



Universitat de Lleida

Document downloaded from:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10459.1/71069>

The final publication is available at:

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2019.1682532>

Copyright

cc-by-nc-nd (c) Informa UK Limited, 2019



Està subjecte a una llicència de [Reconeixement-NoComercial-SenseObraDerivada 4.0 de Creative Commons](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/)

Note: Snapshot PDF is the proof copy of corrections marked in EditGenie, the layout would be different from typeset PDF and EditGenie editing view.

Author Queries & Comments:

Q1 : Please note that the ORCID has/have been created from information provided through CATS. Please correct if this is inaccurate.

Response: The correct ORCID is 0000-0003-4953-3230.

Q2 : There is discrepancy in the author surname "Cecilio Lapresta-rey" the manuscript and cats.xml. We have followed the cats.xml. Please check.

Response: The correct name is Cecilio Lapresta.

Q3 : Please note that the Funding section has been created by summarising information given in your acknowledgements. Please correct if this is inaccurate.

Response: Resolved

Q4 : The funding information provided (Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness) has been checked against the Open Funder Registry and we found a partial match with "Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness". Please check and resupply the funding details.

Response: Resolved

Q5 : The funding information provided (Agency for Management of University and Research Grants – AGAUR of the Government of Catalonia) has been checked against the Open Funder Registry and we found a partial match with "Agency for Management of University and Research Grants". Please check and resupply the funding details.

Response: Resolved

Q6 : The funding information provided (Catalan Studies Institute) has been checked against the Open Funder Registry and we found a partial match with "Institute for Catalan Studies". Please check and resupply the funding details.

Response: Resolved

Q7 : The reference "Secretaria d'Igualtat, Migracions i Ciutadania 2016" is cited in the text but is not listed in the references list. Please either delete the in- text citation or provide full reference details following journal style.

Response: Secretaria d'Igualtat, Migracions i Ciutadania. (2017). Pla de la ciutadania i les migracions: 2017-2020. Barcelona: Departament de Treball, Afers Socials i Famílies. Generalitat de Catalunya

Q8 : The reference "Rasinger 2013" is cited in the text but is not listed in the references list. Please either delete the in- text citation or provide full reference details following journal style.

Response: Rasinger, S. M. (2012). Language shift and vitality perceptions amongst London's second-generation Bangladeshis. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 34 (1), 1–15. Please, take into account that it is necessary to change 2013 to 2012.

Q9 : The reference "Lapresta et al. 2014" is cited in the text but is not listed in the references list. Please either delete the in- text citation or provide full reference details following journal style.

Response: Lapresta-Rey, C., Huguet, À., & Poalelungi, C. (2014). Interrelaciones autoidentificadorias en Cataluña. Jóvenes "autóctonos", comunitarios, magrebíes e hispanoamericanos. *Scripta Nova: revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, 18, 463-499.

Q10 : The reference "European Commission (2010)" is cited in the text but is not listed in the references list. Please either delete the in- text citation or provide full reference details following journal style.

Response: European Commission. (2010). Charter of fundamental rights of the european union. *Official Journal of European Union*, 389–403. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:0389:0403:en:PDF>

Q11 : The reference "Ward, Stuart, and Kus 2015" is cited in the text but is not listed in the references list. Please either delete the in- text citation or provide full reference details following journal style.

Response: Ward, C., Stuart, J., & Kus, L. (2015). The Construction and Validation of a Measure of Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict The Construction and Validation of a Measure of Ethno-Cultural. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 93(5), 462-473.

Q12 : The disclosure statement has been inserted. Please correct if this is inaccurate.

Response: Resolved

Q13 : Please provide missing page range for reference "Arango 2013" references list entry.

Response: It is a report not an article. So, the correct reference is: Arango, J. 2013. Excepcional in Europe? Spain's experience with Immigration and Integration. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute

Q14 : The reference "Consell Assessor de la llengua 2006" is listed in the references list but is not cited in the text. Please either cite the reference or remove it from the references list.

Response: Remove it. Thank you

Q15 : The reference "European Union 2010" is listed in the references list but is not cited in the text. Please either cite the reference or remove it from the references list.

Response: Remove it. Thank you.

Q16 : The reference "Huguet and Janés 2013" is listed in the references list but is not cited in the text. Please either cite the reference or remove it from the references list.

Response: Remove it. Thank you

Q17 : Please replace "previous work by the authors" with appropriate author names in text and references list. For references list, please provide complete details of the reference.

Response: Petreñas, C., C. Lapresta, and À. Huguet. 2018. "Redefining cultural identity through Language in Young Romanian migrants in Spain". *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 18(2), 225-240

Q18 : The reference "Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (IDESCAT) 2017" is listed in the references list but is not cited in the text. Please either cite the reference or remove it from the references list.

Response: Remove it. Thank you

Q19 : The reference "Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte MECD 2015" is listed in the references list but is not cited in the text. Please either cite the reference or remove it from the references list.

Response: Remove it. Thank you

Q20 : Please provide the complete details for reference "Portes et al. 2009".

Response: It is a report: Portes, A., R. Aparicio, and W. Haller. 2009. *La segunda generación en Barcelona*. Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas and University of Princeton.

Q21 : Please provide missing city for reference "Portes et al. 2017" references list entry.

Response: It is a report: Portes, A., R. Aparicio and W. Haller. 2018. *Hacerse adulto en España. La intergración de los hijos de inmigrantes*. Madrid: Anuario CIBOD de la Inmigración 2018

Q22 : The reference "Scottham and Dias 2010" is listed in the references list but is not cited in the text. Please either cite the reference or remove it from the references list.

Response: Remove it. Thank you

CM1 : The name of department has changed to Department of Psychology. It would be possible to change it here and also in the line above "a Department of Psychology".

CM2 : Change the year to 2018

CM3 : Add: (Petreñas, Lapresta & Huguet, 2018)

CM4 : Add: Petreñas, Lapresta & Huguet, 2018

CM5 : Add: Petreñas, Lapresta & Huguet, 2018

CM6 : Add: Petreñas, Lapresta & Huguet, 2018

CM7 : Add: (Lapresta, et al., 2014)

Acculturation strategies and attitudes and their relationship with the identification of descendants of migrants in the Catalan school context

Recto running head : JOURNAL OF YOUTH STUDIES

Verso running head : C. PETREÑAS ET AL.

 [Cristina Petreñas^a](#) [Adelina Ianos^a](#) [Cecilio Lapresta-rey^b](#) [Clara Sansó^a](#)

^aDepartment of Pedagogy & Psychology, University of Lleida, Lleida, Spain

^bDepartment of Geography and Sociology, University of Lleida, Lleida, Spain

CONTACT Cristina Petreñas cristinapetrenas@pip.udl.cat Department of Pedagogy & Psychology, University of Lleida, 4, Estudi General Avenue, Lleida 25001, Spain

History : received : 2019-02-19 accepted : 2019-10-14

Copyright Line: © 2019 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

ABSTRACT

The mass arrival of immigrants to Catalonia (Spain) in the last two decades has led to a change in the socio-demographic composition of a society which de facto is characteristically bilingual and bicultural. The acculturation process undergone by young descendants of migrants and how they identify in this context are essential in order to overcome the social challenges arising in different societies. We have carried out a mixed study in order to identify the acculturation profile of descendants of migrants in the context of Catalan schools, correlating these processes with identification by considering Catalan-Spanish group membership, identification with the culture, and identification with the language. A survey was completed by 212 young people of migrant origin (14–18 years old) in secondary education; as well as 9 life stories from them and 6 semi-structured interviews with teachers. These results suggest the development of complex acculturation strategies fitting a complex socio-cultural context where identification with Catalonia and Spain plays a key role in its construction.

KEYWORDS

Acculturation strategies; acculturation attitudes; identification; descendants of migrants; Catalonia (Spain)

FUNDING

[Q3]This work is part of two larger research projects and a grant funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness [reference number: EDU2014-54093-R, EDU2017-82479-R & IJCI-2016-28250], the **[Q4]**Agency for Management of University and Research Grants – AGAUR of the Government of Catalonia [reference number: 2017 SGR 322] and the **[Q5]**Catalan Studies Institute [Borsa d'Estudi Abelard Fàbrega, 2016**[Q6]**].

Introduction

In the major migratory phenomenon observed in Spain and Catalonia in the last two decades, Spain is generally perceived as a country which has promoted the welcome and integration of the collective of migrants in this time. However, the real situation in Catalonia has been slightly different, according to the study by Arango (2013) which shows a rather polarised social context. In this respect, it is worth noting the emergence of openly xenophobic parties and an increase in anti-immigration political discourse, contrasting with initiatives set up to promote and improve the social inclusion of immigrants, including the antirumours campaign or mass demonstrations under the slogan 'Volem acollir' ['We want to shelter'] referring to the arrival of refugees in 2017.¹ As is only to be expected, this complex reality is also reflected in the educational system.

In this context, our study introduces a new aspect towards identifying and understanding which acculturation process is carried

out by the descendants of migrants in the school context. It also examines how – in connection with this process – they favour identification with Catalonia, Spain and their country of Origin. This point is especially relevant, since most studies on acculturation and identification take into consideration the culture of origin and the culture of the host society; while the present study contributes with the complexity that exists in a society that is already bilingual and bicultural like the Catalan one; therefore, the descendants of immigrants do not adapt to one new culture and language, but to two.

Contextualisation of young descendants of migrants in Catalan educational system

Data from IDESCAT (2018) show that the collective of foreign young people accounts for 14% of the population, to which we must add the children of migrants who have acquired Spanish nationality through residence. Specifically, in the 2018/2019 academic year the Catalan educational system reported that there were 38373 children of migrants enrolled in compulsory secondary education (Ministerio de Educación y Formación Profesional 2018). Among these, 23, 94% are of Maghribi origin (Departament d'Educació 2019), followed by the Romanian and Ecuadoran collectives. The complexity of the reality of these young people should also be taken into account. These are second generations born in Catalonia, generations 1.5 (Rumbaut 2004), first generations, migrant children with no migratory project of their own (Generalitat de Catalunya 2014), and refugees (Secretaria d'Igualtat, Migracions i Ciutadania 2016 [Q7]).

After the unsatisfactory linguistic and academic results obtained from students of migrant origin (Bayona and Domingo 2018; previous work by the authors) with the implementation in 2004 of the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion [Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social] (Generalitat de Catalunya 2007, 2009), the current Plan for Citizenship and Migrations 2017–2020 [Pla de la Ciutadania i de les Migracions 2017–2020] (Secretaria d'Igualtat, Migracions i Ciutadania 2017) aims to both cement the Multilingual Linguistic Project of schools (Departament d'Educació 2017) and to work towards an intercultural society through mutual accommodation processes. Thus, the importance of this sort of initiative in the development of self-identification and inclusion processes of these collectives in the society of destination is understood (previous work by the authors).³

The acculturation processes of descendants of migrant in the host society

In order to speak about welcoming migrants it is necessary to discuss the accommodation processes observed in the new society. In this regard, the concept of acculturation emerges the moment contact occurs between both cultures, leading to cultural changes, and generating a reactive process with internal implications on a personal scale (Berry 2005). The Theory of Acculturation (Berry 1997, 2005, 2009; Bourhis et al. 1997) explains that in a society where different cultures come into contact it is necessary to consider: the two cultures of origin (A and B), the two ethnocultural groups which change (A' and B') and the nature of their contact and interactions (Berry 2005). In order to understand this process, it is important to understand the host society's history and attitudes towards immigration as these determine society's approach to this diversity in terms of social policies and dynamics (Bourhis et al. 1997).

The Theory of Acculturation establishes four strategies in order to undertake the task of joining a new society depending on the maintenance and/or adoption of cultural patterns: the strategies of integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation (Berry 1997). It cannot be doubted that the strategy of integration leads to a scenario of negotiation, as it requires the culture of origin to be maintained while cultural patterns of the host society are also adopted (Berry 2005).

Various studies highlight not only the acculturation strategies related to the behaviours and activities of the person in question, but also the importance of acculturation attitudes, understood as individual preferences on how to acculturate (Navas et al. 2004). Choosing a strategy depends on cultural and psychological factors and is the responsibility of the individuals or their collective of origin, as well as of the dominant cultural host group (Berry 2005), as it is the result of its beliefs, expectations and cultural practices (Kennedy and Macneela 2014). This process mutually accommodates individuals and the group they are joining, something which entails psychological and cultural changes (Kunst and Sam 2013) including learning new languages and different behaviour patterns related to everyday topics such as nutrition, attire or the types of social relationships established (Berry 2005).

In the studies reviewed on the process for accommodating descendants of migrants in Catalonia we find contributions which use of the Theory of Segmented Assimilation (Portes, Aparicio, and Haller 2009). After studying the contexts of Barcelona and Madrid, the authors concluded that only a minority of young descendants of migrants appear affected by cultural dissonance and confrontation arising from their expectations and those of their parents. The study also highlights that young people show little resistance to integrating into the host society.

In keeping with this, the study by Briones et al. (2012) on teenagers of migrant origin from Morocco and Ecuador in Spain confirms that showing a preference for the majority culture is linked to a better psychological adaptation, while any discrimination perceived leads to difficulties in the adaptation process. The conclusions reached on the Moroccan collective are especially interesting. Based on the results obtained this collective perceives greater ethnic discrimination and less legal security, concluding that they need more time in Spain than Ecuadoran teenagers before they can feel better about themselves and their

lives. Furthermore, some differences between collectives are highlighted which could explain this process, for example that Moroccans are more visible as they speak a different language and are subject to public debate because they are Muslim.

Finally, similar studies which are linked specifically to accommodation with language in the Catalan context, see Catalan as a symbol for status and social promotion, maintaining that it is used as a vehicle for linguistic assimilation to the host society (Alarcón and Garzón 2013).

The construction of identifications of descendants of migrants

The need to belong to a social group is intrinsically human (Lenard 2010; Seggie and Sanford 2010). However, it becomes especially important in the teenage years when it is defined by identity crises (Erikson 1968). In a multicultural and multilingual context such as that of Catalonia it is especially interesting to understand how the self-identification processes of young descendants of migrants – who indisputably live between different cultures – are built.

Our interpretation of this process of identification takes into consideration the contributions of Tajfel (1974) regarding social identity, where the individual identifies with the different social groups to which he or she belongs, with a tendency to highlight the similarities between members of the same group, and stressing any differences in relation to other social groups (Hogg and Reid 2006).

The interactions and socialisation contexts of these young people are especially relevant in the creation of these identifications. Thus, different studies highlight how they fluctuate between multiple identifications (Portes and Rivas 2011; previous work by the authors'; Stets and Burke 2003) ⁴. These same studies show the existence of tension depending on what the context demands and expects from them. There is also a tendency to develop multiple hybrid identifications (previous work by the authors') ⁵ insofar as they participate in different socio-cultural contexts, and where the feeling of being somebody is far more noticeable (Tuomi-Gröhn and Engeström 2003; Phinney, Jacoby, and Silva 2007). Furthermore, different studies identified an increasing preference for the socially dominant group, the consequences of which include the progressive abandonment of the language of origin (Rasinger 2013 [Q8]; Geerlings, Verkuyten, and Thijs 2015).

When analysing the Catalan context, very few studies have been carried out in Catalonia regarding the construction of identifications among the descendants of migrants, while even fewer studies highlight the bicultural dimension existing in the Catalan context (identification with Spain and Catalonia).

For instance, the study by Portes, Aparicio, and Haller (2017) in the third phase of their longitudinal study focusing only on the dual identification origin-Spain, concludes that half of those surveyed identified as Spanish, with only 5% identifying as Catalan, and a third continuing to identify with the country of origin of their parents.

In contrast, the study by Luna González, Palou Julián, and Sabariego Puig (2017) on young descendants of migrants in Barcelona states that 49% feel Catalan, 17% Spanish, 16% from their country of origin, and 10% feel both Catalan and Spanish. They also note that there are two factors supporting their ethnic identification: religious beliefs and food. Furthermore, those resident in Catalonia for over five years show a higher appreciation of the lifestyle of both their culture of origin and the host culture.

Other studies outline a complex reality as regards identification, pointing out the construction of multiple identifications towards Spain, Catalonia and their country of origin, albeit with some nuances (Lapresta et al. 2014 [Q9]; previous work by the authors') ⁶. In keeping with Portes, Aparicio, and Haller (2009) the majority continue to identify with their countries of origin. However, differences are found depending on origin when examining identification with Catalonia and Spain. The Maghribi collective develops a higher degree of self-identification with Catalonia, followed by EU migrants. They also develop an identification with Spain with values slightly higher than with Catalonia, with the highest rating being obtained by EU residents, followed by Maghribi ones. In contrast, the Latin American collective identified least with both Catalonia and Spain (previous work by the authors') ⁷.

According to the literature reviewed, in a complex reality defined by a bilingual and bicultural society like that of Catalonia it becomes particularly relevant to ascertain how identifications are built, based on the acculturation profiles developed in a Catalan educational system that is characteristically multilingual and has Catalan as its main language.

Objectives

Given this conceptual and contextual framework, the objectives of this study are: (i) to identify and analyse the acculturation strategies of the descendants of migrants in the Catalan school context; (ii) to identify and analyse their acculturation attitudes; (iii) to analyse the relationship between acculturation strategies and attitudes; (iv) to analyse how acculturation strategies relate to identification, considering the Catalan, Spanish, or group of origin membership, identification with the culture, and identification with the language.

Methods

Based on the above, we carried out a mixed study.

Context and participants

The study was carried out in 6 secondary schools, 3 in the city of Lleida and 3 schools in 2 municipalities of the province of Lleida (Catalonia). 5 of the schools are state schools and one is grant-aided. These schools were selected in collaboration with the local Department of Education due to the interest prompted by their context and socio-demographic characteristics as they host a high percentage of migrant population.

212 young descendants of migrants, aged between 14 and 18, were involved in the quantitative study. Gender within the sample was fairly balanced, with 55.2% male and 44.8% female. While most of the participants were born in other countries (71.7%), their age of arrival in Catalonia varied from 3 months old to 16 years old, with a mean of 6.22 ($SD = 3.72$). The most common origins were Maghreb (25.9%), Romania (19.3%), Ukraine (8.96%), and Colombia (5.7%).

9 young descendants of migrants (15–17 years old) took part in the qualitative study and were selected after the first analysis of the questionnaire based on their acculturation processes.

Table 1 shows relevant information on the different young people taking part in the study:

Table 1. Young descendants of migrants (author’s own).

Participant	Gender	Age	Origin	Country of Birth	Length of stay	Acculturation profile
David	M	17	Paraguay	Paraguay	11	Integration
Amira	F	16	Argelia	Catalonia	–	Assimilation
Sheng	M	16	China	China	5	Integration
Mihai	F	16	Romania	Romania	11	Assimilation
Adel	M	17	Morocco	Morocco	14	Assimilation
Maya	F	17	Morocco	Morocco	7	Separation
Aisha	F	15	Morocco	Morocco	11	Integration
Nojoun	M	16	Morocco	Morocco	16 (since 3 months)	Integration
Hassan	M	17	Morocco	Catalonia	–	Separation

In addition, 6 teachers (4 men and 2 women) took part, 2 from each of the participating secondary schools which intervene directly with the young participants. All are expert teachers with over 10 years’ experience.

Instruments

Data were collected using questionnaires (for the quantitative data) and life stories geared towards students descendants of migrants, and semi-structured in-depth interviews with teachers (for the qualitative data). In drawing up these instruments we considered the contributions of Berry (1997, 2005, 2009), Navas et al. (2004), Bourhis et al. (1997) and Montaruli et al. (2011), adapting them to the Catalan context.

The variables analysed through the questionnaire are:

- The acculturation strategies towards Catalonia and Spain in the school context included 3 scales – composed of 3 items each – regarding the maintenance of their culture of origin (Cronbach alpha = .95), the adoption of Catalan culture (Cronbach alpha = .89), and the adoption of Spanish culture (Cronbach alpha = .94). Specifically, participants were asked to estimate on a five-point Likert scale to what extent they maintain or adopt the respective cultures overall at school, in the classroom and on the playground. The scale ranged from 1 – ‘never’ to 5 – ‘always’.
- The attitudes of acculturation towards Catalonia and Spain in the school context had a similar structure of 3 scales. In this case, participants were asked what they would like to do regarding the maintenance of their culture of origin (Cronbach alpha = .96), the adoption of Catalan culture (Cronbach alpha = .94), and the adoption of Spanish culture (Cronbach alpha = .95). Each of these scale had 3 five-point Likert items, ranging from 1 – ‘never’ to 5 – ‘always’, such as ‘Do you think you should maintain your origin culture in the classroom?’ or ‘Do you think you should adopt

Catalan culture on the playground?’

- The multiple identification scale (Montaruli et al. 2011) included three items related to group membership (‘To what extent do you identify as Catalan/Spanish/origin group?’), three items regarding cultural identification (‘To what extent do you identify with Catalan/ Spanish/ origin culture?’), and three items regarding linguistic identification (‘To what extent do you identify with Catalan/Spanish/origin language?’). All these items are assessed with a Likert scale with five response options, ranging from 1 – ‘not at all’ to 5 – ‘entirely’.

Data analysis

The quantitative analyses were conducted with the software package SPSS Statistics v.20 for Windows. The analyses consisted of descriptive statistics, cluster analyses and Kruskal–Wallis tests.

We carried out a content analysis based on categories (Bardin 1986) using the program N Vivo 12 plus, with analysis categories defined following a deductive-inductive procedure. The categories analysed were: acculturation strategies (maintenance and adoption), acculturation attitudes (assessment of culture of origin and host culture) and identification (with origin, Catalonia and Spain).

Proceedings

This study was supported by the Department of Education of Catalonia and the schools involved. In the 2016–2017 academic year all six schools collaborated with the questionnaire survey distributed among students of the second cycle of ESO (14–16 year olds). Later, the qualitative phase was executed in the 2017–2018 academic year.

In compliance with the stipulations of the European Commission (2010) [Q10] we obtained the consent of participants as well as the signed authorisation of the legal guardians of the minors taking part in the study. The anonymity of the participants is guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms.

Results

Aiming to respond to the established objectives, the results are organised in five sub-sections. The first three sub-sections present quantitative data on the acculturation strategies used in the school context by young people of immigrant origin, the relationship between acculturation strategies and attitudes, and the relationship between the acculturation profiles and identifications. The last two sub-sections expose in greater depth the type of acculturation strategies and attitudes shown from a qualitative perspective, as well as, they delve deeper into the construction of identifications.

Acculturation strategies of young people of migrant origin in the school context

Hierarchical and K Means cluster analyses were conducted to explore the acculturation profiles of youngsters of migrant background living in Catalonia. Cluster analysis was chosen, rather than median split, because it identifies emergent patterns in the data instead of imposing an *a priori* structure (Aronson and Brown 2013). The cluster analysis was based on participants’ answers to nine variables regarding the maintenance of their culture of origin and the adoption of the Catalan and the Spanish cultures in the context of education.

According to previous studies (e.g. Aronson and Brown 2013; Brown, Gibbons, and Hughes 2013), the first step of the analysis consisted of a hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward’s method on squared Euclidean distances to determine the number of clusters that best fitted the data. The optimal number of clusters was found to be four. Thus, in the second step, a k-means cluster analysis specifying a four-cluster solution was conducted. This technique is iterative, thus maximising the homogeneity of each cluster’s membership and the differences across clusters (Brown, Gibbons, and Hughes 2013).

The four clusters were labelled in the framework of Berry’s (1997) acculturation model and based on the patterns observed among the clustering variables. A series of ANOVAs confirmed that the clusters differed significantly in all these variables (see Table 2).

Table 2. Means and standard deviations for the four acculturation strategies on the clustering variables.

Maintenance/adoption of cultural customs	Integration (n = 51)		Assimilation Spain (n = 56)		Assimilation Catalonia (n = 52)		Integration/Separation (n = 53)		F
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Classroom	3.98	0.84	2.41	0.91	1.23	0.47	2.26	1.29	77.25*

Origin	Schoolyard	4.10	0.88	2.61	0.98	1.40	0.69	2.47	1.34	62.51*
	Overall at school	4.22	0.81	2.52	0.93	1.42	0.64	2.49	1.38	70.84*
Catalonia	Classroom	4.10	0.88	2.52	0.89	4.54	0.67	2.41	1.11	77.13*
	Schoolyard	3.86	1.02	2.21	0.89	4.04	1.07	2.15	0.96	57.71*
	Overall at school	4.33	0.68	2.63	0.89	4.37	0.74	2.60	1.14	68.66*
Spain	Classroom	3.96	0.96	3.55	0.81	3.56	1.33	1.54	0.54	71.06*
	Schoolyard	4.12	0.89	3.55	0.91	3.35	1.34	1.47	0.50	77.67*
	Overall at school	4.04	1.08	3.57	0.91	3.54	1.24	1.67	0.61	60.72*

* $p < .001$.

The first cluster was identified as Integration given that the participants had high scores on all the clustering variables, indicating that they both maintained origin cultural customs and adopted both Catalan and Spanish cultural elements in the school context. A second group with the highest scores on the items corresponding to the Spanish culture was classified as Assimilation with Spain. A third group with higher scores on Catalan culture adoption was labelled Assimilation with Catalonia. The final cluster was classified as Integration/Separation, with higher scores on Catalan culture adoption and origin culture maintenance and lower scores on Spanish culture adoption.

Relationship between acculturation strategies and acculturation attitudes

A similar procedure consisting of hierarchical and k-means cluster analyses was carried out to explore the patterns of acculturation attitudes in the school context. The analyses indicated a four-cluster solution: Participants in the first group – Integration – had high scores in maintaining their culture of origin culture and adopting both Catalan and Spanish culture. The second cluster was identified as Assimilation with Catalonia due to having the highest scores in the Catalan culture adoption items. The third cluster, with high scores on Catalan culture adoption and Spanish culture adoption, was classified as Assimilation with Catalonia and Spain. The fourth group represented Separation, with higher origin culture maintenance and lower Catalan and Spanish culture adoption. The descriptive statistics for each cluster and the results of the ANOVAs showing significant differences between the four clusters for the clustering variables are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Means and standard deviations for the acculturation attitudes on the clustering variables.

Maintenance/adoption of cultural customs		Integration (n = 78)		Assimilation Catalonia (n = 62)		Assimilation Catalonia and Spain (n = 35)		Separation (n = 36)		F
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Origin	Classroom	3.65	0.91	1.55	0.62	1.49	0.78	3.83	1.06	122.32*
	Schoolyard	3.82	0.86	1.58	0.71	1.37	0.55	4.00	0.86	166.89*
	Overall at school	3.76	0.87	1.53	0.65	1.57	0.85	4.08	0.84	150.44*
Catalonia	Classroom	3.44	0.91	2.37	1.18	4.63	0.60	1.75	0.84	68.13*
	Schoolyard	3.36	0.87	2.34	1.14	4.06	1.19	1.67	0.79	48.10*
	Overall at school	3.56	0.88	2.58	1.22	4.26	0.92	1.92	0.84	47.67*
Spain	Classroom	3.58	0.83	2.08	0.89	4.37	0.84	1.89	0.78	87.95*
	Schoolyard	3.49	0.86	2.08	0.87	4.34	0.84	1.89	0.82	81.88*
	Overall at school	3.62	0.86	2.27	1.09	4.29	0.86	2.00	0.86	63.39*

* $p < .001$.

Furthermore, Pearson's chi-square test was conducted to explore the relationship between the acculturation profiles and the acculturation attitudes reported. There was a significant medium-size association between the acculturation profiles and acculturation attitudes in the school context, $\chi^2_{(9)} = 48.98, p < .001, V \text{ de Cramer} = .28$. As can be seen in Table 4, the acculturation attitudes of young people of immigrant descent were generally in agreement with their acculturation strategies. However, the highest degree of correspondence was observed among the participants with an Integration profile of acculturation strategies, 50.4% of whom also had integration attitudes. On the other hand, those whose acculturation strategies could be described as Assimilation with Spain reported mainly Integration attitudes (44.6%), followed by attitudes of Assimilation with Catalonia (30.4%). Additionally, it is worth noting the reduced number of youngsters in the Assimilation with Catalonia strategy group who expressed Separation attitudes (2%).

Table 4. The association between acculturation strategies and attitudes in the school context.

		Acculturation attitudes in the school context				Total
		Separation	Integration	Assimilation with Catalonia	Assimilation with Catalonia and Spain	
<i>Acculturation strategies in the school context</i>						
Integration/Separation	Count	18	12	21	2	53
	% within strategies	34.00%	22.60%	39.60%	3.80%	100.00%
	% within attitudes	50.00%	15.40%	33.90%	5.70%	25.10%
Integration	Count	7	27	6	10	50
	% within strategies	14.00%	54.00%	12.00%	20.00%	100.00%
	% within attitudes	19.40%	34.60%	9.70%	28.60%	23.70%
Assimilation Catalonia	Count	2	14	18	18	52
	% within strategies	3.80%	26.90%	34.60%	34.60%	100.00%
	% within attitudes	5.60%	17.90%	29.00%	51.40%	24.60%
Assimilation Spain	Count	9	25	17	5	56
	% within strategies	16.10%	44.60%	30.40%	8.90%	100.00%
	% within attitudes	25.00%	32.10%	27.40%	14.30%	26.50%
Total	Count	36	78	62	35	211
	% within strategies	17.10%	37.00%	29.40%	16.60%	100.00%
	% within attitudes	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Relationships between acculturation profiles and identification with Catalonia, Spain and origin

A set of Kruskal–Wallis tests was conducted to investigate the relationships between acculturation strategies and identifications with Catalonia, Spain and the country of origin. The significant results were followed-up with pairwise comparisons with adjusted p -values. The means and standard deviations that describe the various identifications of each acculturation strategy group are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Results of the Kruskal–Wallis tests comparing the identification with Catalan, Spanish, and origin language and culture, and corresponding descriptive statistics.

Identification with	Acculturation strategies in the school context								H	p
	Integration/Separation		Assimilation Spain		Assimilation Catalonia		Integration			
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Catalan group membership	2.77	1.23	2.47	1.20	3.02	1.42	3.35	1.35	12.07	.007
Spanish group membership	2.62	1.40	3.75	1.27	3.29	1.38	3.75	1.45	21.59	<.001
Origin group membership	4.47	0.91	4.28	1.10	3.71	1.45	4.51	1.08	16.03	.001
Catalan language	2.72	1.10	2.43	1.23	3.33	1.51	2.98	1.21	13.05	.005
Spanish language	2.92	1.34	3.80	1.27	3.71	1.24	3.86	1.27	17.15	.001
Family language	4.45	0.82	4.35	0.95	4.06	1.33	4.39	1.18	3.25	.355
Catalan culture	2.04	1.07	2.15	1.08	2.80	1.50	2.73	1.25	13.10	.004
Spanish culture	1.96	1.18	3.31	1.18	3.04	1.25	3.22	1.42	33.01	<.001
Origin culture	4.40	0.95	4.26	1.02	4.08	1.22	4.39	1.18	4.85	.183

Participants' identifications varied significantly depending on their acculturation strategies. First, as the results of the Kruskal–Wallis tests in Table 5 indicate, significant effects were found for all group membership variables. Nonetheless, when following up these findings, it was revealed that participants with an Integration profile had a higher degree of identification with the Catalan group than those with an Assimilation with Spain profile ($T = -38.43, p = .005$). Furthermore, the students with Integration/Separation strategies had the lowest Spanish group membership scores, compared with their peers with Assimilation with Spain ($T = 45.28, p < .001$) and Integration strategies ($T = 47.34, p < .001$). Similarly, the group for Assimilation with Catalonia registered the lowest origin group membership, especially in comparison with the groups of Integration/Separation ($T = 31.22, p = .014$) and Integration ($T = 39.00, p = .001$).

Secondly, investigation into the relationship between linguistic identifications and acculturation strategies was only significant for the Catalan and Spanish language. Regarding the identifications with the Catalan language, the most notable difference was observed between the groups Assimilation with Catalonia and Assimilation with Spain ($T = 40.39, p = .003$), as these were the ones with the highest and lowest scores, respectively. Furthermore, the Integration/Separation group stood out as the one that least identified with the Spanish language, as significant differences were found in comparison with the Assimilation with Spain ($T = -39.02, p = .003$), Assimilation with Catalonia ($T = -33.75, p = .022$), and Integration ($T = -41.95, p = .002$) groups. Finally, identifications with the language of origin were relatively high for all participants, regardless of their acculturation strategies.

Thirdly, similar patterns were observed for cultural identification. Thus, participants who preferred Integration/Separation strategies tended to identify less with the Catalan culture than their peers belonging to the Assimilation with Catalonia ($T = -32.11, p = .032$) and Integration groups ($T = -31.80, p = .034$). Moreover, the Integration/Separation group emerged again as the one least identified with Catalan culture, significantly less so when compared with the Assimilation with Catalonia ($T = -46.47, p < .001$), Integration ($T = -54.66, p < .001$), and Assimilation with Spain groups ($T = -58.23, p < .001$). Lastly, young people of immigrant descent generally reported high identification with the culture of origin.

A more in-depth look at the acculturation process

A more in-depth look at the acculturation process

When examining maintenance, the life stories and interviews particularly highlight the case of young people of Maghribi origin. Students and teachers agree that in this collective the cultural practices maintained are mostly connected with the Muslim religion.

In this regard, it becomes patently clear how they all maintain the Feasts of the Lamb and Ramadan, with the latter having a greater effect on the dynamics of the schools and the life of young people of Maghribi origin. Analysis shows that misunderstandings arise between participants (especially between teachers and students of Maghribi origin). According to some of the young participants, schools ought to take into consideration the period of Ramadan when scheduling school trips or exams. In contrast, others do not feel that this demand is justified as they believe it is necessary to adapt to the dynamics 'from here'. In any case, young people feel the need to modify patterns related to Ramadan, for example missing family celebrations in the daytime to avoid missing class. At the same time, school dynamics also change as absenteeism rates are higher in this period.

Another of the most striking elements among young descendants of Moroccan migrants is that they continue to wear the hijab.

E What cultures would you say they identify with?

Emma In think that: with Islam. I'm talking about the girls' dress. For example, for me a way: when a girl puts on a hijab I think of Islam.

(Emma, teacher)

Some of the girls interviewed use the hijab. The hijab is a recurring theme in all the accounts from young people and teachers, as it is also the cultural practice which prompts most episodes of discrimination, according to participants. Emma references the rejection with which the students going to school wearing a hijab are met.

Emma In fact the classmates are still holding back with these girls. I was her tutor last year in fourth year and I remember editing the end-of-year video, in fourth year of ESO you do a souvenir video. You see the girl in first and second year of ESO without the hijab and the change comes halfway through third year of ESO, she and another two. When the video is edited the classmates brought it up, yet? Again, they want to exclude themselves, what classmates say is that in this way they themselves exclude themselves.

(Emma, teacher)

Girls who do not use it explain that this is due to reasons of adaptation to the host society and that they dress like they do 'here', although they do wear it on important festivities such as Ramadan.

Aisha There came a day when I said "I'm going to wear it and I don't care about anything". What I was most afraid of was people's reaction. I got there on the first day with the hijab and saw everybody staring and I mean, it's normal because you're the first person, I can't tell them not to stare, it is as if I see somebody here with a wig and say "wow", I look. But there were also comments, although at that point I didn't care because I was doing what I wanted, of course. "What are you doing with toilet paper on your head?". It was to hurt me, and there were also classmates I don't get on with who said things like "hey, take that off your head (in a pejorative tone)".

(Aisha, 15 years old, Moroccan origin, integration profile)

The perception of teachers is that the use of the hijab leads to a change in behaviour, 'isolating them', something that they believe hinders their relationship with their autochthonous peers, who see them wearing hijabs as 'them wanting to exclude themselves'.

In contrast, some of the teachers feel that not wearing the hijab contributes to the invisibilisation of the culture of origin of these students. This is perceived as positive, given that the use of hijabs in the schools causes what is known as a 'white drain' towards other schools with autochthonous students.

Emma We have autochthonous students who are leaving for grant-aided schools. There is this drain between 6th year of primary and first year of ESO. And one of the reasons is this. The Integration occurs because between them they are integrated, but the hijab has generated conflict in the school because it is very visible.

(Emma, teacher)

Other cultural practices by young people of Maghribi origin include watching television channels in Arabic at home, not eating pork and not smoking. Despite this, differences are observed between first- and second-generation young people.

E You were already born here, for example, you have customs from your country of origin?

Amira The hijab, right? My mother doesn't either and, well ... customs like concealing the neck, not eating pork.

E So, you don't eat pork.

Amira Yes, and not smoking, but my parents known that my friends smoke and it doesn't bother them, they know I won't, because it is forbidden for women. Well, forbidden, it's not well-seen, and I don't like them saying that. It seems very sexist. A woman can also smoke.

(Amira, 16 years old, Algerian origin, assimilation profile)

Young descendants of Romanian and Latin American migrants find it harder to define what they maintain from their culture and tend to limit this to aspects related to family settings including food, religious practices and formal matters.

In terms of whether the languages of origin are maintained, it can be observed that in the school context these are seldom used. Many of the participants agree that speaking in their language of origin in public settings generates mistrust towards them and is not well-regarded by the autochthonous people.

As regards the aspects they adopt from the host culture, the element of language is key and is the first to be referenced. They all agree that they make an effort to learn it because they need it to communicate. However, the language they choose depends on the socio-cultural context. All the participants from city schools prefer Spanish to Catalan, although Catalan is the main language in the classroom and for learning. In contrast, the students from the school in the town choose Catalan over Spanish, as it is predominantly Catalan-speaking context. Most explain that not knowing the language in the early stages of their stay led to discrimination. The experience with the language of those born in Catalonia is not the same, as second generations are exposed to Catalan and Spanish from the very start, and problems tend to arise with the accent in their language of origin, in this case, Arabic.

As regards adoption, we see differences between first and second generations, including the effect of the length of the stay, and origins. An element on which participants tend to agree most is the change of perspective on aspects relating to life, with many confirming that their views are more open towards aspects of society than to their culture of origin. These aspects include the perceptions regarding relationships between men and women and homosexuality, and how they view some aspects of their own culture in a more 'westernised' way, breaking taboos which remain in their culture of origin. According to one participant, things change because they are seen as different when they travel to Morocco, while second generations are seen as if they were from another country.

At this point, it is also interesting to stress that some of the participants join in on festivities such as Christmas, local celebrations in the town or city, or feasts like Halloween. Others highlight a loss of the space dedicated to religious practice in their lives. This was stressed by the Romanian boy, but also boys of Maghribi origin who claim only to pray at Ramadan.

As regards acculturation attitudes, these are mostly found among young people who see maintaining their own cultural practices – especially those related to Muslim religion – as positive but who are also eager to adopt elements of the host culture, especially the language. It is worth highlighting the intercultural exchange between peer groups, which is experienced as normalised with a more positive perception than that expressed by teachers.

In this regard, teachers' perception tends to be more critical, especially in relation to students of Maghribi origin.

Carla It looks like they like everything. In contrast I can, generally, when we speak the students say certain negative things about their culture. They especially do not understand why women have to be covered up. I think Muslims accept fewer of our traits.

(Carla, teachers)

In their opinion, young people speak negatively about their culture and it seems as if they like everything about the host culture. At the same time, there is a discourse which references the fact that the students of Maghribi origin accept fewer things about the host society than students of other origins.

Analysing how descendants of migrants built their identifications according to their acculturation profiles

All participants identify with their country of origin. When asked where they are from, they answer 'I am from Morocco' or 'I am from Romania'. However, when they are asked where they feel that they belong the answer varies. Some of them answer 'here', suggesting that the length of the stay, and the fact that their entire life is here, as referenced in the life stories, means that they also identify with the host society, regardless of whether they are first or second generation. Others answer that they are a mix, a hybrid, between 'Moroccan, Catalan and Spanish'. Apart from the length of the stay, the lack of contact or limited contact with their origins also contributes to them not fully identifying with their origin.

E Do you feel Catalan?

Adel No.

E Do you feel Spanish?

Adel I'm from Morocco.

E You feel Moroccan.

Adel I feel, like a mix. I'm a hybrid. I am from Morocco so there is a small part that feels like I am from Morocco. There will be a small part where I will feel Catalan and there will be a small part of me which feels Spanish.

(Adel, 17 years old, Moroccan origin, assimilation profile)

In the case of the young people of Moroccan origin there is also a stronger identification with Muslim religion more than with the country of origin. Teachers especially identify them with this religious dimension.

Some participants also report that often the identification with Islam or being Moroccan is associated with terrorism and has negative connotations which in turn lead to discrimination.

Amira Well the negative parts are what people here typically say when you say you're Arab, they go boom, referring to bombs. Sometimes it is the typical joke where they make a noise as if it were a bomb. Like jihadists.

(Amira, 16 years old, Algerian origin, assimilation profile)

As regards identification with Spain and Catalonia, teachers agree that most of the students descendants of migrants make no distinction between Spain and Catalonia. They became aware of this following the events of 1st October 2017 in Catalonia. The day after the police charges these students said that they did not really understand what was happening. However, despite not sharing this aspect of identification with Catalonia, they expressed solidarity with the people, as there was a sense of belonging to the community.

Them talking about feeling more 'from here' is used in opposition to feeling from there, from their country of origin. In any case, nuances can be observed in the discourse of participants, predominantly identifying with Spain as a whole, unlike what the autochthonous interviewees perceive. Some cases – although to a lesser extent – do express their feeling of belonging to Catalonia.

In contrast, some of the participants state that they identify with their way of acting and being 'from here', an identification which is more closely linked to how they relate to the world.

In order to establish a relationship between the acculturation and identification profiles when individually analysing participants, some associations between acculturation profiles and types of identification can be observed.

If observing participants with an assimilation acculturation profile, there is unanimous agreement on a hybrid identification, a loosely defined unclear mix of identifications.

However, despite what could be thought, in addition to identifying strongly with their origin those with a separation profile also tend to identify with Catalonia.

In addition, those with integration profiles identify with the origin and tend to identify with Spain to some extent. Following is Aisha's contribution on identification:

Aisha Honestly, for me it is the nicest thing about a country. The fact that there are many cultures, that people mix, that differences can be seen, for example, I'm off to a mass to see how they do it today, tomorrow you can come to the mosque to see how we pray. I've been to mass to see how my friend prayed. She has come to the mosque. She has been with me at home on feasts such as that of the lamb, I've been to her house at Christmas. Honestly, these are things you cannot describe because you see so many differences, you learn so many things, that that is the best thing you can see in a country, the mix of cultures. The fact that you have a different religion, nationality or skin colour does not mean you have to be excluded. At the end of the day, we are all people, right?

(Aisha, 15 years old, Moroccan origin, integration profile)

As seen in Aisha's story, and concurrent with the story of those participants who have an integration profile, something especially striking is that in this profile the contact between different cultures is seen as enriching and these students appear more predisposed to learning about other cultures.

Discussion and conclusion

The complexity of the Catalan context places us in a very interesting real context to be investigated as it brings to the table not only the cultural baggage of young descendants of migrants who live there, but also whether it is a bilingual and bicultural context – also transferred to the educational system – which calls for affirmative action in favour of Catalan. The information provided highlights this complexity.

If we observe the acculturation profiles developed by the young participants in the study in the school context, we can identify four tendencies: those which assimilate with Spain, those which assimilate with Catalonia, those who favour integration and a final group which display both a separation in relation to Spain and a tendency towards integration into Catalonia. This last group is an example of the complex duality appearing in the Catalan context in relation with Spain and Catalonia. This offers proof that acculturation profiles must be understood within the socio-cultural context in which they take place, going beyond the four basic strategies provided by Berry (1997, 2005, 2009).

Qualitative results provide an understanding of this complexity, expounding on what they maintain from their culture of origin and what they adopt from their host culture. In this regard, some differences can be established between collectives. For participants of Romanian and Latin American maintenance of their origins is related to more folklore-based cultural issues, so that they experience difficulty in identifying what is part of their own culture and what is part of the host culture. Meanwhile, young boys and girls of Maghribi origin confirm that they maintain aspects linked to religion, including Ramadan and the use of a hijab. Maghribi participants transfer the maintenance of their cultural and religious practices to the public sphere, especially schools. These results are in keeping with those of the study by Briones et al. (2012) which specifically mentions the greater visibility afforded by differences in language and religion, and because they feel that they are the subject of public debate. This study and the research by Briones et al. (2012) are in agreement on the fact that the Maghribi collective suffers the most discrimination.

In addition, the fieldwork shows that the two practices linked with this collective are Ramadan and the use of the hijab. This fieldwork repeatedly references the practice of Ramadan in the school context and in relation to autochthonous students, adding further emphasis on the rejection to the fact that girls of Moroccan origin use the hijab in public. The contradictions between the public and private spheres are obvious (Ward, Stuart, and Kus 2015 [Q11]). Teachers' perception that the use of the hijab is a way of isolating and separating oneself is to the detriment of the relationship they establish with this collective. At the same time, its use also causes unease among some of the teachers and members of school staff as it gives visibility to the existing diversity, something which in turn is negative for enrolment as there is a 'white drain' to other schools.

It should be stressed that according to the different participants in the study the language of origin has limited presence in the school context. They also report that speaking the language of origin in public is met with mistrust on the part of the autochthonous population.

As regards adoption, this is clearly connected with a linguistic acculturation given that language is the first element to be adopted. It becomes the first indispensable element for communication and in the case of Catalan, indispensable for teaching and learning. These results are in keeping with Alarcón and Garzón (2013) where a preference for Catalan in the framework of the educational system leads to linguistic assimilation within this educational context.

Participants also reference the change of mentality in relation to life, in agreement with the opinions expressed by teachers, as well as the major cultural changes in the accommodation process (Berry 2005; Kunst and Sam 2013).

When examining the quantitative results for the acculturation attitudes a dominant tendency can be observed towards the integration profile, followed by a profile of assimilation to Catalonia, although this option has its own implications in terms of marginalisation. Thirdly, attitudes can be observed which lean towards the profile of separation acculturation, and finally towards the assimilation to Spain and Catalonia. This dominant tendency towards integration is also referenced in the study by Portes, Aparicio, and Haller (2009). In fact, if expounding on these qualitative results we can observe a positive assessment of the host society, as stated by Luna González, Palou Julián, and Sabariego Puig (2017), although cultures of origin are also positively viewed. Increasingly, mention is made of a good overall interethnic exchange and contact, which according to the literature is one of the factors predicting a good socio-cultural adaptation (Berry 2005).

This assessment conflicts with the views put forward by teachers, especially in relation to the Maghribi collective, which as they highlight speak poorly about their own culture, although contradictions can be observed in the accounts of teachers when stating that Moroccans are least likely to adapt and adopt cultural patterns 'from here'. One of the clear challenges of this interpretation by teachers is linked to attitudes in the host society, as the discourse put forward by participating teachers suggests that maintaining cultural and religious patterns from the cultures of origin somehow hinders the adoption of cultural patterns in the host society. Nevertheless, this is not supported by reality as participants with integration profiles have more developed intercultural discourse than the rest of acculturation profiles.

In any case, as stated by Bourhis et al. (1997) the attitudes of the host society are crucial in this process. In this regard, the results show a reality in which the host society – in this case the school – does not value collectives who publicly maintain their cultural and religious customs, as is the case of the Maghribi collective. Emphasis is made on the theory that maintaining means not adopting. Therefore, the most common attitudes in involved schools, especially on the part of the administration and teachers, point towards assimilation rather than integration. This in turn supports the premise put forward in earlier studies that the closer they lean towards the majority culture, the better they will adapt (Briones et al. 2012).

In keeping with the quantitative results obtained, a medium-scale association is observed if contrasting the strategies which can be used to exercise acculturation attitudes. This is to say, although there is dissonance in some cases there is also agreement. We can see that although some would prefer to integrate, they end up assimilating. There are also young people with separation profiles who would like to integrate. These results could lead to further reflection on whether there is a clear projection of the host school context accepting them because they assimilate, which might explain certain trends: those who give up on trying to maintain their cultural practices in the school context and those who choose to maintain them to the detriment of the adoption

of cultural patterns from the host society.

In addition, most of those who appear to favour assimilation to Spain would be happy to have an integration profile. This may be due to the fact that the host society asks them to assimilate so that despite also wanting to maintain their culture of origin, they believe assimilation would prove more advantageous and they would eventually give in. Therefore, the preferred option would have the more instrumental motivation to accommodate the host society, as suggested in earlier studies (Briones et al. 2012).

However, only 27% of those who display a tendency towards the assimilation profile with Catalonia wish to integrate. In this regard, they are the group least willing to integrate, and this profile should be further researched. Different questions arise on this issue. It could be that beyond an instrumental motivation to accommodate promoted in this case by school contexts as instrumental, there are also more symbolic and ethnic identification processes.

If quantitatively assessing identifications, when referring to feeling Catalan those with the highest means tend towards integration, but there are no significant differences in relation to those who assimilate with Catalonia. There is however a significant difference in relation to those who assimilate with Spain and feel less Catalan. Furthermore, those with separation profiles feel least Spanish while those who feel most Spanish display profiles of integration and assimilation to Spain. Among those who identify most with their country of origin there are similar levels among those tending towards separation and towards integration. In contrast, those who assimilate with Catalonia identify less with their country of origin.

As regards identification with Catalan culture, those who tend towards separation identified less than those who assimilate with Catalonia and integrate, while those who assimilate or integrate display the same level of identification with Catalan culture. Therefore, integration does not imply that Catalan culture is going to be adopted less eagerly. However, in the case of identification with Spanish culture those who separate are the ones who identify least. Again, there are no significant differences as regards identifying with culture of origin.

These results, especially those of separation profiles, show greater contrasts if introducing identification with language. Therefore, as is to be expected, those who assimilate with Spain identify less with the language than those who assimilate with Catalonia. At the same time, young people with separation profiles identify less with the Spanish language than the rest of profiles. The question that arises is: why not with the Catalan language?

The qualitative results provide possible interpretations to answer this question and understand this self-identification process. Based on the starting point put forward by both teachers and students, stating there is no obvious distinction in terms of how they identify towards Catalonia and towards Spain, the results show a complex identity construction mediated by this acculturation process. The results show us how all young participants, both first and second generation and regardless of acculturation process, are connected with their origin, in keeping with Portes, Aparicio, and Haller (2009). However, when expressing how they feel the discourse is more complex and references the 'mix', as stated in earlier studies (previous work by the authors'; previous work by the authors'; previous work by the authors'; Stets and Burke 2003; Portes and Rivas 2011). This mix is less defined among those who tend towards an assimilation profile, identifying equally with Spain and Catalonia. Meanwhile, those who favour integration identify more with Spain and those who tend towards a separation profile identify more with Catalonia. Given the low number of participants in this study it difficult to understand this distinction between profiles, but it could be theorised that those who chose to maintain their culture of origin, identifying with it, identify with the Catalan social discourse of maintaining the Catalan culture and language. This would explain the fact that they identify more strongly with the Catalan language in the quantitative results, identifying language as the main symbol of Catalan culture.

From these results, it can be concluded that there are a series of major challenges to be considered. On the one hand it is important to examine the rejection and discrimination suffered by the Maghribi collective for maintaining certain religious practices, as the consolidation of migration in the Catalan context has resulted in people born in Catalonia who are Muslim. In this regard, it is necessary to move away from the term 'immigrant' and to consider that in the classrooms there are increasing numbers of students who are Catalan but with different origins, something which also modifies the host culture. With this new reality, it is important to consider the confrontations arising in families which identify with their countries of origin but have children who will identify to a greater or lesser extent with Catalonia and/or Spain.

Finally, being aware that the context analysed is small, which is a limitation of our study, we must highlight two things in this regard: on the one hand, there is a broader study that addresses data collection throughout Catalonia, which will help to consolidate the results presented; and, on the other hand, the results account for a reality that is under-represented in the studies carried out in Catalonia, which tend to focus on the Barcelona metropolitan area. Another limitation that should be addressed in future studies concerns the socio-demographic structure of the quantitative sample which has not allowed the inclusion of other possible variables of interest in the analyses, such as country of origin or home languages.

The study shows how reality goes beyond theoretical models and studies that analyse reality only in the duality of two cultures, the one of origin and the one hosting. The results presented regarding the Catalan case show the complex process by which people adapt to multicultural and multilingual contexts, a key point if we bear in mind that we live in a globalised world where

mobility and the reception of immigrant populations are major challenges faced by states. In conclusion, it is necessary to mention the urgent need highlighted by these results to choose social policies which promote the acceptance of the fact that we live in a diverse and plural society, and that it is necessary to build bridges in order to achieve a cohesive, inclusive society.

Note

1. https://www.ara.cat/societat/Volem-omplira-Via-Laietana-Barceloneta_0_1744625697.html. ✕

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors [Q12].

ORCID

Cristina Petreñas <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8083-2154>

Adelina Ianos <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4953-3230>

Cecilio Lapresta-rey <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3411-7077>

Clara Sansó <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0442-5359>

References

- Alarcón, A., and L. Garzón.** 2013. "Children of Immigrants and Social Mobility in Officially Bilingual Societies: The Case of Catalonia." *Spanish in Context* 10 (1): 92–113. doi:10.1075/sic.10.1.04ala.
- Arango, J.** 2013. "Exepcional in Europe? Spain's Experience with Immigration and Integration." *Mpi* 22.[Q13]
- Aronson, K. M., and R. Brown.** 2013. "Acculturation and Social Attitudes among Majority Children." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 37 (3): 313–322. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.02.004.
- Bardin, L.** 1986. *El análisis de contenido*. Madrid: Akal.
- Bayona, J., and A. Domingo.** 2018. "El fracàs escolar dels descendents de la immigració a Catalunya: més que una assignatura pendent." *Perspectives demogràfiques* 11: 1–4.
- Berry, J. W.** 1997. "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation." *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 46: 5–61.
- Berry, J. W.** 2005. "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29: 697–712.
- Berry, J. W.** 2009. "A Critique of Critical Acculturation." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 33: 361–371.
- Bourhis, R. Y., L. C. Moïse, S. Perreault, and S. I. Senécal.** 1997. "Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Social Psychological Approach." *International Journal of Psychology* 32: 369–386.
- Briones, E., J. Verkuyten, J. Cosano, and C. Tabenero.** 2012. "Psychological Adaptation of Moroccan and Ecuadorean Immigrant Adolescents in Spain." *International Journal of Psychology* 47 (1): 28–38.
- Brown, C. M., J. L. Gibbons, and H. M. Hughes.** 2013. "Acculturation Clusters and Life Satisfaction." *Acta de Investigación Psicológica* 3 (2): 1108–1121. doi:10.1016/S2007-4719(13)70955-4.
- Consell Assessor de la llengua.** 2006. *Conclusions*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Educació Universitats [Q14].
- Departament d'Educació.** 2017. *El projecte lingüístic per als centres educatius de la Catalunya del S.XXI*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Educació.
- Departament d'Educació.** 2019. *Estadístiques d'ensenyament*. <http://ensenyament.gencat.cat/ca/departament/estadistiques/estadistiques-ensenyament/curs-actual/eso/>.
- Erikson, E. H.** 1968. *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.
- European Union.** 2010. Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. *Official Journal of European Union*, 389–403. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:0389:0403:en:PDF>[Q15].
- Geerlings, J., M. Verkuyten, and J. Thijs.** 2015. "Changes in Ethnic Self-Identification and Heritage Language Preference in Adolescence: A Cross-Lagged Panel Study." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 34 (5): 501–520.
- Generalitat de Catalunya.** 2007. *Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.
- Generalitat de Catalunya.** 2009. *Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social. Educació i Convivència Intercultural*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya.

Generalitat de Catalunya. 2014. *Pla de la ciutadania i de les migracions: horitzó 2016*. Barcelona: Departament de Benestar Social i Família. Direcció General per la Immigració.

Hogg, M., and S. Reid. 2006. "Social Identity, Self-Categorization, and the Communication of Group Norms." *Communication Theory* 16 (1): 7–30.

Huguet, Á., and J. Janés. 2013. "Escuela e inmigración. Una presentación de estudios sobre el desarrollo de habilidades lingüísticas y procesos de interdependencia entre lenguas." *Anales de Psicología* 29 (2): 393–403[Q16].

Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (IDESCAT). 2017. *Ampliació de resultats de la població estrangera*. <https://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/>[Q18].

Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (IDESCAT). 2018. *Padrón municipal de habitantes. Ampliación de resultados de la población extranjera*. <http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?geo=cat&nac=a&b=12&lang=es>.

Kennedy, L. A., and P. Macneela. 2014. "Adolescent Acculturation Experiences: A Meta-Ethnography of Qualitative Research." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 40: 126–140. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.11.003.

Kunst, J. R., and D. L. Sam. 2013. "Relationship Between Perceived Acculturation Expectations and Muslim Minority Youth's Acculturation and Adaptation." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 37 (4): 477–490. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.04.007.

Lenard, P. T. 2010. "What Can Multicultural Theory Tell us about Integrating Muslims in Europe?" *Political Studies Review* 8: 308–321.

Luna González, E., B. Palou Julián, and M. Sabariego Puig. 2017. "Analysing the Integration Process of Migrant Youth in Catalonia: A Socio-Educative Approach." *Revista Espanola de Pedagogia* 75 (267): 275–291. doi:10.22550/REP75-2-2017-06.

Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte MECD. 2015. *Alumnado extranjero en Enseñanzas de Régimen General por titularidad del centro, comunidad Autónoma y curso académico*. <https://www.educacion.gob.es/educabase/tabla.do?path=/Educacion/Alumnado/Matriculado/Series/Extranjeros/l0/&file=SeriesExtRgTit2.px&type=pcaxis&L=0>[Q19].

Ministerio de Educación y Formación Profesional. 2018. *Enseñanzas no Universitarias. Alumnado matriculado. Curso 2017–2018. Datos avance*. <http://www.mecd.gob.es/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/no-universitaria/alumnado/matriculado/2017-2018-DA.html>.

Montaruli, E., R. Bourhis, M. J. Azumendi, and N. Larrañaga. 2011. "Social Identification and Acculturation in the Basque Autonomous Community." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35: 425–439.

Navas, M., P. Pumares, J. Sánchez, M. C. García, A. Rojas, I. Cuadrado, M. Asensio, and J. Sebastián. 2004. *Estrategias y actitudes de aculturación: la perspectiva de los inmigrantes y de los autóctonos en Almería*. Sevilla: Consejería de Gobernación. Junta de Andalucía.

Phinney, C., B. Jacoby, and C. Silva. 2007. "Positive Intergroup Attitudes: The Role of Ethnic Identity." *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 31 (5): 478–490.

Portes, A., R. Aparicio, and W. Haller. 2009. "La Segunda Generación en Barcelona: Un estudio longitudinal." 38[Q20].

Portes, A., R. Aparicio, and W. Haller. 2017. *Investigación de la segunda generación (ILSEG) en España. Tercera Fase 2016*. Fundación José Ortega y Gasset- Gregorio Marañón- University of Princeton[Q21].

Portes, A., and A. Rivas. 2011. "The Adaptation of Migrant Children – ProQuest Central – ProQuest." *The Adaptation of Migrant Children* 21 (1). <http://search.proquest.com.ux4ll8xu6v.useaccesscontrol.com/pqcentral/docview/1519298662?OpenUrlRefId=info:xri/sid:summon&accountid=15533>.

[previous work by the authors[Q17]]

[previous work by the authors]

[previous work by the authors].

Rumbaut, R. G. 2004. "Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States." *International Migration Review* 38 (3): 1160–1205.

Scottham, K. M., and R. H. Dias. 2010. "Acculturative Strategies and the Psychological Adaptation of Brazilian Migrants to Japan." *Identity* 10 (4): 284–303. doi:10.1080/15283488.2010.523587[Q22].

Secretaria d'Igualtat, Migracions i Ciutadania. 2017. *Pla de la ciutadania i les migracions: 2017–2020*. Barcelona: Departament de Treball, Afers Socials i Famílies. Generalitat de Catalunya.

Seggie, F. N., and G. Sanford. 2010. "Perceptions of Female Muslim Students Who Veil: Campus Religious Climate." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 13 (1): 59–82.

Stets, J., and P. Burke. 2003. "A Sociological Approach to Self and Identity." In *Handbook of Self and Identity*, edited by J. Leary

and M. Tangney, 128–152. New York: The Guildford Press.

Tajfel, H. 1974. "Social Identity and Intergroup Behavior." *Social Science Information* 13 (2): 65–93.

Tuomi-Gröhn, T., and Y. Engeström. 2003. *Between School and Work. New Perspectives on Transfer and Boundary-Crossing*. Oxford: Elsevier Science.