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Cape-Verdean adolescents living in Portugal: levels of national and ethnical identity and social integration

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This paper focuses on the social identity of Cape-Verdean adolescents living on the outskirts of Lisbon, relating this to in-group favouritism and academic achievement as a measure of social adjustment and inclusion.

Background

Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) provides a valuable theoretical framework to access ethnic minority identity. The basic processes proposed are Social Categorisation, which allows the inclusion of individuals in categories; Social Identity, which refers to an individual's self-concept and the value and emotional significance attributed to his membership of a social group; and Social Comparison, which allows the appreciation of group characteristics through a comparison with other groups.

Otten and Mummendey (2000) argued that in-group bias effect weakens or disappears when negative measures of evaluation are at play, though they recognise the strength of the effect of simple categorisation on in-group favouritism, serving the purpose of maintaining a positive social identity as claimed by SIT. In the search for positive social identity one may consider different strategies to deal with the negative evaluation of group membership (Tajfel,1978), namely Social Mobility, which entails the possibility of the individual improving his status through effort; and Social Change, which involves t the group leading the changes.

Based on an experiment with Chinese students in Holland, Verkuyten and Wolf (2002) argued that in-group favouritism and acculturation attitudes are affected by the comparative context, and that they do not represent enduring strategies. The inter-group context led to acculturation attitudes strongly supportive of heritage culture maintenance, while in the intra-group condition it was the opposite.

The concept of minority is not necessarily linked with the number of elements, but rather with the social position of the minority group, which considers itself as such by common bonds of race, nationality, skin colour, origin and language (Tajfel,1978; Rotheram and Phinney 1987), and tends to be associated with negative stereotypes and discrimination, which is a well-documented factor (Verkyuten,1998). Phinney (1990) remarks that both Tajfel (1978) and Lewin (1948) had already discussed multiple identification as potentially harmful to the development of identity in ethnic group members, due to its conflict potential in terms of attitudes, values and behaviour.

Ros, Huici & Gomez (2000), analysing this issue, compared regional and national identity and found that the identification with Spain does influence the predominance of the regional category. They interpreted the results in the light of Berry's Sociological Model of Acculturation developed by Berry and collaborators (1986) and described by Phinney (1990). This model suggests that strong identification with the majority and the ethnic group may lead to different orientations: acculturation, integration and biculturalism. The opposite leads to assimilation. Weak identification with the majority and strong identification with the ethnic group results in ethnic identification, ethnic involvement,

separation or dissociation. If identification is weak with both, there is marginalisation. In a context of discrimination, it is vital that adolescents feel proud of their ethnic culture, because it contributes to developing adaptation strategies as Spencer (1987) notes.

Zagefka and Brown (2002), comparing the attitude of adolescent immigrants in Germany with those of the host society, found that they both preferred the strategy of integration. However, the host society considers that immigrants are involved in strategies of culture maintenance despite their choice of integration. They emphasise that is important to look at the context, namely the perception of the out-group, in order to promote a better fit between groups.

Crisp and Hewstone (2000, 2001) argued that it is vital to verify empirically in what measure cognitive or motivational processes affect patterns of discrimination in order to develop interventions addressed to reducing it.

Hypotheses

In line with the considerations noted above, and considering school achievement as a Social Integration measure during adolescence, we expected that adolescents with a high level of Portuguese and Cape-Verdean identity (dual identity) will not display favouritism towards any group, and that they will show higher levels of school achievement than the other social identity groups.

Adolescents with a high level of Cape-Verdean identity and a low level of Portuguese identity (ethnic) were expected to display more in-group favouritism, and to show higher levels of school achievement, because adolescents who are not proud of their own culture are in a risky socialisation process (Spencer, 1987).

It was anticipated that adolescents with high Portuguese and low Cape-Verdean identity (national) would display favouritism towards the Portuguese group, as identification with the higher status group reinforces positive social identity, and that they would show lower levels of school achievement than those referred in the preceding hypothesis, and higher levels than those with low Portuguese and Cape-Verdean Identity (rejection of either identity).

Finally, we thought that adolescents with both low Portuguese and low Cape-Verdean identity would not display favouritism towards any of the groups, and would show the lowest school achievement levels.

Method

We carried out a correlational study in order to relate adolescents' identities with school achievement and in-group favouritism: this was preceded by a qualitative study concerning the most salient characteristics attributed to the Portuguese and to the Cape-Verdeans.

Instruments and procedures

The qualitative study consisted of 29 semi-structured interviews with individual. These asked two main questions – 'What is a Cape-Verdean person', ' What is a Portuguese person'. Two independent judges were asked to separate the resulting adjectives and attributes into categories for each of the groups according to a semantic criterion. Inter-judge reliability was very high (.90).

The correlational study was carried out using a questionnaire in which a set of 23 identity statements which emerged from the preceding study were answered on a social identity scale ranging from 1= *I don't belong to this group* to 4= *I belong to this group and that is very important to me,* Monteiro, Lima & Vala,1991).

The in-group favouritism, and evaluation of an ideal person using the same attributes. Five attributes were positive (friendly, hard-working, kind, sociable, cautious); two were negative (violent, arrogant).

In the correlational study there were 122 student participants in grades 7, 8 and 9, aged from 12 to 18 years old, from both sexes. All were born in Portugal, were children of Cape-Verdean immigrants, and had Portuguese nationality.

Results and discussion

To determine the representational structure of the social identities being surveyed, a factorial analysis was carried out followed by Varimax rotation. Four factors with an internal consistency higher than .60 (Cronbach Alpha) were isolated, but only two were relevant for subsequent analysis:

- Cape-Verdean Identity (20.1% of the variance) includes stereotypical attributes of the Cape-Verdean;
- Portuguese Identity (17.9% of the variance), because it refers explicitly to 'Portuguese People'.

To build the four identity groups: National (low CV–high PT); Dual (high CV and PT); Ethnic (high CV–low PT); Rejection of Either Identity (low CV and PT), the Cape-Verdean and the Portuguese Identity distributions were split into scores above and below the scale's theoretical median value.

The definition of educational achievement was based on the chronological age of the individuals and their degree of deviation from the mean age of individuals in the three grades sampled. The variable was computed in three levels – high, regular and under-achievement.

Computing educational achievement together for the three grades (ANOVA) showed that, although the value of F is not sufficient to differentiate the groups, individuals in the National identity group display better educational achievement than individuals under the Dual identity group (Table 1). These results do not support our hypothesis, which anticipated higher school attainment in the latter group. Similar scores were recorded for the Ethnic and Rejection of Either Identity groups, contrary to our hypothesis that anticipated individuals with Ethnic Identity would display better educational achievement than individuals in the Rejection of Either Identity group. This group also failed to follow the marginalisation trend suggested by Berry and Col in 1986. These findings bring forth two issues for future surveys: firstly whether individuals who reject both an Ethnic and a National dimension in the shaping of their social identity adopt other identities and, if so, which ones, and secondly, that educational achievement *per se* may not constitute a satisfactory form of social integration.

The results for the 7th grade showed that attainment by the Dual identity group was significantly lower than that for the Ethnic and National identity groups, and the

Rejection of Either Identity group was not differentiated from the other three groups. Educational achievement in the 8th and 9th grades did not show significant variations.

Our findings do not confirm the assumption that individuals with better educational achievement have a higher Ethnic and National Identity because they are better adjusted socially (Cross,1987), since the Dual identity group is not the one with the best educational achievement.

Table 1: Identity/Educational Achievement

Identity/Level attended	Rejection of either identity	Ethnic	National	Dual	N	F	G.L.	p
Achievement at 7th, 8th and 9th grades	2.05 (ab)	2.07 (ab)	2.50 (b)	1.92 (a)	115	1.93	3.114	0.12
7th grade	2.13 (ab)	2.38 (b)	2.50 (b)	1.62 (a)	47	4.01	3.46	0.01
8th grade	1.67 (a)	1.64 (a)	2.00 (a)	2.09 (a)	31	0.61	3.30	0.81
9th grade	2.25 (a)	2.30 (a)	3.00 (a)	2.19 (a)	37	0.77	3.36	0.52

Identities and in-group bias

Using the above-mentioned attributes, two in-group bias scores were computed: positive and negative attributes of both target groups, and difference between the attributes of an ideal person and the target group's ratings. The internal consistency of positive and negative attributes has been checked (Cronbach Alphas, .73, .59).

To measure the effect of identities on in-group favouritism, a MANOVA of 4 (Identity) x 2 (target groups) x 2 (attribute valence), was carried out where valence and target groups were within subjects variables. The findings showed a main effect of valence ($F_{(3,111)}=37,05$, p=.000), where both groups were better evaluated through positive ($M_{Pos}=3.40$) than through negative attributes ($M_{Neg}=2.55$) and a main effect of Identity ($F_{(3,111)}=3.01$, p=.03). This effect indicated that, regardless of the type of measure, attributes were higher in the Dual identity group (M=3.14) than in the Rejection (M=2.77) and in the Ethnic (M=2.77) identity groups, with National Identity (M=2.99) being similar to the other groups.

Participants valued the positive attributes and undervalued the negative, and both target groups were perceived in the same way. The univariate analyses carried out to better interpret such differences showed a more crossed pattern of findings. Negative attributes were identical for all identity categories while positive attributes, especially when the target was Cape-Verdeans, were different ($F_{(3,111)}=3.68$, p=.01). Participants in the Dual identity group valued the Cape-Verdean target better (M=3.68) than did participants in the Rejection (M=3.14) and in the National (M=3.01) identity groups, while scores of the Ethnic group (M=3.46) were similar to the rest. The predicted non-occurrence of in-group favouritism in the Dual identity and Rejection groups were only partially substantiated. In fact, participants in the Dual identity condition displayed higher evaluations with both positive and negative attributes. Participants in the National and Ethnic identity conditions did not present any difference in evaluations of in-group and out-group.

Direct evaluation is an explicit measure of potential bias because it is subject to more immediate cognitive control, so an implicit measure was introduced which consisted of the difference between the Ideal person and the target groups' positive and negative attributes.

A MANOVA was carried out using a 4 (identity) x 2 (target groups) x 2 (attribute valence) factorial design, in which the two last factors were within subjects variables. The results showed a main effect of valence ($F_{(1,109)}$=105,15, p=.000), where both in-group and out-group were better evaluated through positive (M_{Pos}=.61) than through negative attributes (M_{Neg}= -1.05).

In summary, in the comparison with the ideal person (implicit Bias measure), the most significant difference occurred when surveying the Cape-Verdeans. Sharing a National identity had two consequences: discrimination against the Cape-Verdeans in terms of positive attributes, and against the Portuguese in terms of negative attributes. In this case, the implicit measure highlighted a result that was not demonstrated by the explicit measures. In trying to understand the reason why individuals who perceived themselves as Portuguese and prized membership of this group made such a discrimination, we were led to Saint-Maurice's claim (1997) that the Portuguese nationality is instrumental for Cape-Verdeans because it brings advantages in terms of social integration.

Conclusion

We believe this study contributes to asserting multicultural identity as an important concept from a theoretical standpoint in SIT's framework; integration policies of ethnic minorities.

In grade 7 the students belonging to the Dual identity group had the lowest educational achievement, contrasting with those in the National and Ethnic identity groups. These individuals would therefore be adopting a strategy of Social Change (Tajfel:1978) or Assimilation (Berry and col.:1986, quoted by Phinney 1990).

The association between the adoption of a dual identity and the younger students' underachievement results brings up some important questions. Does a Dual identity represent a beneficial cognitive integration, or does it represent a dysfunctional conflict of saliencies? At what stage in the individual's development is the consciousness of his/her Ethnic identity relevant for social identity, and what relationship is there between this and the integration strategies adopted by the individual?

If in-group favouritism hypotheses are not corroborated in real group correlational studies, as occurred in this research, an explanation might be the use of inadequate methodologies, as suggested by Brown (2000). Our study is also relevant to this discussion because, in using different measures - explicit and implicit evaluations - we found differences in terms of favouritism strategies. The findings showed a different use of the attributes, including the positive and negative attributes determined by their valence. As with the findings of Otten & Mummendey (2000), our results showed no significant differences between the two target groups when evaluated with negative attributes. We conclude that bias towards one's own group does not depend exclusively on valuing the ethnic dimension of identity, and that it is the perception of Dual identity membership that best accounts for in-group favouritism.

These findings may appear contradictory, since individuals do not always show bias in favour of the group with which they perceive greater identification. But the explicit vs. implicit measure distinction and the use of positive vs. negative attributes can help us come to a less contradictory reading of the findings. Given that this is an implicit measure of evaluation, we formulate two questions: do motivational factors overlay normative factors, and what is the meaning of this apparent contradiction between strong identification with the National category and bias in favour of the ethnic group? This contradiction between the level of identification with a certain group and in-group bias has already been pointed out by Oakes and Brown (1986), quoted in Brown (1988), Monteiro, Lima and Vala (1991), Ellemers, Barreto and Spears (1999) and Brown (2000). A possible explanation is in line with Kinket and Verkuyten (1997; 1999); Verkuyten (2000) and Verkuyten and Wolf (2002); this is to pay more attention to variables of a contextual nature such as the relative size of minorities and contexts of non discrimination patterns. Further investigation, carried out to best help understand the nature of the processes of discrimination – motivational or cognitive – seems desirable. As proposed by Crisp and Hewstone (2000;2001), developing these procedures may help to define policies tending to diminish inter-group discrimination.

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