [0.02, 0.27]	0.06	.23	.013
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.03 [-0.17, 0.11]	0.07	-.04	.634
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.11 [-0.22, 0.03]	0.07	-.15	.105

Note. $R^2 = .08$, $p = .011$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the rating of members of the Catalan group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Next, it was determined the influence of strength of identification on the way in which **participants who attended Romanian classes** rated Catalans. The model resulted was not significant. Nevertheless, as it can be seen in **Table 137**, one variable was found to be a significant predictor of how participants who attended Romanian classes rated Catalans, namely strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .39$, $p = .028$).

Table 137. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of the rating of Catalans for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Rating of members of the Catalan group				
Constant	3.81 [2.02, 5.11]	0.66		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.26 [-0.03, 0.61]	0.11	.39	.028
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.10 [-0.42, 0.14]	0.13	-.14	.459
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.15 [-0.41, 0.28]	0.13	-.18	.259

Note. $R^2 = .15$, $p = .090$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Next, through a multiple regression, it was determined the influence of strength of identification on the way in which **participants who did not attend Romanian classes** rated Catalans. The model resulted was not significant. Moreover, none of the variables were found to be significant predictors of the way in which participants who did not attend Romanian classes rated Catalans (**Table 138**).

Table 138. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of the rating of Catalans for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	B	SE_b	β	p
Rating of members of the Catalan group				
Constant	3.89 [3.04, 4.62]	0.44		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.10 [-0.04, 0.23]	0.07	.17	.131
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.03 [-0.19, 0.13]	0.08	-.04	.685
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.11 [-0.25, 0.05]	0.08	-.15	.186

Note. $R^2 = .07$, $p = .128$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.2.1.2. The effect of strength of identification on the rating of members of the Spanish group

Next, a multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to determine the combined influence of strength of identification with the three groups on the way in which participants rated Spanish. The model resulted was significant and explained 8% of the variance of ratings obtained by Spanish (Table 139). The model had a single significant predictor, strength of identification with the Spanish group ($\beta = .26$, $p = .004$).

Table 139. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ratings of Spanish ($N = 131$)

	B	SE_b	β	p
Rating of members of the Spanish group				
Constant	3.52 [2.64, 4.32]	0.34		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.01 [-0.12, 0.11]	0.05	-.02	.827
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.19 [0.06, 0.31]	0.06	.26	.004
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.06 [-0.19, 0.08]	0.06	-.08	.361

Note. $R^2 = .08$, $p = .015$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the rating of members of the Spanish group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Additionally, it was determined the influence of strength of identification on the way in which **participants who attended Romanian classes** rated Spanish. The model resulted was not

significant. None of the variables were found to be significant predictors of the way in which participants who attended Romanian classes rated members of the Spanish group (Table 140).

Table 140. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of the rating of Spanish for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Rating of members of the Spanish group				
Constant	2.67 [1.36, 5.12]	0.59		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.11 [-0.08, 0.34]	0.10	.19	.282
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.20 [-0.07, 0.40]	0.12	.30	.099
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.10 [-0.24, 0.25]	0.11	.14	.389

Note. $R^2 = .16$, $p = .070$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Further, was determined the influence of strength of identification on the way in which **participants who did not attend Romanian classes** rated Spanish. The model resulted was significant, and explained 10% of the variance in ratings of members of the Spanish group of students who did not attend Romanian classes. The model had one significant predictor (Table 141), which was strength of identification with the Spanish group ($\beta = .22$, $p = .034$).

Table 141. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of the rating of Spanish for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Rating of members of the Spanish group				
Constant	3.99 [3.10, 4.80]	0.42		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.07 [-0.21, 0.07]	0.06	-.13	.250
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.16 [0.01, 0.33]	0.08	.22	.034
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.14 [-0.29, 0.02]	0.08	-.20	.073

Note. $R^2 = .10$, $p = .038$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.2.1.3. The effect of strength of identification on the rating of members of the Romanian group

Lastly, a multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to determine the influence of strength of identification on the way in which participants rated Romanians. The model obtained

was significant, explaining 8% of the variance of ratings received by members of the Romanian group (Table 142). The model included two significant predictors, strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .20$, $p = 0.027$) and strength of identification with the Romanian group ($\beta = .22$, $p = 0.016$).

Table 142. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of ratings of Romanians ($N = 131$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Rating of members of the Romanian group				
Constant	2.87 [2.10, 3.70]	0.35		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.12 [0.02, 0.23]	0.06	.20	.027
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.07 [-0.07, 0.20]	0.07	.09	.292
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.16 [0.04, 0.28]	0.07	.22	.016

Note. $R^2 = .10$, $p = .019$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the rating of members of the Romanian group, by students who attended Romanian classes

Next, it was determined the influence of strength of identification on the way in which **participants who attended Romanian classes** rated Romanians. The model obtained was significant, explaining 18% of the variance of ratings received by members of the Romanian group (Table 143). The model included a significant predictor, strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .42$, $p = 0.017$).

Table 143. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of the rating of Romanians for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Rating of members of the Romanian group				
Constant	3.22 [2.02, 4.45]	0.57		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.24 [-0.003, 0.45]	0.10	.42	.017
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.02 [-0.28, 0.27]	0.11	.03	.855
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.03 [-0.13, 0.17]	0.11	.04	.783

Note. $R^2 = .18$, $p = .046$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Next was determined the influence of strength of identification on the way in **which participants who did not attend Romanian classes** rated Romanians. The model resulted was not significant. Yet, strength of identification with the Romanian group was found to be a significant predictor of the way in which participants who did not attend Romanian classes rated members of the Romanian group ($\beta = .26, p = .023$), as it can be seen also in **Table 144**.

Table 144. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of the rating of Romanians for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Rating of members of the Romanian group				
Constant	2.90 [1.85, 4.01]	0.46		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.09 [-0.03, 0.21]	0.07	.14	.207
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.05 [-0.13, 0.23]	0.08	.06	.584
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.19 [0.02, 0.35]	0.08	.26	.023

Note. $R^2 = .07, p = .123$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.2.2. The effect of strength of identification on the perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group

A multiple regression was conducted in order to determine the combined effect of the participants' strength of identification with the three groups on their perception of cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group. Descriptive statistics and the correlation matrix for these variables are presented in **Table 145**.

The multiple regression resulted in a significant model (**Table 146**), explaining 10% of the variance for perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group. The model had a single significant predictor, strength of identification with the Romanian group ($\beta = .31, p < .001$).

Table 145. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group ($N = 131$)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group	0.27 [0.16, 0.38]	0.67	-0.08 [-.24, .09]	.06 [-.13 .24]	.30*** [.12, .45]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .007]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 146. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group ($N = 131$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group				
Constant	-0.91 [-1.81, 0.01]	0.40		.026
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.02 [-0.15, 0.11]	0.06	-.02	.795
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.10 [-0.07, 0.27]	0.07	.12	.181
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.27 [0.11, 0.41]	0.07	.31	< .001

Note. $R^2 = .10$, $p = .003$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Following, a multiple regression was conducted only for those **students who attended Romanian classes**. The model resulted was not significant, and none of the variables were found to be significant predictors of the perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group for students who attended Romanian classes (Table 147).

Next, the same multiple regression was conducted for those **students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The model resulted was significant, and explained 12% of the variance of the perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group for students

who attended Romanian classes (Table 146). The model had a single significant predictor, strength of identification with the Romanian group ($\beta = .34, p = .002$).

Table 147. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group				
Constant	-0.59 [-2.06, 1.51]	0.66		.375
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.02 [-0.36, 0.25]	0.11	-.03	.874
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.12 [-0.17, 0.43]	0.13	.17	.366
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.18 [-0.24, 0.41]	0.13	.23	.171

Note. $R^2 = .05, p = .532$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 148. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group				
Constant	-0.98 [-2.14, 0.32]	0.53		.066
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.01 [-0.15, 0.12]	0.08	-.02	.870
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.08 [-0.14, 0.30]	0.10	.08	.417
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.30 [0.12, 0.47]	0.10	.34	.002

Note. $R^2 = .12, p = .014$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.2.3. The effect of strength of identification on the perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group

Next, the influence of strength of identification was also tested on the cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group. Descriptive statistics and the correlation matrix for the variables investigated are presented in Table 149.

Further, the results summarized in Table 150 show that the model was significant and that it explained 12% of the variance of cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group. Two of the variables represented significant predictors. By importance, as suggested by the standardized coefficients, they were strength of identification with the

Romanian group ($\beta = .28, p = .001$), and strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .21, p = .018$).

Table 149. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group ($N = 131$)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group	0.13 [0.03, 0.22]	0.60	.11 [-.06, .27]	-.15 [-.35, .05]	.25** [.04, .44]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .007]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 150. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group ($N = 131$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group				
Constant	-0.65 [-1.60, 0.31]	0.36		.076
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.14 [0.02, 0.23]	0.06	.21	.018
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.12 [-0.27, 0.04]	0.07	-.15	.081
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.22 [0.06, 0.38]	0.07	.28	.001

Note. $R^2 = .12, p = .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Following, a multiple regression analysis was conducted only for those **students who attended Romanian classes**. The model resulted was not significant (Table 151), and none of the variables were found to be significant predictors of the perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group for students who attended Romanian classes.

Table 151. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group				
Constant	0.55 [-0.78, 1.16]	0.48		.262
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.13 [-0.06, 0.27]	0.08	.28	.126
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.18 [-0.38, 0.15]	0.10	-.34	.072
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.07 [-0.25, 0.40]	0.10	-.12	.462

Note. $R^2 = .10$, $p = .268$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Next, another multiple regression was conducted for those **students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The model resulted was significant, and explained 18% of the variance of the perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group for students who attended Romanian classes (Table 152). The model had two significant predictors, strength of identification with the Romanian group ($\beta = .40$, $p < .001$) and strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .23$, $p = .028$).

Table 152. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group				
Constant	-1.09 [-2.07, 0.04]	0.48		.026
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.16 [0.47, 0.27]	0.07	.23	.028
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.12 [-0.33, 0.07]	0.09	-.14	.176
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.33 [0.15, 0.49]	0.09	.40	< .001

Note. $R^2 = .18$, $p = .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.2.4. The effect of strength of identification on the perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group

Lastly, the effect of strength of identification on perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group was computed. The descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables of interest in the analysis are presented in Table 153.

Table 153. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group ($N = 131$)

Variable	M	SD	2.	3.	4.
1. Perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group	0.14 [0.06, 0.24]	0.51	-.23** [-.39, -.05]	.26** [.10, .42]	.09 [-.09, .28]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .007]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The results, summarized in **Table 154**, indicated that the model obtained was significant, explaining 16% of the variance of cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group. Two of the variables measuring strength of identification were significant predictors in the model. These variables, in order of importance as indicated by the standardized coefficient, were strength of identification with the Spanish group ($\beta = .34$, $p = .001$), and strength of identification with the Romanian group ($\beta = .08$, $p < .001$).

Table 154. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group ($N = 131$)

	b	SE_b	β	p
Cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group				
Constant	-0.26 [-1.11, 0.60]	0.30		< .001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.15 [-0.27, -0.04]	0.05	-.28	< .001
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.22 [0.11, 0.33]	0.06	.33	.001
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.05 [-0.09, 0.18]	0.06	.08	.368

Note. $R^2 = .16$, $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group, by attendance at Romanian classes

Next, a multiple regression analysis was conducted for those **students who attended Romanian classes**. The model resulted was not significant (**Table 155**). Nevertheless, strength of

identification with the Spanish group was found to be a significant predictor of the perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group for students who attended Romanian classes ($\beta = .14, p = .040$).

Table 155. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group				
Constant	-1.14 [-2.71, 1.91]	0.70		.113
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.15 [-0.50, 0.15]	0.12	-.21	.227
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.30 [0.05, 0.50]	0.14	.38	.040
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	0.25 [-0.25, 0.50]	0.14	.29	.078

Note. $R^2 = .14, p = .122$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Next, the same multiple regression was conducted for those **students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The model resulted was significant (Table 156) and explained 24% of the variance of the perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group for students who attended Romanian classes. The model had two significant predictors, strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = -.38, p < .001$) and strength of identification with the Spanish group ($\beta = .34, p = .001$).

Table 156. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group				
Constant	0.10 [-0.44, 0.65]	0.30		.731
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.18 [-0.28, -0.07]	0.05	-.38	<.001
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.20 [0.07, 0.33]	0.06	.34	.001
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.03 [-0.14, 0.07]	0.05	-.06	.549

Note. $R^2 = .24, p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

8.3.3. The effect of strength of identification on the well-being

Furthermore, we investigated the combined effect of strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian group on the participants' well-being. Descriptive statistics and the correlation matrix of the variables introduced in the multiple regression analysis conducted are presented in **Table 157**.

Table 157. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix for the variables investigated in the multiple regression explaining well-being ($N = 131$)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.
1. Well-being	3.69 [3.56, 3.82]	0.76	.46*** [.30, .59]	.09 [-.09, .28]	-.32*** [-.45, -.18]
2. Strength of identification with the Catalan group	2.53 [2.37, 2.68]	0.93		.21* [.03, .36]	-.26** [-.43, -.07]
3. Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.85 [2.73, 2.97]	0.78			-.17 [-.33, .007]
4. Strength of identification with the Romanian group	3.54 [3.41, 3.67]	0.79			

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The results indicated that the model obtained was statistically significant, accounting for 25% of the variance in the participants' well-being (**Table 158**). The model had two significant predictors. By importance, as indicated by their standardized coefficients, these were strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .41$, $p < .001$), and strength of identification with the Romanian group ($\beta = -.22$, $p = .007$).

Table 158. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of well-being ($N = 131$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Well-being				
Constant	3.70 [2.80, 4.51]	0.42		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.33 [0.21, 0.45]	0.07	.41	<.001
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.03 [-0.22, 0.15]	0.08	-.03	.691
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.21 [-0.34, -0.08]	0.08	-.22	.007

Note. $R^2 = .25$, $p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The effect of strength of identification on the well-being, by attendance at Romanian classes

Additionally, a multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to determine the effect of strength of identification on the well being of **students who attended Romanian classes**. The results indicated that the model obtained was statistically significant, accounting for 20% of the variance in the participants' well-being. However, the model had no significant predictors (**Table 159**).

Further, multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to determine the effect of strength of identification on the well-being of **students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The results indicated that the model obtained was statistically significant (**Table 160**), accounting for 30% of the variance in the participants' well-being. The model had two significant predictors. By importance, as indicated by their standardized coefficients, these were strength of identification with the Catalan group ($\beta = .41, p < .001$), and strength of identification with the Romanian group ($\beta = -.26, p = .007$).

Table 159. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of well-being for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Well-being				
Constant	3.01 [1.47, 4.33]	0.82		.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.26 [-0.09, 0.49]	0.14	.30	.074
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.14 [-0.20, 0.59]	0.16	.16	.380
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.12 [-0.38, 0.30]	0.16	-.11	.470

Note. $R^2 = .20, p = .034$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Table 160. Summary of the multiple regression for the predictors of well-being for students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Well-being				
Constant	3.93 [2.83, 4.92]	0.51		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.33 [0.19, 0.49]	0.08	.41	<.001
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.09 [-0.31, 0.14]	0.09	-.09	.339
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.24 [-0.42, -0.06]	0.09	-.26	.010

Note. $R^2 = .30, p < .001$. 95% BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

Further, observing that the predictive model, for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$), had a significant overall F statistic but no significant t-tests for any of the individual coefficients of the predictors included, we suspected that one possible reason was having too many variables included in the model, which may have masked the truly significant ones. Drawing from this observation and considering that the self-identification with the Spanish group does not appear to have a significant influence on the level of life satisfaction in Catalonia, the analysis for students who attended Romanian classes was repeated.

This time, considering that it takes into account the impact of adding additional variables into the predictive model, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted with well-being as dependent variable. This allowed us to identify which predictors brought a significant contribution to the model. For our analysis, only strength of identification with the Catalan group was introduced as predictor variable in the first block. The second block included in addition strength of identification with the Romanian group. Lastly, strength of identification with the Spanish group was added to the third block.

Table 161. Summary of the hierarchical regression for the predictors of well-being for students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	β	<i>p</i>
Model 1				
Constant	2.88 [2.33, 3.57]	0.32		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.34 [0.05, 0.58]	0.12	.40	.008
Model 2				
Constant	3.49 [2.19, 4.80]	0.67		<.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.32 [0.04, 0.56]	0.12	.38	.013
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.16 [-0.40, 0.15]	0.15	-.15	.297
Model 3				
Constant	3.08 [1.53, 4.35]	0.82		.001
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.26 [-0.08, 0.49]	0.14	.30	.074
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.12 [-.037, 0.27]	0.16	-.11	.470
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.14 [-0.24, 0.67]	0.16	.16	.380

Note. $R^2 = .16$, $p = .008$ for Model 1; $R^2 = .18$, $p = .019$, $\Delta R^2 = .023$, $p = .297$ for Model 2; $R^2 = .20$, $p = .034$, $\Delta R^2 = .016$, $p = .380$ for Model 3. BCa CIs are reported in brackets.

The results, presented in **Table 161**, revealed that in Model 1, strength of identification with the Catalan group contributed significantly to the regression model ($F_{(1, 41)} = 7.68$, $p = .00$) and accounted for 16% of the variation in well-being. Introducing the variable strength of identification with the Romanian group in Model 2 did not significantly increase the variance explained by the first variable ($\Delta R^2 = .023$, $F_{change(1, 40)} = 1.12$, $p = .297$). Similarly, introducing strength of identification with the Spanish group in Model 3 did not significantly increase the variance explained by the previous models ($\Delta R^2 = .016$, $F_{change(1, 39)} = 0.79$, $p = .380$).

8.3.4. The effect of strength of identification on the acculturation attitudes and strategies

Next, analyses investigated the effect of strength of identification on the participants' acculturation attitudes and acculturation strategies (see **Table 162** for the frequency distribution). For this purpose, multinomial logistic regression was performed in order to test the combined effect of strength of identification with the Catalan group, strength of identification with the Spanish group, and strength of identification with the Romanian group on each of the two outcome variables.

Table 162. Frequency distribution for acculturation attitudes and strategies ($N = 131$)

Acculturation options	Acculturation attitudes		Acculturation strategies	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Integration	70	53.4	66	50.4
Assimilation	21	16	9	6.9
Separation	40	30.5	50	38.2
Marginalization	0	0	6	4.6

8.3.4.1. The effect of strength of identification on the acculturation attitudes

Further was investigated the effect of strength of identification on acculturation attitudes. The results indicated that the three-predictor model provided a statistically significant improvement

over the constant-only-model, $\chi^2_{(6)} = 29.46, p < .001$. The Cox & Snell and the Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 values suggested that the model accounted for 20.1% to 23.4% of the total variance.

In order to verify the utility of the model, the correct prediction rate of the model was verified. Overall, the model accurately predicted 61.1% of the values, compared to the rate of accuracy by chance alone, of 40.4%.

Only two of the variables measuring strength of identification were significant predictors in the model, as likelihood ratio tests showed. Thus, strength of identification with the Catalan group $\chi^2_{(2)} = 21.47, p < .001$, and strength of identification with the Romanian group, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 5.99, p = .050$, had a significant effect on the participants' acculturation attitudes. No significant effect of strength of identification with the Spanish group was found, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 1.03, p = .597$.

Furthermore, data presented in Table 163 shows that strength of identification with the Catalan group significantly predicted whether participants were in the assimilation or the integration category, $b = -0.64$, Wald $\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.34, p = .037$. The odds ratio of 0.53 suggests that as a participant's strength of identification with the Catalan group increases by one unit, he is 1.90 times as likely to be in the integration category as opposed to the assimilation category.

Moreover, strength of identification with the Catalan group also significantly predicted whether participants were in the separation or the integration category, $b = -0.74$, Wald $\chi^2_{(1)} = 17.27, p < .001$. The odds ratio of 0.32 suggests that as a participant's strength of identification with the Catalan group increases by one unit, he is 3.16 times as likely to be in the integration category as opposed to the separation category.

Strength of identification with the Romanian group significantly predicted whether participants were in the assimilation or in the integration category, $b = -1.15$, Wald $\chi^2_{(1)} = 5.90, p < .050$. The odds ratio of 0.48 suggests that as a participant's strength of identification with the Catalan group increases by one unit, he is 2.10 times as likely to be in the integration category as opposed to the assimilation category. However, strength of identification with the Romanian group did not significantly predict whether participants were in the separation or the integration category, $b = -.17$, Wald $\chi^2_{(1)} = 0.26, p = .611$.

Table 163. Summary of the multinomial logistic regression for the predictors of acculturation attitudes ($N = 131$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI for Odds Ratio		
				Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
Assimilation vs. Integration						
Intercept	2.10	1.85	.258			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.64	0.31	.037	0.28	0.53	0.96
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.32	0.35	.365	0.69	1.38	2.74
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.74	0.31	.015	0.26	0.48	0.87
Separation vs. Integration						
Intercept	2.87	1.68	.088			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-1.15	0.28	< .001	0.18	0.32	0.54
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.19	0.28	.946	0.56	0.98	1.71
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.17	0.33	.611	0.49	0.85	1.60

Note. $R^2 = .20$ (Cox & Snell), $.23$ (Nagelkerke).

The effect of strength of identification on the acculturation attitudes, by attendance at Romanian classes

Next the effect of strength of identification on acculturation attitudes was investigated for **students who attended Romanian classes**. The results indicated that the predictive model did not provide a statistically significant improvement over the constant-only-model, $\chi^2_{(6)} = 8.65$, $p = .194$. The Cox & Snell and the Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 values suggested that the model accounted for 18% to 21% of the total variance.

None of the variables measuring strength of identification were significant predictors in the model, as likelihood ratio tests showed. Thus, strength of identification with the Catalan group $\chi^2_{(2)} = 4.00$, $p = .136$, strength of identification with the Spanish group $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.11$, $p = .946$, and strength of identification with the Romanian group, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 2.60$, $p = .272$, did not have a significant effect on the participants' acculturation attitudes. Furthermore, data presented in **Table 164** shows that none of the three variables successfully predicted whether participants were more likely to be in the Assimilation or Separation categories, respectively, as opposed to the Integration category.

Table 164. Summary of the multinomial logistic regression for the predictors of acculturation attitudes of students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI for Odds Ratio		
				Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
Assimilation vs Integration						
Intercept	2.51	3.60	.485			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.001	0.60	.999	0.32	1	3.16
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.10	0.64	.881	0.32	1.10	3.85
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.92	0.68	.171	0.11	0.40	1.49
Separation vs. Integration						
Intercept	5.44	3.43	.112			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.88	0.52	.088	0.15	0.42	1.14
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.13	0.57	.822	0.29	0.88	2.69
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.85	0.69	.220	0.11	0.43	1.66

Note. $R^2 = .18$ (Cox & Snell), $.21$ (Nagelkerke).

Next the effect of strength of identification on acculturation attitudes was investigated for **students who did not attend Romanian classes**. The results indicated that the model provided a statistically significant improvement over the constant-only-model, $\chi^2_{(6)} = 27.49$, $p < .001$. The Cox & Snell and the Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 values suggested that the model accounted for 27% to 32% of the total variance.

In order to verify the utility of the model, the correct prediction rate of the model was verified. Overall, the model accurately predicted 59.1% of the values, compared to the rate of accuracy by chance alone, of 44.6%.

Two of the variables measuring strength of identification were significant predictors in the model, as likelihood ratio tests showed. Thus, strength of identification with the Catalan group $\chi^2_{(2)} = 19.70$, $p < .001$ and strength of identification with the Romanian group, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 8.22$, $p = .016$, had a significant effect on the participants' acculturation attitudes. Strength of identification with the Spanish group, $\chi^2_{(2)} = 0.21$, $p = .904$ did not have a significant effect on the acculturation attitudes of participants..

Furthermore, data presented in **Table 165** shows that strength of identification with the Catalan group significantly predicted whether participants were in the assimilation or the integration

category, $b = -1.20$, Wald $\chi^2_{(1)} = 6.75$, $p = .009$. The odds ratio of 0.30 suggests that as a participant's strength of identification with the Catalan group increases by one unit, he is 3.33 times as likely to be in the integration category as opposed to the assimilation category. Furthermore, strength of identification with the Romanian group significantly predicted whether participants were in the assimilation or the integration category, $b = -1.16$, Wald $\chi^2_{(1)} = 7.00$, $p = .008$. The odds ratio of 0.31 suggests that as a participant's strength of identification with the Romanian group increases by one unit, he is 3.23 times as likely to be in the integration category as opposed to the assimilation category.

Table 165. Summary of the multinomial logistic regression for the predictors of acculturation attitudes of students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI for Odds Ratio		
				Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
Assimilation vs Integration						
Intercept	5.04	2.65	.058			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-1.20	0.46	.009	0.12	0.30	0.74
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.09	0.44	.838	0.46	1.09	2.58
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-1.16	0.44	.008	0.13	0.31	0.74
Separation vs. Integration						
Intercept	2.64	2.22	.234			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-1.26	0.36	< .001	0.14	0.28	0.57
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.10	0.34	.769	0.46	0.90	1.77
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.02	0.43	.969	0.43	0.98	2.28

Note. $R^2 = .27$ (Cox & Snell), $.32$ (Nagelkerke).

Moreover, strength of identification with the Catalan significantly predicted whether participants were in the separation or the integration category, $b = -1.26$, Wald $\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.34$, $p = .014$. The odds ratio of 0.28 suggests that as a participant's strength of identification with the Catalan group increases by one unit, he is 3.57 times as likely to be in the integration category as opposed to the separation category.

8.3.4.2. The effect of strength of identification on the acculturation strategies

The results of the multinomial logistic regression investigating the effect of strength of identification on the participants' acculturation strategies indicated that the predictive model did not provide a statistically significant improvement over the constant-only-model, $\chi^2_{(9)} = 12.61$, $p = .181$. The Cox & Snell, and the Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 values suggested that the model accounted for 9% to 11% of the variance. The correct prediction rate of the model was 50.4%, compared to the rate of accuracy by chance alone, of 40.7%.

Table 166. Summary of the multinomial logistic regression for the predictors of acculturation strategies ($N = 131$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI for Odds Ratio		
				Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
Assimilation vs Integration						
Intercept	-0.82	2.64	.757			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.12	0.41	.764	0.51	1.13	2.52
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.24	0.53	.644	0.46	1.28	3.57
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.68	0.39	.084	0.24	0.51	1.10
Marginalization vs. Integration						
Intercept	4.32	2.80	.122			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.79	0.53	.137	0.16	0.45	1.29
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.82	0.52	.114	0.16	0.44	1.22
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.79	0.39	.139	0.16	0.46	1.29
Separation vs. Integration						
Intercept	1.40	1.44	.333			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.25	0.22	.255	0.51	0.78	1.20
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.24	0.26	.340	0.48	0.78	1.29
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.10	0.27	.708	0.54	0.91	1.53

Note. $R^2 = .09$ (Cox & Snell), $.11$ (Nagelkerke).

The likelihood tests indicated that strength of identification with the Catalan group, $\chi^2_{(3)} = 3.52$, $p = .318$, strength of identification with the Spanish group, $\chi^2_{(3)} = 3.54$, $p = .315$, and strength of identification with the Romanian group, $\chi^2_{(3)} = 4.41$, $p = .220$, did not have a significant effect on the participants' acculturation strategies. Furthermore, data presented in **Table 166** shows that

none of the three variables successfully predicted whether participants were more likely to be in the Assimilation, Marginalization, or Separation categories, respectively, as opposed to the Integration category.

The effect of strength of identification on acculturation strategies used, by attendance at Romanian classes

Next, a multinomial logistic regression was carried out in order to investigate the effect of strength of identification on the acculturation strategies employed by **participants who attended Romanian classes**. The results indicated that the three-predictor model did not provide a statistically significant improvement over the constant-only-model, $\chi^2_{(9)} = 7.81$, $p = .554$. The Cox & Snell, and the Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 values suggested that the model accounted for 17% to 19% of the variance.

Table 167. Summary of the multinomial logistic regression for the predictors of acculturation strategies of students who attended Romanian classes ($N = 43$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI for Odds Ratio		
				Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
Assimilation vs Integration						
Intercept	3.06	3.98	.442			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.24	0.75	.747	0.18	0.79	3.41
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.08	0.92	.933	0.15	0.93	5.58
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-1.12	0.69	.106	0.08	0.33	1.27
Marginalization vs. Integration						
Intercept	-2.98	8.11	.714			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-2.46	1.38	.074	0.01	0.09	1.27
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	2.08	2.08	.319	0.14	7.97	471.94
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.15	1.35	.913	0.06	0.86	12.19
Separation vs. Integration						
Intercept	1.15	2.86	.688			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.10	0.46	.837	0.37	0.91	2.25
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.08	0.51	.872	0.34	0.92	2.48
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.26	0.57	.655	0.25	0.78	2.37

Note. $R^2 = .17$ (Cox & Snell), $.19$ (Nagelkerke).

The likelihood tests indicated that strength of identification with the Catalan group, $\chi^2_{(3)} = 4.62$, $p = .202$, strength of identification with the Spanish group, $\chi^2_{(3)} = 1.71$, $p = .634$, and strength of identification with the Romanian group, $\chi^2_{(3)} = 2.79$, $p = .425$, did not have a significant effect on the participants' acculturation strategy. Furthermore, data presented in **Table 167** shows that none of the three variables successfully predicted whether participants were more likely to be in the Assimilation, Marginalization, or Separation categories, respectively, as opposed to the Integration category.

In the case of **students who did not attend Romanian classes**, results of the multinomial logistic regression investigating the effect of strength of identification on the participants' acculturation strategies indicated that the predictive model did not provide a statistically significant improvement over the constant-only-model, $\chi^2_{(9)} = 13.48$, $p = .142$. The Cox & Snell, and the Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 values suggested that the model accounted for 14% to 16% of the variance.

Table 168. Summary of the multinomial logistic regression for the predictors of acculturation strategies of students who did not attend Romanian classes ($N = 88$)

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI for Odds Ratio		
				Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
Assimilation vs Integration						
Intercept	-5.33	4.48	.234			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	0.67	0.61	.268	0.60	1.96	6.40
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	0.81	0.89	.364	0.39	2.25	13.00
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.41	0.50	.410	0.25	0.66	1.77
Marginalization vs. Integration						
Intercept	4.56	3.58	.203			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.41	0.74	.577	0.16	0.66	2.80
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-1.53	0.78	.048	0.05	0.22	0.99
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.62	0.71	.383	0.13	0.54	2.17
Separation vs. Integration						
Intercept	2.01	1.79	.261			
Strength of identification with the Catalan group	-0.35	0.26	.184	0.42	0.71	1.18
Strength of identification with the Spanish group	-0.40	0.32	.208	0.36	0.67	1.25
Strength of identification with the Romanian group	-0.08	0.31	.792	0.50	0.92	1.70

Note. $R^2 = .14$ (Cox & Snell), $.16$ (Nagelkerke).

The likelihood tests indicated that strength of identification with the Catalan group, $\chi^2_{(3)} = 3.96$, $p = .266$, strength of identification with the Spanish group, $\chi^2_{(3)} = 7.38$, $p = .061$, and strength of identification with the Romanian group, $\chi^2_{(3)} = 1.30$, $p = .730$, did not have a significant effect on the participants' acculturation strategies. However, data presented in **Table 168** shows that strength of identification with the Spanish group predicted whether participants were in the marginalization or the integration category, $b = -1.53$, Wald $\chi^2_{(1)} = 3.91$, $p = .048$. The odds ratio of 0.22 suggests that as a participant's strength of identification with the Spanish group increases by one unit, he is 4.63 times as likely to be in the integration category as opposed to the separation category.

8.3.5. Summary of results

The second part of our study explored the simultaneous influence of strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and with the Romanian group on a number of variables linked in the existing literature with adapting to the host society (ethnic and civic perception of the groups, perceived cultural differences between groups, well-being, acculturation attitudes and strategies).

In this sense, a series of multiple regressions were carried out, allowing us to examine the cumulative explanatory power of self-identification with the three groups for each outcome variable, as well as to assess the centrality of each predictor within the models. In addition, differentiated analyses were conducted by attendance at Romanian classes, the results of which are summarised in **Table 169**.


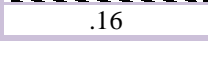
For *the students who attended Romanian language classes* the pattern of results reveals the centrality of the self-identification with the Catalan group in influencing the variables related with the process of adaptation and integration in the society of settlement.


At the same time, for the young *Romanian immigrants who did not attend this course*, the relationship between self-identifications and the outcome variables seems to be more complex, each model highlighting different self-identifications as significant predictors.

Table 169. Summary of results for strength of identification as predictor variable

PREDICTORS	DEPENDENT VARIABLES/ CRITERIA		
	Strength of identification with	Entire Sample (N = 131)	Attendance at Romanian classes
Attended (N = 43)			Did not attend (N = 88)
<i>Ethnic perception of the Catalan group</i>			
Catalan group	$b = 0.27; \beta = .32$	$b = 0.35; \beta = .36$	$b = 0.22; \beta = .27$
Spanish group	Ø	Ø	Ø
Romanian group	Ø	Ø	Ø
R^2	.10	Ø	.09
<i>Civic perception of the Catalan group</i>			
Catalan group	$b = 0.26; \beta = .30$	$b = 0.37; \beta = .42$	$b = 0.23; \beta = .27$
Spanish group	Ø	Ø	Ø
Romanian group	Ø	Ø	Ø
R^2	.09	Ø	Ø
<i>Ethnic perception of the Spanish group</i>			
Catalan group	$b = 0.14; \beta = .18$	$b = 0.33; \beta = .37$	Ø
Spanish group	$b = 0.18; \beta = .20$	Ø	$b = 0.19; \beta = .22$
Romanian group	Ø	Ø	Ø
R^2	.08	Ø	Ø
<i>Civic perception of the Spanish group</i>			
Catalan group	Ø	$b = 0.40; \beta = .39$	Ø
Spanish group	Ø	Ø	$b = 0.26; \beta = .26$
Romanian group	Ø	Ø	Ø
R^2	Ø	Ø	Ø
<i>Ethnic perception of the Romanian group</i>			
Catalan group	Ø	$b = 0.32; \beta = .40$	Ø
Spanish group	Ø	Ø	Ø
Romanian group	$b = 0.20; \beta = .24$	Ø	$b = 0.17; \beta = .22$
R^2	.07	.18	Ø
<i>Civic perception of the Romanian group</i>			
Catalan group	$b = 0.20; \beta = .20$	$b = 0.47; \beta = .46$	Ø
Spanish group	Ø	Ø	Ø
Romanian group	Ø	Ø	Ø
R^2	Ø	Ø	Ø
<i>Perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Catalan group</i>			
Catalan group	Ø	Ø	Ø
Spanish group	Ø	Ø	Ø
Romanian group	$b = 0.27; \beta = .31$	Ø	$b = 0.30; \beta = .34$
R^2	.10	Ø	.12

(table continues)

PREDICTORS		DEPENDENT VARIABLES/ CRITERIA	
Strength of identification with	Entire Sample (N = 131)	Attendance at Romanian classes	
		Attended (N = 43)	Did not attend (N = 88)
<i>Perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish group</i>			
Catalan group	$b = 0.14; \beta = .21$	∅	$b = 0.16; \beta = .23$
Spanish group	∅	∅	∅
Romanian group	$b = 0.22; \beta = .28$	∅	$b = 0.33; \beta = .40$
R^2	.12	∅	.18
<i>Perceived cultural differences between the Spanish group and the Catalan group</i>			
Catalan group	$b = -0.15; \beta = -.28$	∅	$b = -0.18; \beta = -.38$
Spanish group	$b = 0.22; \beta = .33$	$b = 0.30; \beta = .38$	$b = 0.20; \beta = .34$
Romanian group	∅	∅	∅
R^2	.16	∅	.24
<i>Well-being</i>			
Catalan group	$b = 0.33; \beta = .41$	$b = 0.34; \beta = .40$	$b = 0.33; \beta = .41$
Spanish group	∅		∅
Romanian group	$b = -0.21; \beta = -.22$		$b = -0.21; \beta = -.26$
R^2	.25	.16	.30
<i>Acculturation attitudes</i>			
→ Assimilation vs. Integration			
Catalan group	$b = -0.64; Odds Ratio = 0.53$	∅	$b = -1.20; Odds Ratio = 0.30$
Spanish group	∅	∅	∅
Romanian group	$b = -0.74; Odds Ratio = 0.48$	∅	$b = -1.16; Odds Ratio = 0.31$
→ Separation vs. Integration			
Catalan group	$b = -1.15; Odds Ratio = 0.32$	∅	$b = -1.26; Odds Ratio = 0.28$
Spanish group	∅	∅	∅
Romanian group	∅	∅	∅
R^2	.20 (Cox & Snell), .23 (Nagelkerke)	∅	.27 (Cox & Snell), .32 (Nagelkerke)
<i>Acculturation strategies</i>			
→ Assimilation vs. Integration			
Catalan group	∅	∅	∅
Spanish group	∅	∅	∅
Romanian group	∅	∅	∅
→ Marginalization vs. Integration			
Catalan group	∅	∅	∅
Spanish group	∅	∅	$b = -1.53; Odds Ratio = 0.22$
Romanian group	∅	∅	∅
→ Separation vs. Integration			
Catalan group	∅	∅	∅
Spanish group	∅	∅	∅
Romanian group	∅	∅	∅
R^2	∅	∅	∅

Note. ∅ – absence of a significant effect,  - not applicable.

9. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In the following chapter we discuss the results obtained, in view of the objectives and hypotheses stated earlier as well as in relation to previous studies. At the same time, possible explanations for the present findings are provided.

The first section of this chapter was organized taking into consideration the role played by the main variables included in the research. Thus, we first discuss the descriptive results concerning the strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, and attributes (civic and ethnic) associated. Next are examined the results of the analyses aimed to provide information regarding the processes of identity construction of young Romanian immigrants. Further, the impact of strength of identification on different variables related to the adaptation in the host society is discussed. Each time we also examine the effects of the participants' attendance at extracurricular courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* on the variables included in the study, given its expected implications for both identity construction and the integration in the host society.

Again, we note that in accordance with our objectives and hypotheses, analyses treated the causality between self-identification and the variables of interest as unidirectional. Nevertheless, the possibility of a mutual influence between the variables is not excluded given that the literature to date presents substantial evidence in this sense.

The second section aims to conclude by offering a general overview on the present study and by analysing its flows and strengths together with some of the possible implications which this investigation points to.

9.1. Discussion of results

9.1.1. Strength and meaning of young Romanians' identifications

Multiple identification. The results regarding the first hypothesis of the research (H1) confirmed our expectation that young Romanian immigrants would identify with all the three groups under analysis, namely the Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian groups. These results are

supported both theoretically and empirically. At theoretical level, the Social Identity Perspective (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reichter, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1972, 1978, 1982), provides a framework suitable for analysing multiple identifications, in spite of the fact that studies within this research tradition preferred to focus on cases where a distinction could easily be drawn between in-group and out-groups (Grant, 2007).

Nevertheless, the fact that young migrants develop multiple identifications was supported throughout previous research conducted worldwide (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Brown & Sachdev, 2009; Heras et al., 2013; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998; Lawson & Sachdev, 2004; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Ward, 2008), including Spain (e.g., Gualda, 2010b; Heras et al., 2013; Marcu, 2012, 2014) and particularly relevant to the present research, Catalonia (e.g., Ianos, 2014; Janés et al., 2015; Lapresta et al., 2009; Lapresta et al., 2012; Lapresta et al., 2014; Vila et al., 2010).

Therefore, our results provide support to what was previously argued – that migrants can maintain multiple identities which keep them connected to both the heritage and host cultures (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Berry, 1980; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Harris-Bond, 2008; Glick Schiller et al., 1992). Moreover, given the multicultural context of Catalonia, the fact that young Romanians report multiple identifications could be interpreted as a sign of adjustment to the host society, as also suggested by Nolan's (2009) statement that the ability of immigrant teenagers to slide from one cultural context to another is their most adaptive trait.

Moreover, we were equally interested **in the relationship existing between the multiple identifications of the participants**. To this end, within-subjects comparisons between students' self-identifications confirmed the second hypothesis (H2). In other words, participants reported significantly higher strength of identification with the Romanian group than with the Catalan or the Spanish groups, respectively. These findings coincide with data reported by previous work conducted with immigrant population where the participants also reported an overall higher identification with the group of origin (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Brown & Sachdev, 2009; Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, 2013; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Harris-Bond, 2008; Ward, 2008). This pattern of results was also revealed by studies conducted in Spain (e.g.,

Gualda, 2010b) and Catalonia (e.g., Ianos, 2014; Janés et al, 2015; Lapresta et al., 2009; Lapresta et al., 2012; Lapresta et al., 2014).

Drawing from the conclusions of Brown and Sachdev (2009), the fact that the sample identified the most with the group of origin could be explained by the fact that participants were not born in the host country. We make this distinction taking into account previous research which highlights the fact that, when analysing the self-identification of young migrants born in the host country, higher strength of identification with the host society than with that of origin is encountered (e.g., Grant, 2007; Ward, 2008). Similarly, being born in the host country was found to increase the likelihood of identifying with the host society and not with the group of origin (e.g., Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Grant, 2007; Lapresta et al., 2012; Lapresta et al., 2014; Portes et al., 2011; Portes et al., 2012; Rumbaut, 2004).

Another result of interest regarding the relationships between the multiple identifications of the sample, albeit of a small corresponding effect size, was that the overall reported strength of identification with the Spanish group is significantly higher than that with the Catalan group. This was a less expected find given that, based on previous research conducted in Catalonia (e.g. Navarro et al., 2008), we would have assumed the latter to be more salient in the present context. Nevertheless, Lapresta et al. (2014) reported similar results for young migrants in Catalonia originating from the European Union. The authors did not encounter the same pattern for all migratory groups living in Catalonia however, as Maghreb youth reported higher strength of identification with the Catalan group than with the Spanish one.

A possible explanation for these results is suggested by Badea et al. (2011) in light of the close cultural ties between the migrants' country of origin and their country of destination. The authors propose that the broader intergroup relations need to be considered when comparing between results for different migratory groups. In the case of Romanian migrants, Spain became a favourite migratory destination given the perceived cultural and linguistic similarities (Birsan & Cucuruzan, 2007), which may lead to higher strength of identification with Spain. By comparison, there is a possibility that many Romanians arriving in Catalonia are not fully aware of the cultural particularities of this autonomous community and perceive the broader, Spanish culture as being closer to their culture of origin.

Furthermore, turning to the distinction made by Castells (2010a) a complementary explanation may be that the Spanish identity could be perceived by the Romanian youth as more legitimate in comparison with the Catalan identity. In other words, it is possible that our participants associate more value and social advantages with the Spanish identity, and thus to express a higher strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Altogether, these differences may represent an additional argument supporting the importance of studying each migratory group individually.

Next, the results discussed above were complemented by correlation analyses between self-identification scores. A positive relationship was revealed between the participants' identification with the Spanish group and that with the Catalan group. Similar finds were encountered recently in studies carried out in Catalonia (e.g., Lapresta et al., 2014) and other multicultural contexts where participants' self-identifications with the majority groups were positively correlated (e.g., Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, 2013). Our results possibly point to the idea that as young Romanians living in Catalonia come in contact with both the Catalan and the Spanish groups, they perceive them as partially overlapping.

At the same time, a negative relationship was found between the participants' identification with the Romanian group and that with the Catalan and the Spanish groups, respectively. While only the correlation between the self-identification with the Romanian and the Catalan groups was statistically significant, the results also indicated a trend towards significance for the relationship between self-identification with the Romanian and the Spanish groups. These results expand on previous finds which also provide similar examples of negative relationship between the identification with the culture of origin and that with the host country (e.g., Brown & Sachdev, 2009; Gualda, 2010b; Lapresta et al., 2014; Sabatier, 2008).

An explanation for the correlations found could be provided by the bicultural identity integration model proposed by Benet-Martínez et al. (2002), which refers to the way in which individuals integrate their multiple identities. From this perspective, while the participants identify with all three groups, they may perceive the relationships between these identities differently. More specifically, in this particular case, young Romanians' identifications with the Spanish and the Catalan groups may be seen as compatible and integrated, whereas their identifications with the Catalan and the Romanian groups may be considered to be, to some degree, difficult to integrate.

Nevertheless, in spite of the negative relationship, young Romanian migrants reported above average strength of identification with each of the three groups. This outcome provides support to the assumption advanced by the Social Identity Perspective, according to which one's self-identification can simultaneously incorporate self-descriptions that are conflicting or incompatible with those contained by another self-identification (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Furthermore, Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind (2006) revealed that whereas in countries with a long tradition in receiving migrants the correlation between migrants' identifications with the host and with the heritage groups was positive, this relationship was negative in countries where migration represents a more recent phenomenon.

Moreover, the negative relationships discussed above can be interpreted turning to Portes, Vikstrom, and Aparicio (2011), who suggest that immigrants may be exposed to messages that they are not part of the society for cultural reasons. In order to be accepted, they may feel a need to give up those elements of their Romanian identity which are not valued by the host society. For this reason, they may emphasize on either their identification with the group of origin or on that with the national group (Phinney et al., 2006). However, taking into account the small effect size obtained, this assumption should be further investigated.

Furthermore, the uncovered relationship between the participants' identifications may indicate that young Romanian migrants living in Catalonia are undergoing a process of identity negotiation.

Perceived attributes of the group. The descriptive analyses concerning how young Romanian immigrants perceive the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, in terms of ethnic and civic attributes, revealed that each group was depicted to a significantly higher degree by ethnic than by civic characteristics. Additionally, the corresponding effect sizes for these differences show a high practical importance in all three cases. Nevertheless, the scores for the participants' perceptions regarding the ethnic and the civic characteristics of the three groups were above the scale mid-point, evidence consistent with previous research (e.g., Meeus, et al., 2010; Medrano & Koenig, 2005) that, to a certain level, a group can be seen as characterized by both types of attributes. Furthermore, also linking to previous empirical data (e.g., Heath & Tilley, 2005), a

positive correlation between these two variables was found, suggesting that respondents can score highly in both the civic and the ethnic perceptions of a group.

A few observations can be made looking at these results. First of all, the pattern observed for the perception of the Catalan group seems consistent with the idea put forward by Pujolar (2007) that two different strands of nationalism are encountered in Catalonia (an ethnic and a civic one), each carrying a different view of the Catalan identity. The fact that the group is prevalently perceived as ethnic could be further interpreted in the words of the same author, according to whom the transition from an ethnic politic discourse to a civic one has begun relatively recently. Thus, it is possible that although both strands of nationalism exist in the wider society, young Romanian migrants perceive a stronger presence of the characteristics of ethnic nationalism among autochthonous members of the Catalan group.

Moreover, the fact that individuals perceive both of the majority groups in Catalonia to be characterized to a greater extent by ethnic attributes than by civic attributes can have consequences on the way in which they feel they can integrate in the new society. An ethnic versus civic identity representation can give information as to whether the boundaries of the group are envisaged as being rather exclusive or inclusive, highlighting psychological demarcation markers that may not be reflected in the actual criteria of membership within the state (Rothi, Lyons, & Chryssochoou, 2005)

Overall, these first results offer some indications as to the complexity of the identity construction process of young Romanian migrants residing in Catalonia. We further discuss the effects of the variables whose links with identity were investigated in the present research.

9.1.2. Discussion of results: Strength of identification as outcome variable

Identification and attendance at Romanian classes. The results show that there was no effect of attendance at Romanian classes on the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian groups, respectively, disproving our hypothesis (H3).

This suggests that attendance at Romanian classes alone does not have sufficient explanatory power to significantly influence the self-identification of young Romanian migrants in Catalonia. However, we were also interested to see if attendance at Romanian classes moderated the

influence of other variables on the participants' strength of identification. The results further discussed reveal that our hypothesis (H13) was only partially confirmed. In other words, even though it was assumed that attendance at Romanian classes would moderate the effects of the other variables of interest on the participants' strength of identification with each of the three groups, this was observed only in some specific cases.

Thus, attendance at Romanian classes was found to moderate the effects on *students' strength of identification with the Catalan group* of gender, parental strength of identification with the Catalan group, and parental strength of identification with the Romanian group. Furthermore, attendance at Romanian classes was found to moderate the effects on the young participants' *strength of identification with the Spanish group* of Catalan use at home and attitudes towards Catalan. Lastly, analyses revealed that attendance moderated the effects on the *participants' strength of identification with the Romanian group* of Catalan use at home, Catalan competences, and Spanish competences.

Therefore, it becomes apparent that there are in fact differences concerning the self-identifications dynamics between students who attended Romanian language classes and those who did not. Furthermore, for strength of identification with each group the analyses revealed a different set of variables whose effect was moderated by the attendance at Romanian classes.

Moreover, comparing between those students who attended Romanian language classes and those who did not, fewer of the variables analysed were found to hold a significant influence on the self-identifications of the former. In other words, **students who attended Romanian classes** showed differences regarding their self-identification with the Catalan group by gender, girls displaying a lower strength of identification with this group than boys. Additionally, using Catalan at home led to higher strength of identification with the Spanish group for these students, which could represent an indication of greater openness towards multiple cultures, a possibility which is worth further investigation.

Thus, for participants who attended Romanian classes, in the majority of instances discussed self-identifications were not significantly influenced by any of the variables analysed. In this manner, attending Romanian classes seems to provide young Romanian migrants with a different set of premises based on which to (re)construct their identity.

For **students who did not attend Romanian language** classes we also encountered differences by gender regarding self-identification with the Catalan group. However, in this case the situation is reversed – girls who did not attend Romanian classes displayed higher strength of identification than boys. Additionally, parental strength of identification with the Catalan group was revealed to increase the participants' self-identification with the Catalan group, while parental strength of identification with Romanian group was shown to decrease it.

Furthermore, self-identification with the Spanish group of the students who did not attend Romanian classes was influenced in a negative way by their attitudes towards Catalan – the more positive these attitudes, the lower the strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Finally, self-identification with the Romanian group of students who did not attend Romanian classes was negatively influenced by Catalan competences, Spanish competences, and by Catalan use at home. The higher the participants' scores to each of these variables were, the lower their strength of identification with the Romanian group.

These results seem to indicate that not attending Romanian classes increased the influence of the family environment regarding identification with the Catalan society. Thus, our finds appear to suggest that parental strength of identification may be considered a model to be followed by this group of young migrants. Similarly, a more positive attitude towards Catalan, a central attribute of the Catalan identity, determined a decrease in strength of identification with the Spanish group, perhaps a sign that young Romanian migrants are assuming the critical stance towards Spain that some Catalans display (see Portes et al., 2011). Lastly, higher competences in the languages spoken in the host society decreased the strength of identification with the Romanian group, as did speaking Catalan within the family.

Overall, these findings suggest that attendance at Romanian language classes may influence the process of identity construction of young Romanian migrants living in Catalonia, if not directly then by moderating the effects of other variables. Taken together, the differences discussed above could be considered as potential support for the rationale behind the decision to organize the extracurricular courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization*. In other words, we suspect that attendance at these classes helps to some extent young Romanian migrants find a balance between the expectations of the family environments, which wants them to preserve at least some of their ethnic identity and culture, and the need to adapt to the host society, where the

expectation are pulled in the opposite direction (Portes & Rivas, 2011). Specifically they tend to preserve their Romanian identity and, at the same time, manifest intercultural openness – which are the main objectives of this course. This contention is supported by the existing literature, which puts forward the idea that contact with the heritage language helps migrant students maintain their ethnic identity and, furthermore, by feeling that the host community values and respects their cultural background, it also increases openness towards other cultures, aiding them in the adaptation process to the new social environment.

Identification and gender. Comparative analyses regarding the direct influence of gender on the self-identification of young Romanian migrants yielded no significant differences. These results disproved our hypothesis (H4) that gender differences would be encountered regarding the strength of identification of the participants to the study. Our expectations were motivated by previous research conducted on young immigrants in Spain (e.g., Portes et al., 2011) and autochthonous Romanian youth (e.g., Dimitrova et al., 2013), which suggested such differences.

Thus, in a Romanian context, Romanian autochthonous girls manifested higher strength of national identification than boys (Dimitrova et al., 2013) and in a Spanish context Portes et al. (2011) found a lower likelihood to identify with Spain for girls than for boys, explaining their findings based on the assumption that girls are closer to their families than boys. However, our results indicate that in the context of this research there is no direct influence of gender on either of the three self-identification measured, which find support in other studies conducted in Spain (e.g., Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Gualda, 2010b) and Catalonia (e.g., Lapresta 2004, 2008).

Nevertheless, analyses indicated that attendance at Romanian classes moderated the effect of gender on the participants' identification with the Catalan group. More specifically, among students who attended Romanian classes, girls reported a lower strength of identification with the group than boys did. The reverse was observed among students who did not attend these classes, as girls reported a higher strength of identification with the Catalan group than boys.

The differences uncovered lead us to believe that the relationship between gender and self-identification is more complex than initially expected. For example, we turn to the work of Aparicio and Portes (2014) who, describing the results of a longitudinal study carried out on young migrants living in Spain, observed that while in the first phase of the study they

encountered gender differences in the participants' self-identification with Spain, these differences were no longer statistically significant in the second phase of the study, four years later.

Thus, the explanation for the results uncovered by our analysis remain open to interpretation and could also be related to factors which motivate these young students to attend the optional classes of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization*.

Identification and family socio-cultural and socio-professional status. Considering the previous finds in the academic literature on identity regarding the connection with family socio-cultural and family socio-professional status, we were interested in determining the effects of these variables on strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, respectively. Our results indicated no significant effect of family socio-cultural status on the young Romanians' self-identifications, disproving what was earlier hypothesised (H5). Similarly, the hypothesis concerning family socio-professional status was also invalidated (H6), no significant effect of family socio-professional status on strength of identification with any of the three groups being revealed.

These finds seem not to be consistent with others existing in the literature, which uncovered a significant relationship between the variables here discussed (e.g., Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Berry et al., 2006; Knight et al., 1993; Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001; Portes et al., 2011; Portes et al., 2012; Ward, 2001). However, this inconsistency could find an explanation in the manner in which the variables were measured. More specifically, family social-economic status was computed as an index of the education and occupational statuses of both parents (e.g., Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001; Portes et al., 2011) or as a function of parental educational status, parental professional status, and household income (Aparicio & Portes, 2014).

Hence, the relationship between self-identification and family socio-cultural and socio-professional status may be in fact more complex in the case of young Romanian migrants, and may be moderated by a series of other variables.

Identification and length of residence in Catalonia. Our next hypothesis (H7) referred to the relationship existing between self-identification of young Romanian migrants and length of residence, a variable often included in the existing research in this field of study. The results obtained partially confirmed our hypothesis. More specifically, higher length of residence led to higher strength of identification with the Catalan group and to a lower strength of identification with the Romanian group. However, length of residence in Catalonia did not significantly influence strength of identification with the Spanish group.

If we refer to the effects on the self-identification with the Catalan group, these finds fall in line with those of previous studies, which revealed that higher length of residence led to a stronger identification with the host society (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Brown & Sachdev, 2009; Grant, 2007) or to greater likelihood of identifying with the host society (e.g., Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Lapresta 2004, 2008), and to a weaker identification with that of origin (e.g., Gualda, 2010b). Thus, our results consolidate the idea that ethnic and national identities are aspects which may be subject to change under the influence of context and personal experience (Kuo & Margalit, 2012).

In order to interpret the present results we turn to Deaux (2001), who suggests that changes in the physical or social context play an important role in identity change. For this reason, migration is considered to be one of the factors which lead to identity change over time (Amiot et al., 2007), an assertion also confirmed by the present paper. In other words, the fact that higher length of residence of young Romanian immigrants in Catalonia leads to higher self-identification with the Catalan group and to lower self-identification with the Romanian group could be explained as the result of coming in contact with individuals and cultural practices pertaining to the host (Catalan) society (Schwartz et al., 2006). This conclusion is supported by the assertion of Kiely, Bechhofer and McCrone (2005) that ‘living’ the identity, by residing in the host country, led migrants to identify with the host society. Nevertheless, as the participants in the present research have taken residence in an area inhabited by the Catalan ethno-linguistic group, this seems not to affect their strength of identification with the Spanish group over time.

Moreover, another important fact we need to take into account is that the social context was sometimes considered to inhibit the enactment of identities which are not valued by society (Rogalin & Keeton, 2011). It is possible that migrant youth receive signals from the majority

group that in order to be accepted they need to alter their identities (Schwartz et al., 2014). Accordingly, this may be the case of young Romanian migrants who, in order to feel validated by members of the host society decrease the importance they assign to the identity they may perceive as being less valued – in this case the Romanian one, while that of the highly valued one – the Catalan identity – is increased.

However, it should also be taken into consideration that the changes in strength of identification highlighted by our analyses had limited practical significance. Thus, although as length of residence increases Romanian youth living in Catalonia display a stronger identification with the Catalan group and a weaker identification with the Romanian group, these changes tend to be narrow.

Identification and language attitudes. Given the role which attitudes play in expressing identity (Hogg & Smith, 2007) and the existing work asserting the close relationship between identity and language attitudes, we hypothesised that the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, respectively, will be influenced by attitudes towards language (H8). The results of the analyses carried out in this sense only partially confirmed our hypothesis.

Thus, results reveal that an increase in *the self-identification with the Catalan group* is predicted by more favourable attitudes towards Catalan and by less favourable attitudes towards Spanish, a pattern also uncovered by previous research in a Catalan context (e.g., Ianos, 2014; Lapresta et al., 2009). This seems to indicate that young Romanian migrants are aware that the Catalan identity is built around the Catalan language and that the two co-official languages in the region manifest competitive dynamics (see Boix-Fuster & Sanz, 2008; Kleiner-Liedau, 2009; Nagy, 2012; Newman et al., 2011; Pujolar, 2007; Trenchs & Newman, 2009; Zuber, 2014). This assumption is supported by the Social Identity Theory which states that identifying with a group leads to internalizing its norms and attitudes.

Moreover, the assumption that young Romanian migrants are aware of the competition between the two languages and that they adopt the attitudinal patterns of the autochthonous is further supported by the negative correlation uncovered between their attitudes towards Spanish and their attitudes towards Catalan, relationship which was also reported by the autochthonous

population in previous research (e.g., Ianos, 2014; Janés, 2006a; Lapresta et al., 2009; Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010; Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2009; Querol & Huguet, 2010; Madariaga, Huguet, & Lapresta, 2013).

The importance of the Catalan language for the strength of identification with the Catalan group of our participants is also revealed by the corresponding average effect size, which indicates a notable practical importance of this relationship.

Further, following the same line of interpretation, we strive to understand the negative influence of attitudes towards Catalan on the *strength of identification with the Spanish group* which appears, however, only for those students who did not attend Romanian classes. Thus, it seems plausible to believe that the endorsement of a Catalan identity, as opposed to a Spanish one, (Zuber, 2014) has a greater impact on these participants. Specifically, holding more positive attitudes towards Catalan may be perceived as a threat to their identification with the Spanish group. At the same time, given that this relationship was not observed among students who attended Romanian language courses, we could potentially draw a connection between attending heritage language classes and higher intercultural openness. Nevertheless, the corresponding low effect size of the relationship found leaves this assumption open to further interpretation.

Moreover, the lack of a significant relationship between attitudes towards Spanish and self-identification with the corresponding group, manifested overall, together with the descriptive results according to which the attitudes towards Spanish of the participants were more positive than those towards Romanian or Catalan, may be interpreted as evidence that participants attribute an instrumental value to the national language, as a vehicle of communication. This assumption is consistent with the conclusions of previous research conducted in Catalonia (e.g., Ianos, 2014; Lapresta et al., 2009; Lapresta et al., 2010). Further support is provided by Poggheschi (2015), who suggested that migrants in Catalonia see Spanish as the main language they need to learn in order to integrate in the society, while Catalan holds a secondary role. In another research context, a similar conclusion was reached by García León (2012, 2013), who also indicated that the positive attitudes towards Spanish manifested by participants to his study were due to the role played by the language in adapting to the wider society, given its high prestige, and as it offered better employment opportunities and held higher communication value.

Therefore, the positive attitudes towards Spanish do not have a direct influence on the strength of identification with the Spanish group, but could have a negative, though limited impact on self-identification with the Catalan group, as earlier highlighted.

Further, analyses indicated an interesting negative influence of attitudes towards Romanian on the participants' strength of identification with the Spanish group. Nevertheless, it should be taken into account that the results correspond to a small effect size.

In addition, the results indicated that *self-identification with the Romanian group* was predicted by more positive attitudes towards Romanian, highlighting the importance of the heritage language for the identity of the Romanian group – an aspect also pointed out by previous research (e.g., Heras et al., 2013; Valtolina et al., 2013). Moreover, the important value assigned to their heritage language by young Romanian immigrants is also indicated by the high, positive attitudes towards it in spite of their lower competences (by comparison to the Catalan and Spanish competences, respectively).

At the same time, analyses also revealed no significant relationship between attitudes towards Spanish, or towards Catalan, and self-identification with the Romanian group. These make sense if we follow the same line of thought and assume that neither Spanish nor Catalan represent an essential component of the Romanian identity, and thus positive, and respectively neutral attitudes towards these languages do not threaten on their own the participants' identification with their group of origin. However, it should be reminded that Ianos (2014) did find a positive relationship between self-identification with area of origin and attitudes towards Spanish on another sample of immigrants living in Catalonia. The differences between her results and ours could be related to the fact that a percentage of 47.4% of her participants originated from Latin American countries.

Overall, an interesting parallel can be drawn between the present research and the work of Ianos (2014), who found self-identification to represent one of the most important predictors of language attitudes of migrants in Catalonia. Her results in many ways mirror ours, resemblance which reinforces the idea that while social identity plays an important role in shaping attitudes, the influence is mutual (also see Brown & Sachdev, 2009; Giles & Johnson, 1981/1989; Lapresta et al., 2009, Lapresta et al., 2010; Sachdev & Hanlon, 2000). In other words, attitudes are an integral part of group memberships and, consequently, people develop attitudes which are in

accordance with their social identities. Nevertheless, they often represent criteria for self-categorization, thus determining one's self-identification (Hogg & Smith, 2007; Prislín & Wood, 2005) – as the present research also suggests.

Identification and language competences. Following, another language related aspect was included in the analyses. The results partially confirmed our hypothesis that strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by the participants' language competences (H9).

Specifically, no significant *influences of Catalan or Spanish language competences* were found on young Romanian migrants' self-identification with the Catalan and the Spanish groups, respectively. In an attempt to interpret this find we take into consideration the co-official statute of the two languages in Catalonia (Spanish Constitution, 1978; Organic Law 6/2006) and also the objectives of the educational system concerning them (Clots-Figueras & Masella, 2013; Escobar & Umanumo, 2008). In other words, young Romanian migrants probably see Catalan and Spanish proficiency as necessary to communicate and integrate in the host society, particularly given that students enrolled in the Catalan Education System are expected to be proficient in both languages by the time of their graduation.

Under the circumstances, proficiency in those particular languages does not determine increased identification with the corresponding groups on their own, these languages being perhaps perceived rather as tools for attaining academic success and to secure a potential future in the host society. This assumption is reinforced by Ager and Strang (2004, 2008) when concluding that proficiency in the language spoken in the host country improves social connections, both with local communities and with state services, being one of the ten areas which research has showed to be central to the integration of newcomers. Moreover, research (e.g., Lapresta et al. 2009, Lapresta et al. 2010) shows that, regardless of whether they have a positive or negative attitude towards Catalan, young immigrants perceive that the key to their integration in Catalonia is the use of Catalan and, in this sense, that they need to acquire Catalan competences.

At the same time, for the present research it is also relevant to highlight that while both Catalan and Spanish competences overall predict a slight attenuation of strength of identification with the Romanian group, this influence increases for those students who did not attend Romanian

classes, and lacks statistical significance for students who attended Romanian classes. This may imply that for those participants who have a stronger contact with the heritage culture and possibly feel more that their cultural background is valued and accepted in the host society, proficiency in the official languages here could have more pragmatic valences (Perez-Agote & Tejerina, 1990) without being directly related to their self-identification with the group of origin. Therefore, we suspect that for students who attend Romanian classes, Catalan and Spanish competences could be regarded as a way to create new opportunities for one's future (communicating with different groups of people, employment opportunities, relocation opportunities, etc.), and thus are not perceived as a threat to their self-identification with the Romanian group.

By comparison, students not attending Romanian classes express a lower strength of identification with the Romanian group when their competences of Catalan or Spanish increase. This may be related to the high prestige they associate to these languages in the host society, together with a possibly perceived low status of their own identity in the country of settlement. In other words, this pattern of results could be interpreted as an attempt to symbolically distance themselves from the group of origin, considered to hold a low status in the host society and thus not bringing a positive contribution to their social identity (Tajfel, 1978).

Lastly, a different pattern of results was uncovered for *Romanian competences*, which were revealed to negatively determine strength of identification with the Catalan group and strength of identification with the Spanish group, respectively. Taking this in consideration, and turning to the finds of Janés et al. (2015), such a pattern could be encountered because young migrants may perceive that their culture is not truly valued in the society they live in. Further, a similar assertion could be deduced from the finds of Lapresta et al. (2009) and Lapresta et al. (2010) who, through discourse analysis, revealed that young immigrants manifested a strong linguistic identification with their heritage language which they considered to be insufficiently valued by their native peers. This fact may increase the salience of their outsider status and, consequently, determine a decrease in strength of identification with the Catalan and the Spanish groups. This idea finds support in previous works conducted in Catalonia, which concluded that when youth feel integrated and valued in the host society and in the educational medium, this tendency is reversed (Lapresta, Huguet, & Janés, 2010; Trenchs & Patino, 2013).

At the same time, Romanian language competences were found to slightly increase self-identification with the Romanian group for the sample. Although the corresponding effect size is low, this find falls in line with previous theoretical and empirical work (e.g., Fishman, 1989; Giles et al., 1977; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990; Maloof et al., 2006; Miller & Hoogstra, 1992; Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001). Additionally, previous research conducted on Romanian migrants in Spain also highlighted the relevance of maintaining and improving their heritage language for the identification with the group of origin (Heras et al., 2013).

Moreover, competences in Spanish and Catalan, respectively, positively correlated with Romanian competences, underlining the importance of fostering better heritage language competences for the acquisition of the majority languages. This idea has received ample support in the academic literature, which posits a positive relationship between minority language competences and majority language competences – including in a Catalan context (see Baker, 2006; Cummins, 1981, 2001; Huguet, 2008, 2014; Huguet & Madariaga, 2005; Mercuri, 2012).

Identification and language use. Furthermore, we hypothesised that strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, respectively, will be influenced by language use at home (H10) and by language use in different social contexts (H11). This was based on the empirical evidence in the existing literature which stresses the mutual relationship between language use and identity, in the sense that language use influences identity construction, whereas group identity determines language use (Sachdev & Hanlon, 2000). At the same time, maintaining the migrants' heritage language was proven to be of high importance for their identity (Carder, 2007; Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001; Tollefson, 2007).

Moreover, given that context determines different patterns of language use (Lawson & Sachdev, 2004; Van Den Berg, 1988), we expected that language use at home and language use in different social contexts would generate different patterns of effects on young Romanians' self-identification with the three groups. Results provided partial support for these hypotheses, as we further discuss.

Language use at home. A first look at the results highlights the way in which the three languages are adopted by the participants within the home context. First of all, as the mean scores for language use at home indicate, Romanian seems to be the preferred language in this

environment. Our participants use Romanian to a great extent, followed by Spanish and Catalan, respectively. Additionally, correlation analyses revealed negative relationships between Romanian use at home and the use of Catalan and Spanish, respectively, which highlight that young migrants manifest a preference towards the use of their heritage language in the detriment of the other two languages. This pattern was also documented in previous research (e.g., Lapresta et al., 2009; Lawson & Sachdev, 2004; Van den Berg, 1988), and supports the idea that, within a migratory context, the home represents the main pillar of cultural identification, in which the use of the heritage language is valued (Lawson & Sachdev, 2004).

Nevertheless, another important result is the medium, positive correlation between Catalan use at home and Spanish use at home. This relationship could imply that in a family environment, young Romanian migrants also tend to use, although to a small degree, both of the co-official languages in the host society, probably due to their perceived usefulness in adapting and integrating in the new environment (Lapresta et al., 2009; Lapresta et al., 2010). The assumption finds support in Mercuri's (2012) assertion that in a migratory context parents will at times encourage the use of the majority language within the home, associating it with future academic and professional success.

Further, looking at how language use influences participants' self-identification, an overview of the results indicates that, at home, using either Catalan or Spanish favours a slight increase in the strength of identification with the corresponding groups. At the same time, the use of Romanian at home does not affect the self-identification with the heritage group. We propose that these results can be understood in terms of salience, the "switch" which activates one's social identity at any time (Turner et al., 1987). In this sense, referring to the accessibility and fit of a categorization (Oakes, 1987; Tajfel, 1978b; Turner et al., 1987), although one may identify highly with a group, one may not be aware of that identity in every given situation.

Therefore, using Romanian in a context where they expect to do so has no direct impact on young Romanian migrants' strength of identification with the group of origin. Nevertheless, previous studies indicate a positive relationship between heritage language use at home and different ethnic identity elements (Knight et al., 1993; Van den Berg, 1988). This, together with our finds, likely suggests that the role of Romanian on the heritage identification could be indirect, moderated by other variables.

However, the use of majority languages in a context where Romanian is usually used increases the salience of the corresponding groups, with implication for the self-identification of young Romanian migrants with the Catalan and the Spanish groups, respectively. Of course, since the effect sizes corresponding to these relationships are small, the hypothetical nature of our statements should be reminded.

Furthermore, no overall effect of Catalan use at home on the participants' self-identification with the Spanish group was found. However, in the case of students who attended Romanian classes, use of Catalan at home determined a notable increase in strength of identification with the Spanish group, while for students who did not attend these classes the effect was not significant. As in the case of previous results where differences occurred by attendance at Romanian classes, we propose that the explanation could lie in a greater openness towards other cultures. Moreover, given that within the home environment the historical background and cultural differences between the Spanish and the Catalan groups may be less salient for the young migrants, and considering the similarities existing between Spanish and Catalan, the use of Catalan at home may favour as well a stronger self-identification with the Spanish group for students who attend Romanian classes, as our results imply.

At the same time, Catalan use at home predicted a slight decrease in strength of identification with the Romanian group overall. Nevertheless, a subsequent analysis by attendance at Romanian classes revealed that this effect was statistically significant only for young migrants who did not attend Romanian classes, corresponding to an average-size effect. This may indicate that in the context of a lower use of the heritage language at school and in the society, which may be interpreted as a message that using the heritage language is inappropriate or of little value (Mercuri, 2012), the choice of using Catalan at home instead of Romanian makes salient the low status of the heritage language, which may have a detrimental impact on their self-identification with the group of origin (García León, 2012, 2013; Mercuri, 2012).

Language use in different social contexts. When looking at how participants use language outside their home, it is important to note the changes which appear in the pattern of use. Thus, in other social contexts children tend to use Spanish and Catalan much more than Romanian.

Moreover, a more attentive look at the mean scores for each of the situations analysed in the present research shows a visible preference for Catalan only for interactions with teachers. In most situations participants tend to use Spanish slightly more than Catalan, while Romanian is little used outside the home. This data adds to finds of previous research conducted on native and migrant students in a Catalan context (e.g., Galindo, 2008; Galindo & Vila, 2009). Furthermore, it is also interesting to note that the correlations between the uses of the three languages are negative. This tendency of preferring one language over the other, also uncovered by Ianos (2014) in her recent work on young migrants in Catalonia, reconfirms Woolard's (2009) observation that migrant students tended to reject language mixing.

Further, findings put in relation the participants' use of language in different social contexts and their self-identification. Results indicated that use of Catalan and use of Spanish each had a positive effect on the participants' strength of identification with the corresponding group, and a negative effect on that with the opposite group.

Up to this point, these results mirror in many ways those earlier discussed concerning attitudes towards language, again suggesting that young migrants perceive and internalize the linguistic specificity of the region (Lapresta et al., 2010) with regard to the relationship between the two co-official languages. This is expressed through their choices of language use in different contexts, which further reflects on their process of identity construction, considering that language signals group membership (Giles & Johnson, 1981/1989). In addition, the positive relationship between host languages use and the corresponding self-identifications brings potential support to the idea that being able to use a certain language in a specific context influences the development of a cultural identity, as proposed by different authors (e.g., Fernández, 2000; Trechter & Bucholtz, 2001).

It should be noted that the effect sizes revealed for the relationship between Catalan and Spanish use in different social contexts are higher for the self-identification with the Catalan group than for that with the Spanish one. In other words, the practical importance of these finds is higher in the case of the young migrants' self-identification with the Catalan group.

Moreover, analyses revealed no significant effect of Catalan or Spanish use on self-identification with the Romanian group for the participants. This find indicates that the participants' self-identification with the Romanian group does not become threatened through the use of Catalan

or Spanish in different social contexts, possibly as they see fit to use these languages in order to integrate in their new environment. This seems to suggest the fact that young Romanian migrants understand the necessity of using the co-official languages in public spaces in order to integrate easier in the Catalan society, without associating their usage in these contexts with a decrease in identification with the group of origin.

Nevertheless, Romanian use in different social contexts positively influenced strength of identification with this group, probably due to an increased salience of their Romanian membership when using their heritage language in contexts where local languages are expected.

To conclude, young Romanian migrants seem to prefer the use of their heritage language in the home context, while in different social contexts they prefer to use either Catalan or Spanish, in similar proportion. These preferences in language use could reflect what was previously argued by Giles et al. (1977) that using the heritage language at home to a great extent can balance the high use of the majority languages at school and in the wider society. Furthermore, as language use is a “recognized and recognizable reflection of one’s social identity” (Bonvillain, 1993, p. 167), a change in language use may signal that young migrants slide from one self-identification to another as they become more salient depending on the nature of context and the membership of those whom participants interact with (García, 2012). Thus, the identities expressed by young Romanian migrants within and outside the home may be qualitatively different (Jaspal, 2009), potentially allowing them to slide from a Romanian to a Catalan or Spanish identification in their daily interactions with members of the family and of the host society.

Identification and parental strength of identification. Drawing from previous works in the field, which stressed the importance of the family in the socialization of children and adolescents in a given cultural context, and its major role in identity development during early adolescence, the present paper aimed also to identify the influence of parental strength of identification on the self-identification of their children.

Relevant to understanding this relationship is the fact that the pattern of parental strength of identification mirrors the one revealed for our participants. In other words, results indicated that

parents also identify most strongly with the Romanian group, followed by strength of identification with the Spanish group, and with the Catalan group, respectively. Furthermore, parents displayed the same pattern of results as their offspring for the correlations between strength of identification with the three groups.

These general results concerning parents' multiple identification could reflect a tendency of balancing the need for cultural continuity and the need to integrate the demands of the new environment in their process of adaptation to the new society, as also asserted by Sabatier (2008). The author further assumes that the need for seeking this balance is motivated by the parents' desire to improve their own and their children's lives.

Nevertheless, our results only partially confirmed the hypothesis that the participants' self-identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will be influenced by their parents' strength of identification (H12).

Thus, *students' self-identification with the Catalan group* was negatively predicted overall by parental strength of identification with the Romanian group. However, an analysis by attendance at Romanian classes revealed that this effect was statistically significant solely for students who did not attend the optional course. More specifically, for these participants self-identification with the Catalan group was influenced in a negative way by parental strength of identification with the Romanian group and in a positive way by parental strength of identification with the Catalan group. At the same time, results seem to point to the fact that for students who attend extracurricular classes of Romanian language and culture the strength of identification with the Catalan group is not directly influenced by their parents' self-identification.

In addition, the participants' *self-identification with the Spanish group* was positively predicted only by parental strength of identification with the Spanish group.

Another relevant aspect is that no effect of parental strength of identification with the Catalan group was found on the self-identification with the Spanish group of participants. Similarly, no effect of parental strength of identification with the Spanish group was uncovered on the students' self-identification with the Catalan group. This find, together with the positive correlations between strength of identification with the Catalan and the Spanish groups for both parents and their children arguably indicates that, within the family, information regarding the

conflictive relationship between the identity statuses of the majority groups at society level are not conveyed to the children.

Lastly, the *self-identification with the Romanian group* of the students was found to be weakened by parental strength of identification with the Catalan group, and increased by parental strength of identification with the Romanian group. Thus, it is likely that in the context of intense contact outside of the home with the Catalan culture and with Catalan group members, added support to the Catalan identity within the family context determines increased salience of the low status which the group of origin holds in the host society, and may lead to a subsequent decrease in the young migrants' strength of identification as members of this group. At the same time, the pattern is reversed when parental identification with the Romanian group increases. In this case, young Romanian migrants also display stronger identification with the Romanian group.

Therefore, the overall results seem to show that parental strength of identification contributes to the extent to which children identify with both the group of origin and the host society, as also suggested by previous research (e.g., Denedy-Frank, 1982; Stepney, et al., 2015).

Although to our knowledge the effect of parental strength of identification on young migrants' self-identification has been scarcely investigated, similarities can be drawn between the present finds and those concerning the influence of other family related variables on the self-identification of migrant youth with the origin and host societies, such as family values (e.g., Ward, 2008), ethnic socialization (e.g., Knight et al., 1993; Sabatier, 2008; Umaña-Taylor., Alfaro, Bámaca, & Guimond, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2010), parental style (e.g., Sabatier, 2008), family relationships (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998); autonomy support (e.g., Downie et al., 2007; Abad & Sheldon, 2008); parental closeness (e.g., Stepney et al., 2015), or parental cultural maintenance (e.g., Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001). Thus, the present finds add to the volume of research which highlights the important role played by family in the identification of young migrants.

At the same time, even though parents' strength of identification impacts their children's self-identification, we should point out that the influences revealed by our analyses are limited, as indicated by the corresponding small effect sizes. In consequence, it is possible that other parental variables may play a greater role in the identification of young Romanian migrants as suggested above. Additionally, more refining of the data may be required in order to improve the

practical importance of the results. Thus, it should be taken into account that the parental influence on their children's development was found in previous studies to be gender-differentiated (e.g., Abad & Sheldon, 2008; Burck, 2011; Gjerde, 1986; Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003; Knight et al., 2009; Portes et al., 2011; Sabatier, 2008; Siegal, 1987), and that these differences were further put in connection with the gender of young migrants (e.g., Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998; Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2010).

Explanatory models for strength of identification. As discussed in the previous section, not all of the variables investigated had a significant influence on the participants' self-identifications. Moreover, most of those which significantly predicted strength of identification only influenced self-identification with one or two, and not all three of the groups (with the exception of Romanian language competences). This seems to point to the differences existing in the construction of ethnic and national identities, as previously argued in the existing literature.

Further, we were interested in constructing a predictive model for the participants' strength of identification with each of the three groups, based on the predictors previously found to significantly influence the respective strength of identification. We hypothesised that, analysed simultaneously, the variables will have different explanatory power regarding the participants' strength of identification (H14). As further argued, the results confirmed this hypothesis.

Thus, the variables revealed to be more central for *the self-identification with the Catalan group* were attitudes towards Catalan (positively related with the criterion variable), use of Spanish in different social contexts, and parental strength of identification with the Romanian group (both negatively related with the criterion variable). While the first two predictors had a similar weight in the model, the third factor had a lower influence.

Further, the predictive model for *self-identification with the Spanish group* uncovered two variables to be more influential. Specifically, the use of Catalan and the use of Romanian in different social contexts were found to negatively influence the participants' self-identification with this group. Of the two, the use of Catalan held slightly higher predictive power.

Similarly, out of the nine variables included in the model for *strength of identification with the Romanian group* only two were revealed to significantly predict scores for this variable.

Attitudes towards Romanian were the most important predictor and had a positive influence, while use of Catalan at home decreased self-identification with the group of origin.

Based on these finds, certain general observations can be made. First of all, the models explained different proportions of the variance in strength of identification with each of the three groups. More specifically, the greatest explanatory power was held by the predictive model for strength of identification with the Catalan group, while the model explaining strength of identification with the Spanish group had the lowest power.

This shows that beside the factors included in the models there are also other variables which should be identified and whose influence should be explored in order to increase the power of the predictive model. The existing literature provides a number of options in this sense, such as peer influence, composition of the young migrants' friend circle, perception of discrimination, attitude towards members of the majority groups, and other parental variables.

Within the models tested in the present research, we note the central role of language in the identification process. Thus, attitudes towards languages represented the most important predictor for strength of identification with the Catalan and the Romanian groups, respectively. These results highlight the strong connection between language attitudes and identity, as also shown in the existing literature. Furthermore, language use also had a significant weight in all three of the predictive models. The fact that Catalan language use maintained its negative influence on self-identification with the Spanish group and vice-versa when multiple regressions were carried out could indicate the magnitude of the competitive relationship between the two languages in Catalonia, perceived by young Romanian migrants and with important implications for the construction of their self-identifications.

The uncovered association between language attitudes, language use, and identity has received consistent theoretical support. Thus, language use is believed to represent a source and a manifestation of social identity, while language attitudes are considered to be part of the attitudes and beliefs internalized by all of the members of a group. Empirically, the connection between language related variables and identity has been attested by numerous studies. In a Catalan migratory context, the works of Lapresta and his collaborators (2009, 2010) and, more recently, Ianos (2014) provide insight into this relationship.

In addition to the language factors discussed above, the multiple regression analyses carried out for the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan group revealed that parental strength of identification with the Romanian group maintained its predictive power. This highlights the important role of the family in the process of identity (re)construction of migrant youth in their new social context.

Although not all the variables included in the regression models maintained their significant explanatory power, it should be noted that this does not necessarily indicate a lack of effect on the criterion variable. Their effect may be indirect, mediated by language attitudes or language use. Future investigations may help gain more insight by exploring this possibility, with the goal of creating more complex explanatory models.

Overall, these finds stress the need to take into account the diversity of factors that can influence the process of identity construction, a better understanding of which may further allow interventions customized for different migratory groups with the aim of developing adaptive behaviours and achieving a greater level of their integration in the host society.

9.1.3. Discussion of results: Strength of identification as predictor variable

The second part of the study proposed to investigate the effects of young Romanians' self-identifications on variables which had been associated with adjustment to the host society. Hence, in order to verify our hypotheses (H15–H20) a series of simultaneous multiple regressions were carried out, aiming to examine the cumulative influence of strength of identification with the Catalan, Spanish and Romanian groups on the ethnic and the civic perception of each of the three groups, the perceived cultural differences between members of the groups, well-being, and acculturation attitudes and strategies – each time also determining the hypothesized impact of attendance at Romanian classes (H21).

Identification and the ethnic/civic perception of the groups. Taking into account that in order to adapt in their new country migrants need to integrate new group memberships in their self-concept and review the old memberships to negotiate the potential conflicts between the different social identities (Amiotes et al., 2007), we were interested to see whether acquiring new

identifications determined changes in the perception of group boundaries. More specifically, we were interested in the ethnic (more exclusive) and civic (more inclusive) perception of the Catalan, Romanian, and Spanish groups, given that the way in which an identity is perceived can include or exclude (Wakefield et al., 2011).

It was hypothesized that, considered simultaneously, the variables measuring the participants' strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will have different explanatory powers regarding the ethnic perception (H15) and the civic perception (H16), respectively, of each of the three groups of interest.

Results indicated that all three models for the ethnic perception of the groups reached statistical significance (confirming H15), while for the civic perception this is the case for only one model, the one explaining the civic perception of the Catalan group (partially confirming H16). Moreover, the variances explained were fairly low, suggesting that self-identification plays a limited role in predicting the ethnic or the civic perception of groups. Also, analyses revealed only one or two of the self-identifications investigated as significant predictors within each of the models, indicating that the participants' self-identifications play different roles with regard to how the groups are perceived in terms of ethnic or civic attributes.

Moreover, *when we examine the results based on attendance at Romanian classes*, we see that different patterns of results emerge for the relationship between predictive variables and the criteria considered. Thus, for *students who did not attend these classes*, an increase of self-identification with the Catalan or Spanish group, respectively, predicted an increase in the perception of the corresponding group in terms of ethnic and civic attributes, while an increase of self-identification with the Romanian group positively influenced the ethnic perception of the same group.

At the same time, for students *who attended Romanian classes* the central role in determining the ethnic or civic perceptions of the three groups is played by self-identification with the Catalan group. In other words, an increase in strength of identification with the Catalan group has a positive influence on the ethnic and the civic perception of all three groups. Thus, for these participants their Catalan self-identification seems to have a more central role when it comes to group definition.

Further, the trend revealed by the pattern of results for the civic perspective of the Romanian group is worth highlighting. Thus, although the model did not hold sufficient explanatory power to reach statistical significance, a reported higher strength of identification with the Catalan group was significantly associated with higher scores for civic perception of the Romanian group, but only in the case of students who attended Romanian classes. Thus, it appears that as these young migrants become identified more strongly with the Catalan group their view of the group of origin changes to more civic as well, results which could be interpreted in terms of “*change in the meaning of an identity*”, as described by Deaux (2001, p. 8). In other words, an increase in strength of identification with the Catalan group appears to determine changes in the attributes associated by these participants with their group of origin. This shift could have an adaptive role in the process of integration of multiple identities, by widening the perceived boundaries of the group of origin, which may in turn allow the young migrants to solve possible conflicts which exist between their self-identifications.

Identification and the perceived cultural differences. Although in the Social Identity Perspective (Tajfel, 1972, 1974; 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982) a direct relationship between strength of identification and group favouritism was not postulated (Turner, 1999), this was nevertheless argued theoretically and proved empirically (see Brown, 2000; Grant, 2007). Moreover, the relationship between identification and group favouritism within the framework of the Social identity perspective is traditionally investigated referring to instances in which a comparison is drawn between the perception of the in-group and that of relevant out-groups.

Although instances where a person is a member of multiple partially overlapping social groups were not studied extensively, studies which had as objective cross-categorization showed that multiple identification determines a decrease of bias (e.g., Crisp & Beck, 2005; Hall & Crisp, 2005; Vanbeselaere 1987; also see Crisp & Hewstone 2006; Midgal et al. 1998; Urban & Miller 1998). Moreover, Grant (2007), in a migratory context, found that for migrants who simultaneously identified with both the host and the heritage culture two different effects on cultural differences could be observed. More specifically, higher identification with the host

society led to lower perceived differences, whereas higher identification with the heritage group resulted in higher differences.

The context of the present research bears similarities to that in the study described above. Additionally, in our case, considering that students also reported higher than average strengths of identification with the three groups, the intergroup comparisons are not between an in-group and an out-group, but rather ones between partially overlapping in-groups.

We begin by discussing the relationship between multiple identifications of the participants and the way in which they evaluate the members of the Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian groups regarding the various cultural aspects analysed.

In a first phase, we were interested in how the participants rated the members of the three groups. Descriptive analyses indicate that, overall, participants' opinions regarding members of the Catalans, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups, respectively, are higher on average than the scale mid-point. In other words, according to the scale employed, the members of each of the groups are seen as good rather than bad in terms of the cultural aspects measured. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between the mean scores, in the sense that Romanians are rated more favourably than the Spanish and Catalans, and the Spanish are seen more favourably than Catalans. These evaluations seem to follow the pattern found for the strength of identification of the participants with each of the groups. However, it should be taken into consideration that the small effect size values indicate a low practical importance of the differences between the ratings, particularly for the one between the Spanish and Catalan groups.

Moreover, the relationship between the participants' strength of identification and the way in which they evaluated the members of the groups was also explored, further *differentiating between participants by attendance at Romanian classes*.

As a general pattern, *for students who did not attend the optional courses*, an increase in the evaluations of members of the Spanish and Romanian groups, respectively, was predicted by an increase in strength of identification with the corresponding groups. At the same time, the evaluation of Catalans was not predicted by any of the self-identification introduced in the analysis. However, for students *who did attend Romanian language classes*, a different pattern of results emerged. In this case, Catalan self-identification seems to have a central role for a more positive perception of members of both the Romanian and Catalan group.

Hence, inferring from Allport (1954), these results suggest that stronger identification with a group is associated with a more favourable evaluation of members of that group, and not necessarily with a more negative perception of members of other groups. This may have important implications in a multicultural environment for young Romanian immigrants, given that maintaining their heritage identity will not lead to a decrease in the ratings of the members of the host community. Further, if we acknowledge that attending Romanian language classes helps Romanian students feel more valued in their new country from a cultural standpoint, we could advance the idea that for these young migrants identification with the host community has an important role in fostering multiculturalism, by maintaining or constructing a positive image both for the heritage and for the national groups.

Furthermore, it was hypothesised that strength of identification with each of the three groups would have different predictive power in explaining the perceived cultural differences between the groups (H17). Results confirmed the hypothesis and revealed the different impact had by self-identifications on the cultural differences between the groups of reference. Nevertheless, distinct patterns of results were uncovered when distinguishing *by attendance at Romanian classes*.

Hence, the overall results encountered for the entire sample, and explained further, appear to be maintained only among *students who did not attend Romanian language classes*. Specifically, a higher identification with the Romanian group increased the perceived cultural difference between the Romanian group and the Catalan group, in favour of the former. Moreover, the cultural differences between the Romanian and the Spanish groups were increased by higher strength of identification with the Romanian and with the Catalan groups, respectively, the first predictor having a greater weight in the model than the second.

These finds seem to point to the idea that for young Romanian migrants living in Catalonia, particularly for those not attending the optional Romanian language course, strength of identification with the group of origin plays a central role in determining the perceived cultural differences between the heritage group and the host culture groups, respectively – a relationship similar to that found in different migratory contexts on migrant adults (e.g., Grant, 2007) and children (e.g., Pfeifer et al., 2007). Nevertheless, whereas the cited authors also found that

identification with the national group predicted lower intergroup bias, our results indicate that strength of identification with the majority groups in Catalonia did not significantly determine perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group on one side, and the Spanish and the Catalan groups, respectively, on the other.

Lastly, the cultural differences between the Spanish and the Catalan group were favourably influenced by strength of identification with the Spanish group, while higher strength of identification with the Catalan group led to perceiving lower cultural differences. This fact arguably points to the idea that the perception of a higher gap between the Catalan and the Spanish identities could accentuate the cultural differences between the members of these groups as perceived by young Romanians.

However, *for participants who attended Romanian language classes*, the analyses revealed that, with one exception, the cultural differences between groups were not determined by the participants' self-identification. In other words, for this group of young Romanian migrants, strength of identification does not seem to hold a central role in influencing intergroup cultural differences.

Taken together, the results presented in this section seem to point to the importance of finding a balance between the three self-identification, in order to perceive all groups in a positive manner and to maintain the cultural differences between groups at a minimal level. That is to say, it is needed to encourage young migrants to maintain their identification with the group of origin, while designing interventions aimed at increasing their identification with the host cultures.

Additionally, providing courses of Romanian culture and language seems to not threaten how self-identification impacts the evaluation of the members of the Catalan, Spanish, or Romanian groups. Nevertheless, it appears to change which identification is used as reference when evaluating, in this sense self-identification with the Catalan group playing a more important role.

Identification and well-being. Taking into account that how multiple identifications are integrated in the self-concept was found to influence indicators of well-being, we were further interested to see how strength of identification with the three groups considered simultaneously affects young Romanian migrants' well-being, understood as life satisfaction in Catalonia. As

further argued, the results of the analysis confirmed the hypothesis (H18), highlighting the significant role played by strength of identification for the participants' well-being.

Thus, overall, the statistically significant predictive model revealed that strength of identification with the Catalan group had the highest influence and a positive impact on the participants' well-being, while strength of identification with the Romanian group, with less weight in the model, had a negative influence on the criterion variable. At the same time, strength of identification with the Spanish group had no significant effect on the participants' life satisfaction in Catalonia.

Nevertheless, the analyses based on *attendance at Romanian language classes* point to the fact that the general pattern discussed is only maintained for *students who did not attend these classes*. In other words, only for these participants, results indicate that in order to maximize well-being an increase of the identification with the Catalan group, combined with a decrease of that with the Romanian group must take place.

These finds allow us to make a few observations. One concerns the importance of strength of identification with the host country and of that with the heritage group for life satisfaction. Nevertheless, the pattern of results obtained is different than that found in the existing literature. Thus, unlike other researches where identification with the group of origin had a positive relationship with indicators of well-being (e.g., Phinney et al., 1997; see also Schwartz et al., 2013 and Smith & Silva, 2011), for our participants a stronger identification with the group of origin predicts a lower life satisfaction in Catalonia.

Hence, it's possible that as these young migrants perceive that their group of origin is poorly valued in the host society they may be distancing themselves from the Romanian group at symbolic level in order to increase their life satisfaction in the new environment.

This idea is further supported by the results uncovered for *students who attended Romanian classes*, as in this case it appears that only strength of identification with the Catalan group has a central role for increasing their life satisfaction in the host society, while the strength of identification with the heritage group may lose its negative influence. Hence, it is possible, that students who attend Romanian language classes may feel that their group and culture are valued in the host society, and consequently they do not perceive the need to lower their identification with the heritage group in order to be accepted and thus feel satisfied with their lives in Catalonia.

Nevertheless, another general observation regarding the results also allows us to assume that the young Romanian migrants who participated in this investigation are overall happy with life in Catalonia. This affirmation is based on the mean of the sample which was higher than the values defining the “gold standard” interval for subjective well-being (see Cummins, 1995), as suggested by Berry et al. (2006).

Identification and the acculturation attitudes and strategies. Taking into consideration the strong identity component of acculturation, highlighted both by theoretical and empirical work in this field (e.g., Berry, 1997, 2001, 2005; Berry et al., 2006; Navas et al., 2004; Navas et al., 2007), we were further interested in determining the effect of the participants’ strength of identification with the Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian groups on their acculturation attitudes (ideal plane) and strategies (real plane), following the differentiation made by Navas et al. (2004).

It was hypothesised that, analysed simultaneously, the variables measuring the participants’ strength of identification with the Catalan, the Spanish, and the Romanian groups will have different predictive power regarding the participants’ acculturation attitudes (H19) and strategies (H20). In order to verify these hypotheses, multiple logistic regressions were used to examine the joint influence of strength of identification. Considering the prevalent view in the existing literature that integration represents the most adaptive strategy of acculturation (e.g., Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown, & Zagefka, 2014; Berry, 1997, 2005), we used integration as the baseline category for our models. As further argued, only H19 was confirmed.

In an ideal plane, descriptive statistics revealed that, within the sample, the most widely preferred **acculturation attitudes** was integration, followed at some distance by separation. Assimilation received limited support, while none of the participants endorsed marginalization.

The predictive models indicated that strength of identification with the Catalan group and strength of identification with the Romanian group both positively influenced the likelihood that participants would prefer integration over assimilation. In other words, a higher identification with the Catalan group together with a higher identification with the Romanian group increase

the likelihood that young Romanian migrants will support integration over assimilation attitudes. This falls in line with previous finds in the existing literature which associated integration attitudes to strong ethnic and national identification (e.g., Berry et al., 2006), and with previous finds on Romanian migrants which showed that integration attitudes were predicted by identification with both the group of origin and host society (e.g., Badea et al., 2011) or by the intensity of identification with the Romanian group (e.g., Navas & Rojas, 2010).

Moreover, our analysis showed that strength of identification with the Catalan group was found to also predict the likelihood that participants would prefer integration over separation. Thus, a higher strength of identification with the Catalan group also leads for the participants to be more likely to endorse integration over separation.

Overall, the most important predictor of acculturation attitudes seems to be strength of identification with the society of settlement, followed by strength of identification with the group of origin. Strength of identification with the Spanish group did not statistically influence the likelihood that participants would prefer integration over any other type of acculturation attitudes.

Additionally, when participants were grouped *by attendance at Romanian language classes*, it is relevant to point out that the general pattern is maintained only for *students who did not attend Romanian classes*.

For students who attended these classes, strength of identification appears to lose its explanatory power. Although these analyses could be replicated in future studies on a larger number of participants at courses of Romanian language in order to see if the results are maintained, given that the entire population of these subjects was included in the sample of the present investigation, we suggest that for our participants other variables play a more important role in predicting acculturation attitudes.

In this sense, we turn to the finds of Navas, Rojas, and their collaborators (e.g., Navas & Rojas, 2010; Rojas, Navas, Lozano, & Gómez, 2010), who highlighted that in the case of young Romanian migrants, beside the strength of identification with the group of origin, the socio-psychological variables which predicted the different acculturation attitudes were pride of belonging to the group of origin, the perception of similarity between the heritage and the majority groups, the preferred social distance with Spanish, and the in-group-out-group bias.

Moreover, the descriptive statistics for the **acculturation strategies** employed **in the real plane** by participants paint a slightly different picture than in the case of acculturation attitudes. Integration was the most widely employed acculturation strategy, followed by separation. Together, these two strategies represented the option of the majority within the sample. The remaining participants were divided between assimilation and marginalization, with slightly more participants in the former.

The multiple logistic regression analysis revealed no significant influence of strength of identification on the likelihood that participants will be in the integration as opposed to assimilation, separation, or marginalization, disproving H20. The pattern is maintained both for *students who attended Romanian classes* and *for those who did not attend*.

This indicates that there could be other factors aside strength of identification which influence acculturation strategy choice of young Romanian migrants, pertaining to the society of settlement – such as official policies, attitudes of the majority groups, the local policies which are actually implemented, and the attitudes which migrants pick up from their surroundings (Phinney, Horenczyk, et al., 2001). Moreover, if we consider the finds of Navas and Rojas (2010), that autochthonous Spanish expect Romanian migrants to either integrate or assimilate in the new society, it could arguably be assumed that the strategies of acculturation employed by young Romanian immigrants are a result of a combination of internal and external factors, among which, apparently, self-identifications do not hold a primary role. Nevertheless, the present finds do not exclude the possibility of a moderating effect of strength of identification on acculturation strategy choice for the participants.

Hence, overall, analyses highlighted a certain impact of self-identification on the preferred acculturation attitudes of young Romanian migrants, while the predictive models for the self-reported acculturation strategies employed did not reach statistical significance. Moreover, distinctions can be drawn by attendance at Romanian classes.

Lastly, results presented in each of the subsections above reveal in most of the cases distinctions between students who attended classes of Romanian language and culture and those who did not, partially confirming H21. An overall observation is that for the former, when influences are

encountered, strength of identification with the Catalan group seems to have the most central role regarding the outcome variables considered.

9.2. Conclusions

The present investigation sought to extend research on aspects related to the self-identification of Romanian migrants in Catalonia (Spain), in the wider context of integration and social cohesion. More specifically, we were interested in determining the factors influencing the self-identification of young Romanian students in Catalonia and the way in which their self-identification affects in turn different aspects related to their adaptation in the host society. Furthermore, we also aimed to differentiate between those students who attended courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* and those who did not, as this was a key variable for our research.

In line with the general objective and the hypotheses postulated, the results of the analyses carried out in **the first part of the investigation** show the variety of factors which should be taken into account when studying the construction of social identifications of young Romanian immigrants. Overall, our participants identified with all three groups above the midpoint value of the scale. However, their heritage identity seems to be the most central to their self-concept, given that the highest strength of identification reported was that with the Romanian group. Nevertheless, higher length of residence was associated with an increase in strength of identification with the Catalan group and with a decrease in that with the Romanian group. This, together with the negative correlations found between strength of identification with the group of origin and strength of identification with the majority groups in the host community (Catalan and Spanish) seems to point to the fact that there may be a perceived incompatibility between them.

Moreover, although attendance at Romanian language classes did not directly influence strength of identification, it had a moderating effect on the influence of other factors. This allows drawing a comparison between *students who attended Romanian classes* and those *who did not*. Summarising, the pattern of results seems to indicate that attending classes which put young Romanian migrants in closer contact with their heritage language and culture could play a considerable role in maintaining the strength of identification with the Romanian group and

promoting multiculturalism. Such an observation could then reinforce the decision to organize the extracurricular courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization*.

Beside attendance at Romanian language classes, in the analyses were also included other socio-demographic and socio-psychological variables which had been previously found to have an impact on self-identification. In addition, parental strength of identification, a variable which has not received much attention in the existing literature, was also added. While some of the variables listed were found to influence the construction of self-identification of young Romanian immigrants (i.e., gender, length of residence, language attitudes, language competences, language use at home and language use in different social contexts, and parental strength of identification with each of the three groups) others did not explain strength of identification with either of the groups (i.e., family socio-cultural status, family socio-professional status, and Romanian use at home).

The present research also aimed to analyse the influence of the investigated predictors simultaneously, with the goal of creating an explanatory model for each of the self-identifications. The variables which maintained their predictive power were language attitudes, language use, and parental strength of identification. Nevertheless, they were found to have different impact on the strength of identification with each group, highlighting the dissimilarities in the construction of each self-identification and the need to account for these differences when investigating the processes of identity construction. Overall our finds reinforce the idea, encountered many times in the academic literature, that in the social identity development process, young migrants are influenced by both the demands of the host society (e.g., through language learning) and by their family (e.g., through the way in which their parents identify).

In **the second part of the study**, results highlighted that each of the three self-identifications played different roles in explaining the variables associated with adapting to the new society. Additionally, more distinctions could be observed between students who attended Romanian language classes and those who did not. A prevailing observation is that for the former, strength of identification with the Catalan group seems to have the most central role when it comes to their adaptation in the host society.

Furthermore, our finds seem to reflect the assertion of Pujolar (2007) that there are two strands of Catalan nationalism, an ethnic and a civic one, and that only in recent years has the transition began to be made from an ethnic to the civic nationalism discourse used today at political level and in migration policies. Thus, an overview of the finds shows that the Catalan group is considered to be characterized by both ethnic and civic attributes, a trend encountered for the Spanish and the Romanian groups as well. Nevertheless, the groups are regarded as significantly more ethnic than civic, suggesting that their boundaries are perceived as being static and rather exclusive. In turn, as a result, this may further suggest that young migrants might encounter difficulties in feeling that they can truly integrate in any of the three groups.

However, some indications which point to the fact that change is occurring may be found, especially in the case of the students who attended classes of Romanian language. Thus, an increase in strength of identification with the Catalan group predicts an increase in the civic perception (more inclusive) of the Romanian group, which seems to suggest that, as it takes place, the process of integrating multiple identifications by young Romanian immigrants is associated with a change in the meaning of their Romanian identity. This can be seen as a possible form of adaptation, by making the participants' identification with the Catalan group pose a lesser threat to their self-identification as Romanians.

In other words, although young Romanian immigrants see their heritage group as being characterized by mostly "static" attributes, there are changes in the extent to which more inclusive attributes are used when describing it. In turn, this could have further implications for their adaptation in the host society. As Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) argue in their work, when facing rapid social transformation, as is the case of migrants, it is regarded as adaptive behaviour to replace old "traditions" with new ones. Our results indicate that this could be the case of young Romanians living in Catalonia. However, if these changes really occur, they seem to manifest mostly among students who attended Romanian classes. This reinforces the idea that for adaptive changes to emerge it is important that students maintain the links with their heritage group, Romanian language courses playing an important part in this sense.

Additionally, strength of identification also influences the perceived cultural differences between the three groups. Thus, although all three groups are regarded favourably, the highest ratings were received by members of the Romanian group. At the same time, overall, higher self-

identification with one group led to a more favourable perception of the corresponding group. Nevertheless, the increase in perceived cultural differences between the Romanian group and the Spanish and the Catalan groups, respectively, was predicted by the strength of identification with the Romanian group. Such a relationship between variables could exist and becomes stronger when incompatibilities between the heritage and the host culture are perceived, as suggested by Grant's (2007) findings. Nevertheless, the uncovered links between self-identifications and cultural differences appear to maintain especially for students who did not attend Romanian classes, while for those who attended no such influence was revealed.

Another important aspect is that, although overall participants reported a high life satisfaction, for students who did not attend the optional course its further increase seems to be conditioned by a decrease in the strength of identification with the group of origin and by an increase in that with the Catalan group. This relationship was previously linked to assimilation, by research on Romanian migrants (Badea et al., 2011), which may indicate that this group of young Romanians perceive that they are expected by the autochthonous population to assimilate into the host society and not truly integrate. However, this seems to not be the case for the young Romanians who attended classes of their heritage language. For them, the life satisfaction in Catalonia increase seems to be affected only by an increase in strength of identification with the Catalan group, which suggest lower vulnerability to processes of assimilation.

Lastly, self-identification plays a certain role in influencing acculturation attitudes, with higher values for self-identification with the Catalan and the Romanian groups leading to increased likelihood of endorsing the integration strategy. Nonetheless, this relationship was not found for students who attended Romanian classes. Moreover, in spite of its influence at attitudinal level, strength of identification was not found to have a direct effect on acculturation strategy choice of our participants which, as Phinney, Horenczyk et al. (2001) argue, could lie at the intersection of personal preferences and factors in the social environment.

Overall, our results reinforce the complex image of how identity is constructed and how self-identification impacts adaptation and integration of young Romanian immigrants in the Catalan society. They reveal that, in the multicultural and multilingual context of Catalonia, one of the prerequisite for the construction of a cohesive and egalitarian society is being achieved

considering that our participants identify both with their heritage group, as well as with the Catalan and Spanish groups. However, some incompatibilities between their identifications have been signalled.

One observation worth mentioning is the fact that participants reported a higher strength of identification with the Spanish group than with the Catalan group, which appears to reflect the tendency discussed by Poggeschi (2015) that foreigners seek also to integrate in the wider Spanish community and not only in the smaller Catalan one. This tendency is further supported by the fact that for young Romanians living in Catalonia we find a positive relationship between these two self-identifications, whereas for native students this relationship was previously shown to be negative reflecting the socio-historical context of the region (e.g., Lapresta et al., 2014; Lapresta et al, 2009). Although the lack of conflict between the two identifications plays an adaptive role and therefore does not represent an issue by itself, as previously signalled by Lapresta et al., (2014) it may become a problem in terms of how newcomers are perceived by members of the autochthonous groups. In other words, they may be considered an obstacle to national cohesion, given that at society level the two identifications are viewed as incompatible (Vila et al., 2010) and that the current political climate entails a prioritisation of the Catalan identity over the Spanish one (Zuber, 2014).

Another point of interest is represented by the negative relationship between the identification with the heritage group and those with the two majority groups in Catalonia, respectively, which indicates that young Romanians may not consider their group of origin to be truly valued in the Catalan society. Thus, it is possible for participants to feel that they are not positively valued, or they may perceive discriminatory barriers hampering their efforts to integrate in the Catalan community. In other words, hypothetically, being exposed to continuous messages that they are not part of the society for cultural reasons may lead them to perceive the two identifications as incompatible, which can further lead to traumatic identity and life experiences.

In this sense, considering the importance of achieving a harmonious, non-conflictive internalization of multiple identifications, not just for the individual but for the entire society (Portes et al., 2011), we next discuss some **social and educational measures** aimed at fostering interculturalism and increasing the likelihood of a better adaptation of young Romanian migrants in Catalonia.

To begin with, the pattern of results encountered for the self-identification of young Romanians was associated in the existing literature with societies with a short tradition as migrant receivers (Berry et al., 2006), and was linked to a loss of ethnic identity. Although the Catalan model of integration focuses on respect for diversity and promotes interculturalism, these finds highlight the need for more work at practical level in order to create a context propitious for the development of a non-conflictive identity, based on existing policies.

Moreover, keeping in mind the important role of education in the process of identity development and in order to foster principles of interculturalism, policy makers should continue to encourage educational measures designed to create a balance between the identifications of young migrants and to ensure a positive perception of the three groups which, in turn, may lead to low perceived cultural differences, with further consequences for adaptation and integration.

Hence, shifting the focus away from inter-group differences and towards common features and by also protecting distinctive cultural practices, the promotion of extracurricular courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* among Romanian students in Catalonia may create the feeling that their cultural heritage is truly valued and respected within the country of settlement – thus setting up the premises for an integrated identity. The relevance of this suggestion is supported by our finds which indicate that students attending Romanian classes appear to feel more valued and to manifest greater openness towards multiple cultures. Moreover, for these participants strength of identification with the Catalan group seems to have a more central role in the process of integration and adaptation, while their self-identification with the Romanian group is likely to be perceived as less threatened than in the case of students who did not attend these classes. Furthermore, for them there doesn't seem to be the same pressure to give up their heritage identification for the maximization of their life satisfaction in Catalonia.

Hence, given that “learning how to coexist represents a fundamental element of the educational process” (Llei 12/2009, d'educació, art. 30), organizing courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* seems to favour the principles within Catalonia's educational system based on the democratic values of cohabitation, as promoted by the Education Law 12/2009 and subsequent educational policies.

Further, considering the important link between language and identification, a positive attitude towards Catalan should continue to be promoted within the school environment, the only context

in which results showed that young migrants prevalently use this language. At the same time, newcomers should be encouraged to extend their use of Catalan across contexts. In this sense, diversifying the activities carried out within the Community Plans (*plans d'entorn*) and promoting them among young Romanian migrants in Catalonia in order to increase participation may offer the opportunity to achieve this task.

Moreover, our finds point to the fact that promoting social cohesion and inclusion through the use of Catalan as a unifying language creates the premises for a stronger identification with the Catalan group. In turn, for students who attend classes which put them in contact with their heritage culture and thus help them feel more valued in the society of settlement, this aspect has favourable consequences concerning how Romanian students evaluate the members of both the Catalan and the Romanian groups. At the same time, for students who do not attend these classes, improving their Catalan self-identification and at the same time striving to maintain their Romanian identification could have positive consequences for the perceived differences between the two corresponding groups.

The utility and potential impact of the Community Plans are also underlined on the one hand by the key role of the family context in the identity construction of Romanian migrant youth, and by the importance of the messages received within the community and the educational milieu regarding their integration, on the other. This highlights the necessity to continue the educational coordination between family, school, and community. In relation to this matter, our results suggest that young Romanians may perceive that they are expected to assimilate by the host society. Therefore, sources of such messages should be identified at community, school, or institutional levels, and measures should be devised with the goal of achieving a change in attitudes regarding expectations from migrants.

With this in mind, future interventions could try to promote intercultural attitudes within the receiving community and in the school environment, considering that policies favouring interculturalism should be reflected in day to day educational practices (Carbonell, 2000). Additionally, a more positive feedback from the community may lead to the perception of more permeable group boundaries, which is to say to the perception that integration within the group is more accessible.

Our finds further suggest that a balance needs to be found between promoting cultural retention and encouraging adaptation to the Catalan society. Important to this end would be to consider the preferences (attitudes towards acculturation) of migrants. Given that immigrants have different goals and that they construct their identities in different manners, it is possible for them to favour various approaches to acculturation (Phinney, Horenczyk, et al., 2001). For this reason, ensuring at both policy and community levels that migrants can choose the extent to which they maintain elements of their old identities or incorporate elements of new identities within their self-concept, may lead to optimal results regarding the young migrants' adaptation, at the same time avoiding assimilative practices.

In this sense, results indicated that an increase in strength of identification with both the Catalan and the Romanian groups made it more likely for our participants to report preference for the integration strategy. Nevertheless, in order to achieve a proper socio-economic and socio-cultural integration, and with the goal of maintaining social cohesion in mind, it is needed to encourage interventions which are sensitive to the particularities of these young migrants, in order to avoid separation and marginalization.

The data presented above provides insight into the process of self-identification and adaptation of young Romanian migrants in Catalonia, adding valuable information given the scarcity of research on this topic. Moreover, while research has focused primarily on bicultural individuals as opposed to multicultural individuals (Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, 2013), our investigation adds to the existing information regarding the processes of identity construction of multicultural individuals. Nevertheless, our work presents **a series of limits**.

First of all, this research did not include all of the variables linked to identification in the existing literature, although a significant number of them were. Nevertheless, while some of those not included could have provided additional insight, it should be noted that exploring the link with all possible relevant variables was not a feasible choice. A *second* limit concerns the quantitative nature of the work. Like any other research of this type, it too possesses the associated limits together with the lack of more in-depth information – attainable solely through qualitative methods.

Thirdly, all the variables were measured through self-reports. Using this method increases the probability of encountering shared method variance and the risk that data obtained is affected by social desirability bias, inattentive responding, misinterpretations of content, or difficulty in understanding the items (Holtgraves, 2004). A *fourth limitation* was represented by the fact that participants were inquired only about their strength of identification with these three groups. It is possible that some of the participants may have a more complex cultural background, which could mean they may identify with additional cultural groups.

Lastly, the ability to generalize our results is limited by the modest size of our sample, particularly regarding the set of results concerning comparisons by attendance at Romanian language classes. However, it should be reminded that our sample accounted for the entire population of Romanian immigrant students in Catalonia who were attending optional classes of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization* at the moment when the research was conducted.

Nonetheless, **future investigations** could help overcome these limits. Many topics continue to be unexplored, with several areas particularly interesting for further research. Furthermore, studies could focus on specific aspects which were only investigated at general level in the present work. For instance, other sources of social identification could be taken into consideration, such as peers (circle of friends) and the autochthonous population they come in contact with. Moreover, the role played by the parents and other family members should be studied in more depth.

Furthermore, at methodological level, a first aspect which could be aimed in this sense may be the integration of qualitative and quantitative approaches, in order to gain more in-depth information from the participants. In addition, peer and teacher ratings could be employed to complement and compare with the data obtained through self-report methods. Nevertheless, although by measuring length of residence it was attempted to determine how identity change occurs in time, future research should employ a longitudinal design in order to gain a better understanding of this process.

Lastly, although caution is required in the interpretation of the results, the importance of the conclusions extracted at political and educational levels should not be overlooked, particularly given the scarcity of identity research on young Romanian migrants in Catalonia.

Overall, the finds of this investigation reaffirm the importance of language in the construction of both heritage and national self-identifications in a migratory context. Also, the study provides support to the idea that participants responded not as members of one in-group, but as members of three, partially overlapping in-groups, simultaneously salient. This suggests that young Romanians may react in intergroup situations in terms of their memberships to the partially overlapping Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian in-groups. Hence, it is highlighted the importance of developing a balanced identity both for the personal development of these young immigrants as for their integration and adaptation in Catalonia.

At the same time, taken together, our finds support the rationale behind the decision to organize the extracurricular courses of *Romanian language, culture, and civilization*, as young immigrants who attend these classes seem to preserve their Romanian identification and to manifest intercultural openness – which are the main objectives of this course. Further, while maintaining their identification with the Romanian group, the Catalan self-identification seems to have a more central role in the process of integration and adaptation, which may lay the foundations for a society characterized by diversity but committed to cohesion, as aimed through the migration policies developed in Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013, 2014b). Moreover, it becomes apparent that by facilitating these classes, the policy makers contribute to a more balanced development of Romanian adolescents, following the principles stipulated by the Education Law, that “students are entitled to receive a complete education, oriented towards full development of personality, with respect to the democratic principles of coexistence and to the fundamental rights and freedoms” (Llei 12/2009, d'educació, art. 3).

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ANNEXES

Annex 1. Socio-linguistic survey

ENQUESTA SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA

Codi CENTRE Codi ALUMNE NIVELL i GRUP

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L'objectiu de l'enquesta que tot seguit contestaràs, és **realitzar una anàlisi de la situació d'algunes de les llengües més parlades actualment a Catalunya (concretament: català – castellà – romanès – anglès)**. Dins d'aquesta enquesta trobaràs preguntes que et demanen informació d'algunes dades personals i opinions.

Has de tenir present que les persones responsables d'aquest estudi, et garantim una confidencialitat absoluta pel que fa a la totalitat de les teves respostes. La única finalitat que tenim és la de realitzar una interpretació del que ens diguis, el més objectiva possible.

És important que mentre omplis l'enquesta, no oblidis que **no existeixen respostes correctes o incorrectes** i que la interpretació d'allò que responguis és molt important per a tots.

D'aquesta manera, has d'entendre que:

1. No tenim interès en les qüestions personals i individuals que puguin aparèixer dins de l'enquesta, i que la **confidencialitat** i el caràcter anònim de les dades estan garantides.
2. Et demanem la màxima col·laboració i que responguis **lliurement i sincerament** en un exercici de responsabilitat que t'animem a portar a terme.

L'equip d'investigació responsable de l'aplicació d'aquesta enquesta et vol agrair la teva col·laboració.

0. Edat Data de naixement
- 0.1. Quina és la teva llengua pròpia?
1. Noi Noia
2. Temps que fa que estudies en aquest centre:
Des de primer d'ESO Des de
3. Els que viviu a casa us parreu:
Sempre en català
Sempre en castellà
En català i en castellà
Altres (.....)
4. Amb els companys al pati parles
- sempre en català
més català que castellà
tant català com castellà
més castellà que català
sempre en castellà
Altres (.....)
5. Amb els teus amics de fora l'escola parles
- sempre en català
més català que castellà
tant català com castellà
més castellà que català
sempre en castellà
Altres (.....)
6. Amb les persones grans de fora de casa
i de fora de l'escola parles
- sempre en català
més català que castellà
tant català com castellà
més castellà que català
sempre en castellà
Altres (.....)
7. Llegeixes contes i historietes
- sempre en català
més català que castellà
tant català com castellà
més castellà que català
sempre en castellà
Altres (.....)
8. Veus programes de televisió
- sempre en català
més català que castellà
tant català com castellà
més castellà que català
sempre en castellà
Altres (.....)
9. Escrius als teus amics i familiars
- sempre en català

	més català que castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>
	tant català com castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>
	més castellà que català	<input type="checkbox"/>
	sempre en castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>
Altres (.....)	<input type="checkbox"/>	

10. Amb els professors de l'escola parles	sempre en català	<input type="checkbox"/>
	més català que castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>
	tant català com castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>
	més castellà que català	<input type="checkbox"/>
	sempre en castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>
Altres (.....)	<input type="checkbox"/>	

	SI	NO
11. Em sembla bé que tots els nens de Catalunya estudiïn el català	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. És desagradable aprendre el català	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. És inútil aprendre el català perquè segurament no el faré servir mai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Hauríem d'esforçar-nos tots per fer servir més el català	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. És més important aprendre anglès o francès que no català	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Visc a Catalunya i per això he de conèixer, estudiar i parlar el català	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. El català, només l'han d'estudiar els catalans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. El català és una llengua que sona malament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. M'agrada (o m'agradaria) parlar en català	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. M'agrada sentir parlar en català	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	SI	NO
21. El castellà és una llengua bonica	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Tots els catalans han de saber parlar el castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. El castellà només l'haurien d'aprendre i estudiar els qui el parlen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. M'agrada sentir parlar el castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. A Catalunya s'haurien d'estudiar altres idiomes abans que el castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. El català és més important que el castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. El castellà és una llengua fàcil d'aprendre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28. És avorrit aprendre el castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29. El castellà l'haurien d'ensenyar a tots els països	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30. Els catalans haurien de parlar menys castellà	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	SI	NO
31. Estaria bé que en les escoles i IES de Catalunya on hi ha alumnes que parlen romanès es pogués estudiar aquesta llengua	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32. És (o ha de ser) desagradable aprendre romanès	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. És inútil aprendre romanès perquè segurament no el faré servir mai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. Hauríem d'esforçar-nos tots en promocionar més l'ús del romanès	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. És més important aprendre anglès o francès que no romanès	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. Com que la meua família té els seus orígens a Romania, hauria de conèixer la llengua romanesa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. El romanès només l'han d'estudiar els romanesos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. El romanès és una llengua que sona malament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. M'agrada (o m'agradaria) parlar en romanès	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. M'agrada sentir parlar en romanès	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Quina llengua feu servir normalment a casa?

	Sempre en català	De vegades català i de vegades castellà	Sempre en castellà	Altres (especificar)
41. El pare parla a la mare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. La mare parla al pare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. El pare parla amb tu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44. Tu parles amb el pare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45. La mare parla amb tu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
46. Tu parles amb la mare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
47. Tu parles amb els teus germans/es	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Fins a quin punt et sents:

(1-Molt / 2-Bastant / 3- Poc / 4-Gens)

	1	2	3	4
48. Català				
49. Espanyol				
50. Romanès				

Des del teu punt de vista, puntua diferents elements que tenen en comú les persones QUE SE SENTEN (O US SENTIU) CATALANES:

(1- Molt / 2-Bastant / 3-Ni molt ni poc / 4-Poc / 5-Gens)

	1	2	3	4	5
51. Una llengua comuna					
52. Una tradició comuna					
53. Una història comuna					
54. Una religió comuna					
55. Viure a Catalunya					
56. Treballar a Catalunya					
57. Haver nascut a Catalunya					
58. Varies llengües comunes					
59. Varies tradicions comunes					
60. Varies religions comunes					
61. Un origen familiar a Catalunya					
62. Una economia desenvolupada					
63. Un "amor" a Catalunya					

Ara pensa en les persones QUE SE SENTEN (o us sentiu) CATALANES. Com creus que són?:

(1-Molt bons / 2-Bons / 3-Ni bons ni dolents / 4-Dolents / 5-Molt dolents)

	1	2	3	4	5
64. En les seves formes de ser i de veure la vida					
65. En els seus hàbits i costums alimentàries					
66. En els seus hàbits d'higiene i neteja					
67. En els seus hàbits de parlar i comunicar-se amb la gent					
68. En les seves creences sobre les relacions home/dona					
69. En seves creences i pràctiques religioses					
70. En l'educació que donen als seus fills/es					

Des del teu punt de vista, puntua diferents elements que tenen en comú les persones QUE SE SENTEN (o us sentiu) ESPANYOLS:

(1-- Molt / 2-Bastant / 3-Ni molt ni poc / 4-Poc / 5-Gens)

	1	2	3	4	5
71. Una llengua comuna					
72. Una tradició comuna					
73. Una història comuna					
74. Una religió comuna					
75. Viure a Espanya					
76. Treballar a Espanya					
77. Haver nascut a Espanya					
78. Varies llengües comunes					
79. Varies tradicions comunes					
80. Varies religions comunes					
81. Un origen familiar a Espanya					
82. Una economia desenvolupada					
83. Un "amor" a Espanya					

Ara pensa en les persones QUE SE SENTEN (o us sentiu) ESPANYOLES. Com creus que són?:

(1-Molt bons / 2-Bons / 3-Ni bons ni dolents / 4-Dolents / 5-Molt dolents)

	1	2	3	4	5
84. En les seves formes de ser i de veure la vida					
85. En els seus hàbits i costums alimentàries					
86. En els seus hàbits d'higiene i neteja					
87. En els seus hàbits de parlar i comunicar-se amb la gent					
88. En les seves creences sobre les relacions home/dona					
89. En seves creences i pràctiques religioses					
90. En l'educació que donen als seus fills/es					

Des del teu punt de vista, puntua diferents elements que tenen en comú les persones QUE SE SENTEN (o us sentiu) ROMANESES:

(1-Molt / 2-Bastant / 3-Ni molt ni poc / 4-Poc / 5-Gens)

	1	2	3	4	5
91. Una llengua comuna					
92. Una tradició comuna					
93. Una història comuna					
94. Una religió comuna					
95. Haver viscut (o viure) a Romania					
96. Haver treballat (o treballar) a Romania					
97. Haver nascut a Romania					
98. Varies llengües comunes					
99. Varies tradicions comunes					
100. Varies religions comunes					
101. Un origen familiar a Romania					
102. Una economia desenvolupada					
103. Un "amor" a Romania					

Ara pensa en les persones QUE SE SENTEN (o us sentiu) ROMANESES. Com creus que són?:

(1-Molt bons / 2-Bons / 3-Ni bons ni dolents / 4-Dolents / 5-Molt dolents)

	1	2	3	4	5
104. En les seves formes de ser i de veure la vida					
105. En els seus hàbits i costums alimentàries					
106. En els seus hàbits d'higiene i neteja					
107. En els seus hàbits de parlar i comunicar-se amb la gent					
108. En les seves creences sobre les relacions home/dona					
109. En seves creences i pràctiques religioses					
110. En l'educació que donen als seus fills/es					

Indica el teu grau d'acord amb les següents afirmacions:

(1-Totalment d'acord / 2-Bastant d'acord / 3-Ni en acord ni en desacord / 4-Bastant en desacord / 5-Totalment en desacord)

	1	2	3	4	5
111. En la majoria d'aspectes, la meua vida a Catalunya és molt propera a allò que vull					
112. Les condicions de la meua vida a Catalunya són excel·lents					
113. Estic satisfet amb la meua vida a Catalunya					
114. Fins ara, a Catalunya, he tingut les coses importants que vull a la vida					
115. Si pogués escollir sobre la meua vida a Catalunya no canviaria gairebé res					

Des del teu punt de vista:

(1- Molt / 2-Bastant / 3-Poc / 4-Gens)

	1	2	3	4
116. Les persones que se senten (o ens sentim) romaneses mantenen els costums romanesos				
117. Les persones que se senten (o ens sentim) romaneses participen plenament en la vida de la societat catalana				
118. Les persones que se senten (o ens sentim) romaneses haurien d'intentar mantenir més els costums romanesos				
119. Les persones que se senten (o ens sentim) romaneses haurien d'intentar participar més plenament en la vida de la societat catalana				

On vas néixer?

120. Poble o ciutat on vas néixer:

Província:

País:

121. Poble o ciutat on va néixer el teu pare:

Província:

País:

122. Poble o ciutat on va néixer la teva mare:

Província:

País:

123. Professió dels pares:

PARE

MARE

a/ Gerent, director o propietari d' empresa amb més de 25 treballadors

b/ Titulat de grau superior (advocat, arquitecte, químic, enginyer,

metge, professor, economista, etc.)

c/ Titulat de grau mitjà (professor d'infantil o primària, enginyer tècnic,

ATS, etc.), o quadre mitjà d'empresa sense titulació superior (cap

comercial, cap de producció, cap administratiu, etc.)

d/ Propietari d'empresa o comerç de menys de 25 treballadors, auxiliar

de clínica, administratiu, representant comercial, etc.

e/ Obrer especialitzat o treballador del sector serveis (mecànic, xofer,

polícia, lampista, cambrer, paleta, electricista, etc.), agricultor o ramader.

f/ Peó, temporer, vigilant, etc.

g/ Fa les feines de casa seva.

h/ Altres (especificar) Pare:

Mare:

124. Estudis dels pares

PARE

MARE

a/ Titulació universitària: diplomatura, llicenciatura

b/ Ensenyança secundària

c/ Estudis primaris

d/ Altres (especificar) Pare:

Mare:

MOLTES GRÀCIES PER LA TEVA COL·LABORACIÓ

Annex 2. Parental strength of identification questionnaire

Codi CENTRE	Codi ALUMNE/A	NIVELL i GRUP
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Arrel d'un estudi que estem realitzant des de la Universitat de Lleida els demanem que contestin les següents qüestions el més sincerament possible, tenint en compte que no hi ha respostes correctes ni incorrectes, i que el que assenyali serà confidencial i sols s'utilitzarà en aquest estudi.

MOLTES GRÀCIES PER LA SEVA COL·LABORACIÓ

INDIQUI QUI ÉS VOSTÈ (Posi una creu):

El **PARE** La **MARE** **ALTRE:** (Especificar)

Posicioni's encerclant només un sol número en cada cas:

	molt	bastant	poc	gens
A. Fins a quin punt se sent català :	1	2	3	4
B. Fins a quin punt se sent espanyol :	1	2	3	4
C. Fins a quin punt se sent del seu país 	1	2	3	4

àrea d'origen (especificar país
.....)

SI US PLAU, SI VOL FER ALGUN ACLARIMENT, UTILITZI LA PART DE DARRERA DEL FULL