CONFLICTUAL NATIONAL IDENTITIES AND LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES AS POSITIONING TOOLS IN CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS[1]

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ABSTRACT

The study of the use of language as a system of social integration vs. differentiation in contexts of intergroup conflict has been underdeveloped in social psychology. Usually the use of language has been considered as a system of expression of "ethnic identity ". This perspective has, at least, three problems: 1) language has been taken as a direct expression of an identity, fixed and taken for granted. 2) language has been considered as a simplistic conception of the processes of identification, without taking into account the complexity of the social psychological factors that characterise "ethnic" intergroup conflicts. 3) an individualistic view of language and of the social conditions in which it circulates has been given to the speaker's position.

The coexistence of two languages in socio-political contexts where nationalism plays an important role means that because of the symbolic nature of conflicts, non-univocal strategies of social differentiation are developed.

The aim of the present study is to analyse such a process of integration or differentiation within the framework of the Theory of Social Representations (TSR), more specifically with the use of the three-phase model of Doise et al (1993), where SR are considered as organising principles of symbolic relationships between individuals and groups. In this sense, we first analysed the shared conceptions of self-categorisations and identities related to the in-group (Region) and the out-group (Nation). This study also aims to analyse how the use of language interacts with the origin of the parents of children in order to develop

strategies of identification. Those strategies of identification are understood as a tactical positioning that allow actors to express their positions towards a conflict of objectified realities, socially defined as "ethnic". Three main strategies of identification are possible: assimilation, integration and separation (Berry 1990).

Summing up, these strategies of identification seem to be interesting tactical positioning tools (Elejabarrieta 1994) that allow young social actors to express their positions towards the conflict between regions with high levels of self-consciousness of "being a nation" and nations. While Assimilation strategies lead to the actors to refuse in-group members and ignore them, Separation ones drive children and adolescents towards both the recognition of the in-group and the awareness of them, whereas Integration strategies lead to the actors to recognise both in-group and out-group in evaluation and information.

Introduction

The creation of the sovereign nation state is historically, a rather recent political achievement. Durkheim (1925), for example, outlined the characteristics required by the nation state for the attraction of the loyalties of the communities and regions living inside it. However the stereotypical view of the relationship between the ethnic group and the state is that of "one culture into one state". Other kinds of relationship are also possible, especially those where the ethnic group is perceived to be "an uninvited participant" (Worchel 1997). Recently, Worchel (1997) has described different kinds of possible relationship between the ethnic group and the state. In the case where the boundaries of the ethnic group and the state are common, the conflict between them can be held to a minimum, due to the common interest in the interdependence and sovereignty of the nation. In the case where the nation is dominated by another ethnic group or when any other ethnic group is a minority in several states, the opportunity of conflict is likely to be high. Moreover, these different possible kinds of historical situation interact with the ideology the state holds about what is or is not to be the definition of a "fellow national" (Bourhis et al 1997). Thus, the likelihood of conflict goes farther when the ideology of the state is "ethnist" or "republican" (traditionally the ideologies that the Spanish state has held toward the peripheral communities that are part of it: the first during Franco's dictatorship and the second during the monarchy and republics of the first 30 years of this century), rather than

"multicultural" (See Bourhis et al 1997, for the description of different kind of ideologies of integration).

Language can be experienced to be a fundamental component of ethnicity, even when no link between ethnicity and language use exists (Liebkind 1992). Moreover, some ethnic and national groups choose language as the most salient dimension of their Social Identity, both in the cultural domain (Fishman 1977) and in the political domain (See Ros et al 2000 for the case of Spain).

According to Tajfel and colleagues (Tajfel 1982; Tajfel & Turner 1986) at the basis of Social Identity Theory is the proposition that much of our social identity is rooted in in-groups to which we belong. Because we desire a positive social identity, we are motivated to affiliate with positive groups and once we become members of groups and this identity is secure (Moscovici and Paicheler 1978) we will do everything to advantage those groups relative to the out-groups. Tajfel (1969) also outlined that in situations of rapid social change influencing intra and intergroup relationships, the relative level of categorisation (e.g. regional or national categorisations) plays an important role on the view people hold of the future.

The study of the use of language as a system of social integration or differentiation in contexts of intergroup conflict has been underdeveloped in social psychology. Usually the use of language has been considered to be a system of expression of "ethnic identity" (Fishman 1972, 1977; Giles 1979; Gudykunts et al 1990). This perspective has, at least, three problems. Firstly, language has been understood as a direct expression of an identity, fixed and taken for granted. Secondly, language has been considered as a simplistic conception of the processes of identification. In fact, the complexity of the social psychological factors that characterise "ethnic" intergroup conflicts has not been taken into account. Finally, an individualistic view of language and of the social conditions where it circulates has been given to the speaker's position.

The first problem refers to the ambiguous status attributed to the use of language as a variable in intergroup relations. The concept of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Hamers & Blanc 1983), on the one hand, suggests that the use of language is

based on a series of structural factors (demographic, institutional, etc.) which, in turn, allow some languages to survive over others. Here the use of language would only depend on macrosocial variables. The rise of the "subjective relativity of the speaker" (Bourhis, Giles & Roshental 1981) did not modify the concept substantially in so far as the "objective" vitality is still considered as primary; and the status of the variable is obscure, because it depends on individual interpretation (Allard & Landry, 1986) and not on active use of the language by groups.

The second problem refers to the mimetic translation of a simple conception of social identity into intergroup conflict situations where the use of language is utilised as objectification of the conflict. The perspective of "ethnolinguistic identity" (Giles & Johnson 1981), based on the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978;), considers the use of language as an instrument of intergroup differentiation, where the positioning of the speaker is determined by his or her "ethnic" identification. In this case the use of language, more than an objectified tool for positioning in intergroup conflicts, is a direct expression of a conflict, rarely analysed.

The third problem stems from the consciences the above problems address to the speaker: he or she accommodates to a given structural situation of intergroup conflicts. The outcome of this accommodation is a subjective feeling of ethnicity, only defined in operative terms: the ethnic group is only defined by subjects who say that they belong to it.

As a result of these problems the use of language has not usually been conceptualised as a system of meanings that objectify intergroup conflicts and redefine them in a constituent form, but as a variable that allows a mimetic connection with an identity whose configuration we rarely know. On the other hand, the above problems deny the practical character of the objectifications: these allow negotiation of selves in multiple forms, and not sequentially in the social structuration.

The coexistence of two languages in socio-political contexts where nationalism plays an important role means that we can not ignore the fact that the symbolic nature of conflicts develops non-univocal strategies of social integration or differentiation. This is the case of the two countries under study here, where the salience of language for regional

identification leads to a process of differentiation from the national identity. These situations are more complex when the conflicts are crossed by histories of groups with emigration. This is the situation of two communities in the Spanish State (the Basque Country and Catalonia) where the heavy immigration of the fifties and sixties is related to a now-bilingual situation and language is both argument and tool of conflict.

The present study aims to analyse how the use of language at home interacts with the origin of the parents of the subjects (regional vs. Spaniard immigrant) in order to develop strategies of identification. These strategies of identification are understood as a tactical positioning that allow actors to express their positions towards a conflict of objectified realities, socially defined as "ethnic".

Taking into account that the decision to use the regional or national language at home was made by the parents of children and adolescents we study here, three main strategies of identification are possible (Berry 1990; 1997): *Assimilation*, *Integration and Separation* strategies. The adoption of strategies of *assimilation* nature (i.e. where one rejects the heritage culture and embraces the culture of the State: resistant to integration in the conflict situation) would be characterised by the subjects that use in the family context only the language of the State (whatever the parents' origin). On the other hand, as far as strategies of identification of *Integration* are concerned (i.e. where both groups' cultural traditions are valued: positioning towards integration): characterised by subjects that use both languages and have parents of regional or national origin. Finally, the strategies of identification of *Separation* (i.e. where one clings to the heritage culture and rejects others: positioning towards the heritage culture): characterised by subjects that use mainly the regional language in the family context (whatever the parents' origin) (see table 1 on the nest page). As a result of these strategies of identification important consequences on intergroup differentiation are hypothesised, developing systems of inclusion, exclusion of the others or ignoring them.

Table 1. Proposed Strategies of Identification according to the language used at home and the origin of parents.

	Context of Language Use at Home		
	National Language	Bilingual	Regional Language
Regional Origin of Parents	*Assimilation strategy of identification*	*Integration strategy of identification*	*Separation strategy of identification*
Spaniard Origin of Parents	*Assimilation strategy of identification*	*Integration strategy of identification*	*Separation strategy of identification*

Our aim in the present study is to analyse such a process of integration or differentiation within the framework of the Theory of Social Representations (TSR), more specifically with the use of the three-phase model of Doise et al (1993), where SR are considered as organising principles of symbolic relationships between individuals and groups. In this sense, we first analysed the shared conceptions of self-categorisations and identities related to the in-group (Region) and the out-group (Nation). This phase of the study of SR searches for the common organisation of shared meanings and according to Moscovici (1961) deals with the process of objectification. Second, we analysed the individual differences among subjects. Here the assumption is that differences in individual positioning are organised. Therefore, in this phase, we searched for the organising principles of individual differences in self-categorisations and identities. Finally, we analysed the anchoring of these individual differences in related systems of representations. In this phase we studied how such systematic variations are anchored in collective symbolic realities: in stereotypes about the in-group and the out-group.

Method

Subjects and Design. Based on a larger study of the acquisition of national identity in children and adolescents in different European Countries, the study presented here corresponds to two cultural contexts: Catalonia and the Basque Country in the Spanish State.

The design of the analysis combines Linguistic Home Situation (situations of regional language use vs. situation of national language use vs. bilingual situation) and the origin of parents of subjects (regional origin of both parents vs. spaniard origin of one or both

parents). Due to the correlational nature of the study the distributions of the original sample (N = 641) into the cells of the design was not homogeneous. The original sample consisted of 48 % boys and 52 % girls; 19,5 % 6 years old, 26,3 % 9 years old, 28,1 % 12 years old and 26,2 % 15 years old; 57,1 of the children's parents were from the regions, 20,4 % of the children had one parent from Spain and 14,4 % of the children's parents were from Spain; 32,1 % of children spoke the national language at home; 17,7 % both languages and 50,2 % of children spoke the regional language at home; 60 % were from Catalonia and 40 % from the Basque Country.

A random selection of the cases for each condition was carried out for the final Anova analysis. The final sample consisted of 365 subjects (45 % were boys and 55 % girls; 75 were 6 years old, 99 9 years old, 99 12 years old and 92 15 years old: 208 subjects were from Catalonia and 157 from the Basque Country).

The final design distributions consisted of 35,9 % of subjects in the context of national language use, 28,2 % in the context of regional language use and 35,1 % of bilinguals. In regard to the origin of parents 52,5 % were of regional origin and 47,5 one or both parents of Spaniard origin.

Variables:

i)   Self-Categorisation: Children were asked to choose between 15 cards that displayed age, sex and different group memberships (regional, Spanish, European, among others). Their task consisted of choosing the cards they thought were the best ones to describe themselves and to order them from the most important to the least important. Two kind of indices were used in the analysis: i) First Selection: the elected category in the first place. ii) The importance of categories: three indices of categorisation were obtained: demographic, regional (in-group) and national (out-group) categorisations.

A second way to measure self-categorisation was carried out in a similar way with the question "If you were in America and someone asked you "where are you from" what would you answer"?.

ii) Identifications: National and Regional identifications, where children had to choose how they described themselves as Basque, Spanish (very, a little bit or not at all) and Regional Identification in relation to National Identification (5 points).

iii) Stereotypes: Children had to choose from positive and negative adjectives (dirty, clean, friendly, unfriendly, clever, stupid, lazy, hardworking, happy, sad, honest and dishonest) of 6 dimensions, those that described most appropriately people living in the region and in Spain. After doing that they had to say whether they liked or disliked these people (5 points). Each dimension was coded as 1 = negative; 2 = neither; 3 = positive and multiplied by the value attributed to each group.

iv) Information: Regional and State information were obtained by a series of questions about general information (Flag, capital, language, and so on).

Finally, subjects had to respond to questions about age, sex, language(s) used at home, and their and their parents' origin.

Results

- Shared conceptions of self-categorisations and identities related to the Region and the Nation

In order to see the common organisation of shared meanings of self-categorisations and identities about the Region and the Nation, first, a factorial multiple correspondence (CFA) analysis (SPADN) was carried out, using the categories of first categorisation, regional identity, national identity and regional identity in relation to national identity as active modalities and linguistic home situation and origin of parents as illustrative modalities.

Results of the CFA are presented in Figure 1. The first dimension contrasts National Self Categorisation and Identity in the negative pole (First Selection of State (fsta) Regional Identity of Non-Regional (nreg), National Identity of State Only (sonl) and comparative identity of State more than regional (smore)) with regional Self Categorisation and Identity ((First Selection of Region (freg) Regional Identity of Regional (vreg), National Identity of Non-State (nesta) and comparative identity of Regional Only (ronl) in the positive pole.

Figure 1. Factor Correspondence Analysis of Self Categorisation, Regional and

National Identities, with the projection of linguistic home situation and origin of parents.
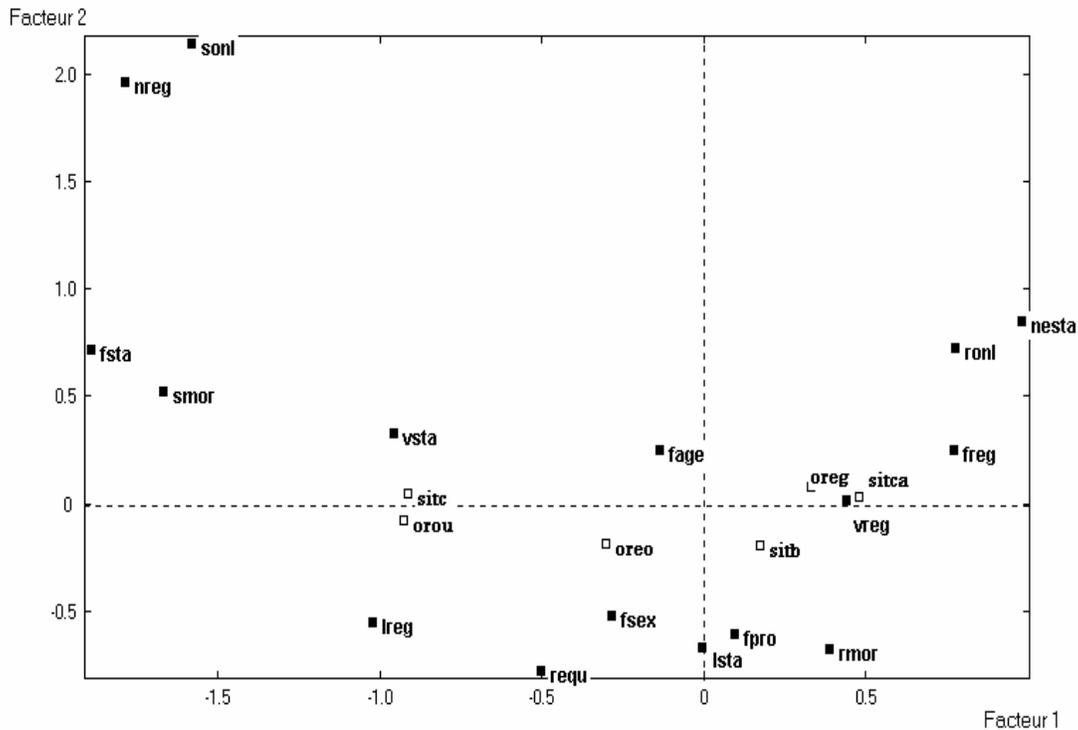
The second dimension contrasts in the negative pole National and Regional Identities (sonl, nreg, nesta) with Little State Identification (lsta) and Regional more than National (rmore) in the comparative identity. Moreover, in the crossing of the two dimensions three main shared meanings appear: exclusive identities, i.e. National and Regional Self-Categorisations and Identities in the left and the right part of the figure and inclusive identity in the bottom central part of the figure. Together with this, the illustrative categories of origin and Linguistic Home Situation are included near each one of the three shared meanings: Linguistic Home Situation of Castilian (sitc) and Spaniard origin of parents (orou) near the first, Linguistic Home Situation of Regional Language (sitca) and Regional origin of parents (oreg) near the second, and Linguistic Home Situation of Bilingual (sitb) and Spaniard origin of parents (oreo) near the third one.

- Individual Positioning of self-categorisations and identities related to the Region and the Nation

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In order to analyse the extent to which language use and origin of the parents were related to different kind of subjects adhering to different identification strategies, first an iterative procedure of clustering on the basis of political self-categorisation and identities was carried out in order to extract a limited number of groups of subjects who positioned themselves towards those shared meanings.

Table 2. Mean responses of the three groups by iterative clustering of the average individual scores for the variables of self-categorisation and identity

Final Cluster Centers

Cluster	National Identity	Regional Identity	Regional Id in relation	Spanish Self-Catego.	Regional Self-Catego
Assimilation	2,6000	1,8700	4,2600	1,3300	1,1200
Separation	1,6130	2,9164	1,4118	1,0124	1,6037
Integration	2,4167	2,6225	2,7990	1,0931	1,3235

Cluster	Unweighted Cases
Assimilation	100,0
Separation	323,0
Integration	204,0

Three groups were retained from these results. The first group resulted in a clear Assimilation Identification Strategy with highest scores on national identification and regional identification in relation to national identification, Spanish self-categorisation and lowest scores on regional identification and regional self-categorisation.

The second group resulted in a clear Separation Identification Strategy: with lowest scores on national identification and regional identification in relation to national identification, and Spanish self-categorisation, and highest scores on regional identification and regional self-categorisation. Finally, the third group resulted in a clear Integration Identification Strategy: with relatively high scores on national and regional identification and medium scores on regional identification in relation to national identification, Spanish self-categorisation and regional self-categorisation.

Secondly, a Discriminant analysis was carried out in order to see the relationship between language used at home and origin of parents and the three groupings of identification strategies.

Table 3 Discriminant functions and mean scores for the three groups defined by linguistic home situation and origin of parents

Pooled within-groups correlations between discriminating variables and canonical discriminant functions (Variables ordered by size of correlation within function)

	Func 1	Func 2
Linguistic Home Situation	,97384*	,22722
Origin of Parents	-,64159	,76704*

Canonical discriminant functions evaluated at group means (group centroids)

Group	Func 1	Func 2
Assimilation	-,9496	-,09785
Separation	,54761	-,02947
Integration	-,32513	,09686

The analysis produced two functions. The first function represented 98,9 % of variance (Wilkis lambda= 0.6948; p = 0.0000) while the second one was only slightly significant (p= 0.09) and represented 1,2 % of variance.

The first function confirmed the importance of the language used at home. It was related negatively with the identification strategy of assimilation and opposed to the identification strategy of separation. The identification strategy of integration was slightly related negatively. The second function opposed the assimilation strategy of identification to the integration strategy of identification.

- Strategies of identification and the anchoring in stereotypes and information

Further, in order to study the organisation of the stereotypes according to the belonging to the three different clusters, three hierarchical Cluster Analyses were carried out (Ward's method) in order to check whether the three groups had similar or different organisation of stereotypes about the region and the State.

Figure 2: Hierarchical cluster analysis: assimilation strategy group
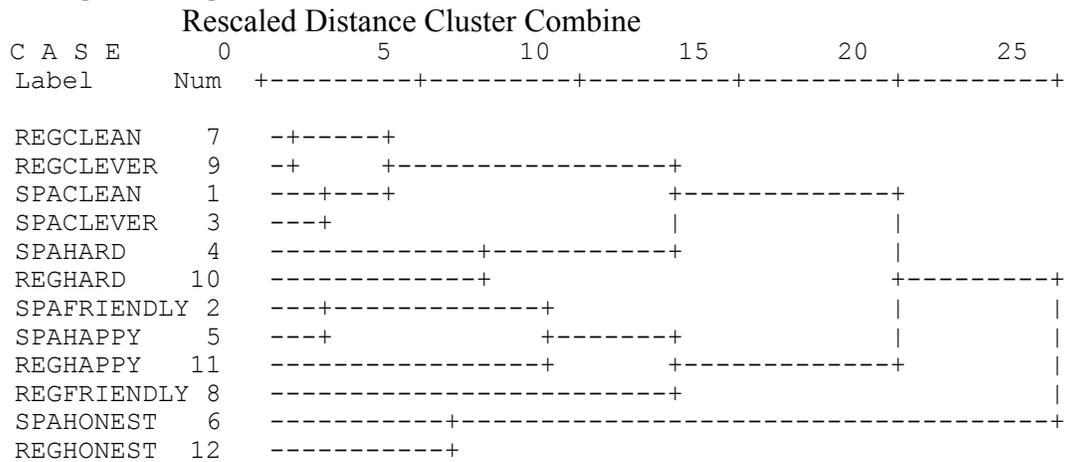
Dendrogram using Ward Method

```
                Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine
   C A S E      0         5        10        15        20        25
   Label    Num  +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

   REGCLEAN    7   -+-----+
   REGCLEVER   9   -+     +----------------+
   SPACLEAN    1   ---+---+                +------------+
   SPACLEVER   3   ---+                    |            |
   SPAHARD     4   ------------+----------+             |
   REGHARD    10   ------------+                        +---------+
   SPAFRIENDLY 2   ---+------------+                    |         |
   SPAHAPPY    5   ---+            +-------+            |         |
   REGHAPPY   11   ----------------+       +------------+         |
   REGFRIENDLY 8   ------------------------+                      |
   SPAHONEST   6   -----------+--------------------------------+
   REGHONEST  12   -----------+
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Figure 3: Hierarchical cluster analysis: separation strategy group

Dendrogram using Ward Method

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                Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine
    C A S E     0         5        10        15        20        25
   Label    Num  +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

   REGFRIENDLY 8   -+-+
   REGHAPPY   11   -+ +-+
   REGHARD    10   ---+ +-------------------------------------+
   REGCLEAN    7   -+-+ |                                     |
   REGCLEVER   9   -+ +-+                                     |
   REGHONEST  12   ---+                                       |
   SPAHARD     4   ---------+---+                             |
   SPAHONEST   6   ---------+   |                             |
   SPACLEAN    1   -----+-+     +-------------------------------+
   SPACLEVER   3   -----+ +-+   |
   SPAHAPPY    5   -------+ +---+
   SPAFRIENDLY 2   ---------+
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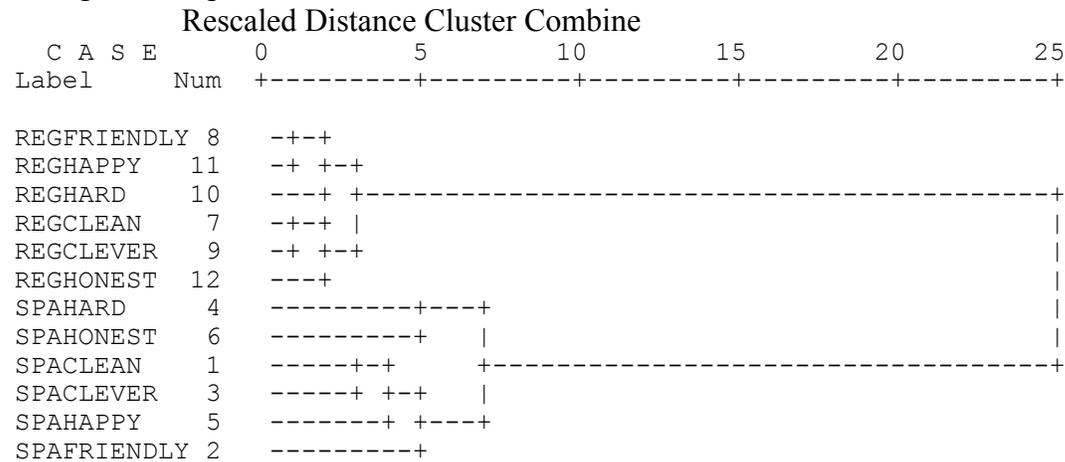
Figure 4: Hierarchical cluster analysis: integration strategy group

Dendrogram using Ward Method

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                       Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine
C A S E        0         5        10        15        20        25
Label     Num  +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

REGCLEAN    7  -+------------+
REGCLEVER   9  -+                +---------+
SPACLEAN    1  --------------+         +---------+
SPACLEVER   3  --------+-------------+         +---+
SPAHARD     4  ---------+                       |   |
SPAFRIENDLY 2  --------------+------------------+   +---------+
SPAHAPPY    5  --------------+                  |         |
REGFRIENDLY 8  -------+----------------------+  |         |
REGHAPPY   11  -------+                       +-------+   |
REGHARD    10  ------------+----------------+          |
REGHONEST  12  ------------+                           |
SPAHONEST   6  ------------------------------------------------+
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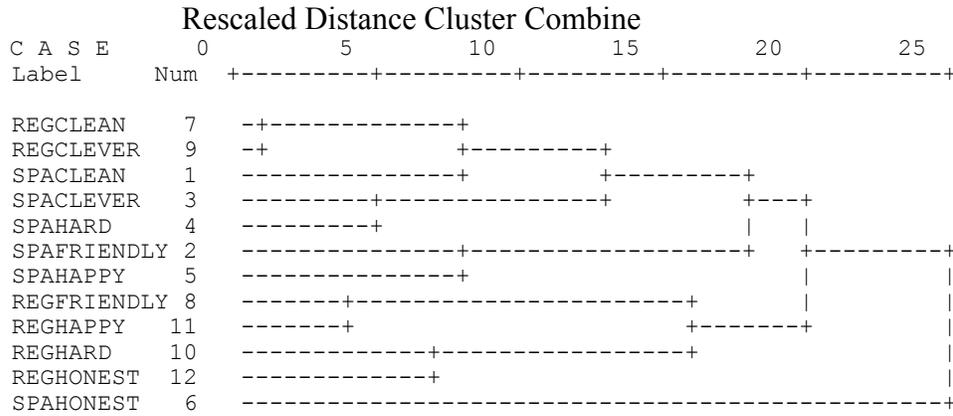
The analysis showed that the organising principles of regional and national stereotypes are different for groups with different kind of identification strategies. The Assimilation group produced a cluster with stereotypes organised around three main dimensions: competence, likeability, and honesty; the Separation group produced a cluster with stereotypes organised around two main dimensions: in-group and out-group stereotypes. Finally, the Integration group produced a more complex cluster: 1) competence of regional and national stereotypes (clean and clever), 2) national likeability (friendly and happy) 3) regional likeability (friendly and happy), 4) regional honesty and hard work, and 5) national honesty.

- Strategies of identification and positioning in stereotypes and information

First, several Princals Analyses were carried out on stereotypes of the Region, Nation and information about the Region and the Nation. Results produced two factors for stereotypes about the Region and the Nation (with the dimensions of friendly and happy on one factor and the others on the second factor) and one factor for the information categories.

To see the relationship between the three identification groups and the stereotypes and information, several Anova analyses were carried out with the belonging to the three groups as independent variables and the likeability and competence stereotypes for region and nation and information about the region and the nation as dependent variables.

Table 4: Means and differences between groups of the three groups as independent variables and the likeability and competence stereotypes for region and nation and information about the region and the nation as dependent variables

	Assimilation	Separation	Integration	S	1/2	1/3	2/3
Ingroup competence Stereotypes	10,06	12,85	12,27	0,00	*	*	
Ingroup affect stereotypes	10,30	13,44	12,45	0,00	*	*	*
Outgroup competence Stereotypes	11,26	7,96	11,21	0,00	*		*
Outgroup affect stereotypes	11,75	8,51	11,71	0,00	*		*
Regional information	1,70	2,11	1,99	0,01	*		
State Information	5,03	5,86	5,63	0,06			

The analysis showed that the differences between assimilation and separation were clear for stereotypes of the region, nation and information about the region. The differences between assimilation and integration appeared in relation to the regional stereotypes and the differences between separation and integration appeared in relation to stereotypes of the nation and competence stereotypes of the in-group.

Finally, several Anova analyses were carried out with Linguistic Home Situation and Origin of Parents as independent variables and each of the mentioned dependent variables. Before doing this, all dependent variables were standardised.

- Identifications : Regional and National Identification

Significant differences of Linguistic Home Situation ($F_{2,362}$ = 42.484; P < .000) and Origin of Parents ($F_{2,362}$ = 4.775, P < .03) in Regional Identification were found. No interaction effects appeared. Children with parents of regional origin showed a higher level of regional identification (x = .25) than those of Spaniard origin (x = -.38). Children of regional Linguistic Home Situation presented a higher level of regional identification (x = .38) while

children of castilian Linguistic Home Situation the lowest (x = -.70). Interestingly, children of Bilingual Linguistic Home Situation (x = .19) did not show differences as a function of the origin of parents, and similar patterns were found between those of regional and Spaniard origin.

Table 5. Means of identifications, the importance of demographic, ingroup's and ourgroup's self categorisations, ingroup's and outgroup's stereotypes and information about the region and the nation

	Regional Origin Parents			Spaniard Origin Parents		
	Castilian Lang	*Region Lang*	*Bilingual*	*Castilian Lang*	*Region Lang*	*Bilingual*
Regional Identification	-.48	.42	.15	-.80	.01	.21
National Identification	.44	-.38	-.28	.56	-.01	-.02
Demographic Self-Categorisation	.80	-.19	.72	-.11	-.35	-.09
In-Group's Self-Categorisation	-.62	.29	-.65	-.07	.35	-.01
Out-Group's Self-Categorisation	-.04	-.26	.18	.41	-.07	.13
In-Group's Stereotypes	-.37	.32	.09	-.22	.24	.09
Out-Group's Stereotypes	.12	-.37	-.28	.51	.08	-.02
Regional Information	-.60	.10	-.38	-.23	.18	.33
State's Information	-.51	.04	-.34	.32	.11	.35

In relation to National Identification, significant differences of Linguistic Home Situation ($F_{2,362}$ = 24,308; P < .000) and Origin of Parents ($F_{1,363}$ = 6.622, P < .01) were found. No interaction effects appeared. National Identification showed a reversed pattern. Children with parents of Spaniard origin presented a higher level of national identification (x=.31) while those of regional origin the lowest (x=-.24). Concerning the Linguistic Home

Situation, children of castilian linguistic Home Situation showed the higher level of national identification (x = .52) while children of either regional or bilingual home situation the lowest (x=-.34; x=-.13 respectively).

- The importance of Self-Categorisations: Demographic, In-group and Out-group Self-Categorisation

With regard to Demographic Self-Categorisation, significant differences of Linguistic Home Situation ($F_{2,362}$ = 18,994; P < .000) and Origin of Parents ($F_{1,363}$ = 47,204, P < .000) were found. These effects were qualified by an Interaction ($F_{3,361}$ = 6,533, P < .003). Children with regional parents attached slightly more importance to Demographic Self-Categorisation (x=.09) than those with Spaniard parents (x = -.14). Moreover, regional linguistic home situation displayed the lowest importance (x=-.20) while castilian or bilingual home situation a higher importance (x=.18, x= .28 respectively) to Demographic Self-Categorisation. Interestingly, regional origin of parents raises the importance of Demographic Self-Categorisation in castilian and bilingual home situation contexts and lowers it in contexts of regional home situation.

In-group Self-Categorisation presents significant differences in Linguistic Home Situation ($F_{2,362}$ = 22,571; P < .000) and Origin of Parents ($F_{1,363}$ = 20,175, P < .000). Significant Interaction effects were obtained ($F_{3,361}$ = 3,733, P < .03). Children with Spaniard parents showed a higher importance in In-group Self-Categorisation (x=.-.32) than those with regional parents (x=-.00). Moreover, the importance of In-group Self-Categorisation was higher when the linguistic home situation was regional (x=.29). This means that when children define themselves in terms of in-group, the Spaniard origin of parents is more relevant, as well as the use of the regional language at home.

Out-group Self-Categorisation also showed significant differences in Linguistic Home Situation ($F_{2,362}$ = 5,954; P < .002) and Origin of Parents ($F_{1,363}$ = 4,545, P < .04). Interaction effects were not significant. Children with castilian linguistic home situation showed a higher importance in this Self-Categorisation (x=.26) than those with bilingual (x=.16) or regional linguistic home situation (x=-.23). Accordingly, the evaluation of the out-group and the demographic self-categorisation are similar in children with regional

linguistic home situation. That is, children who are regional language speakers with parents of regional origin showed the lowest importance in Out-group Self-Categorisation.

- Stereotypes: In-group and Out-group Stereotypes

In relation to the In-group Stereotypes, significant differences in Linguistic Home Situation ($F_{2,362}$ = 5,954; P < .002) were obtained. Origin of Parents and Interaction effects were not significant. Children with castilian linguistic home situation showed more negative In-group stereotypes (x=-29) than those of bilingual (x=0,09) or regional (x=.29) linguistic home situation. Children using both languages are more "neutral".

With regard to Out-group Stereotypes, significant differences in Linguistic Home Situation ($F_{2,362}$ = 9,392; P < .000) and Origin of Parents ($F_{1,363}$= 12,492; P < .000) appeared. Interaction effects were not significant. Children with parents of regional origin showed more negative stereotypes (x=-.17) than those with Spaniard origin (x=0,25). Bilinguals at home also showed negative stereotypes about the out-group.

- Information: Regional and National Information

As far as the regional information is concerned, significant differences in Linguistic Home Situation ($F_{2,362}$ = 4,746; P < .000) and Origin of Parents ($F_{1,363}$ = 36,011, P < .000) were found. Significant interaction effects were obtained ($F_{3,361}$ = 6,756, P < .002). Children with Spaniard parents showed more information (x=-.25) than those with regional parents (x = -.07). Moreover, castilian and bilingual linguistic home situation displayed similar level of information (x=-0,03 and x=,00; respectively) while regional linguistic situation a higher (x=.11) information. Interestingly, among children with regional origin and with Spaniard origin castilian speakers at home (x=-.60 and -.23; respectively) displayed the lowest level of regional information. As far as the regional information is concerned, significant differences on Linguistic Home Situation ($F_{2,362}$ = 4,746; P < .000) and Origin of Parents ($F_{1,363}$ = 36,011, P < .000) were found. Interaction effects appeared significant ($F_{3,361}$ = 6,756, P < .002). Children with Spaniard parents showed more information (x=-.25) than those with regional parents (x = -.07). Moreover, castilian and bilingual linguistic home situation displayed similar levels of information (x=-0,03 and x=,00; respectively) while

regional linguistic situation a higher (x=.11) information. Interestingly, among children with regional origin and with Spaniard origin, castilian speakers at home (x=-.60 and -.23; respectively) displayed the lowest level of regional information.

In relation to State information, significant differences on Origin of Parents ($F_{1,363}$ = 34,141, P < .000) were found. There was not significant effect of Linguistic Home Situation. Interaction effects turned out to be significant ($F_{3,361}$ = 6,584, P < .002). Children with Spaniard parents showed more information (x= 0,30) than those with regional parents (x = -.10). However the use of regional language at home led to a higher State figure among children of regional origin (x=0,04; versus x=-0,51 and x=-0,34 respectively for castilian and bilingual home situation) while differences were not significant among children with parents of Spaniard origin.

Conclusions

The three-phase model for the study of SR has proved to be useful for the study of the relationship between linguistic positioning, identification strategies and stereotypes about the in-group and the out-group. In this relationship, the organizing principles of the Social Representation of conflict situations can help us to understand language as both argument and tool of conflict, where the dynamics of strategies of identifications interplay with the social context.

Results showed that in the group under study, there are three shared meanings of self-definitions which are related to linguistic practice at home and to the origin of parents. Moreover, these three meanings are related to the individual positioning of children and adolescents, the organising principles being the strategies of Assimilation, Separation and Integration.

Results also confirmed the different role played by the strategies of identification as a consequence of the interaction between origin of parents and the social practice of the use of language at home.

The adoption of assimilation strategies resistant to integration in the conflict situation lead to a lower regional and to a higher national identification. Moreover, these strategies involve a higher relevance of demographic self-categorisation, a lower relevance of in-

group categorisation and a higher relevance of out-group self-categorisation. Furthermore, assimilation strategies lead to a more negative in-group stereotypes, a more positive out-group stereotypes and to less regional information.

On the contrary, the adoption of separation strategies gives rise to a higher regional and lower national identification. These strategies are characterised by a lower relevance of demographic self-categorisation, a higher importance of in-group categorisation and a lower importance of out-group self-categorisation. Moreover, separation strategies lead to a more positive in-group stereotypes, a more negative out-group stereotypes and to higher regional information.

Finally, integration strategies lead to a high relevance of in-group and out-group self-categorisation and positive stereotypes about the in-group and the out-group.

Summing up, these strategies of identification seem to be interesting tactical positioning tools (Elejabarrieta 1994) that allow young social actors to express their positions towards the conflict between regions with high levels of self-consciousness of "being a nation" and nations historically with high "ethnist ideology", both demanding loyalties from the citizens. While Assimilation strategies lead to the actors to refuse in-group members (in negative stereotypes) and ignore them (low regional information), Separation ones drive to children and adolescents to both the recognition of the in-group (positive stereotypes) and the awareness of them (higher regional information) and Integration strategies lead to the actors to recognise both in-group and out-group in evaluation and information.

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