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Abstract

Can school foster identification with the receiving country to the point that second generation immigrants abandon their parents' original national identification? To answer this question, this paper focuses on the case of Catalonia. Catalonia is an interesting case study because it has three key characteristics: first, a center-periphery cleavage; second, regional, rather than central, government is responsible for education; and third, the presence of a significant number of immigrants who moved there from other Spanish regions between the mid-fifties and mid-seventies.

Building on recent empirical works, this paper examines the impact of the language policy that has been implemented in Catalan schools since 1983. The results of the analysis suggest that even if years of schooling can increase the chances that both the children of natives and the children of immigrants develop a bi-national identification, parents’ feeling of ‘being Catalan’ is the key element that fosters Catalan oriented identification among their children. The results also provide evidence in favor of the idea that both immigrant families’ economic progress and immigrant families’ self-selection into neighborhoods with a moderate presence of other immigrants are decisive elements in promoting identification with Catalonia.
INTRODUCTION*

The idea that state institutions and, in particular, the educational system, shape individuals’ identification with the nation is well established in classical studies of nationalism (Smith, 1979; Breuilly, 1982; Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990), as well as in more recent empirical works (Martínez-Herrera, 2002; Penn, 2008; Aspachs-Bracons et al., 2008; Clots-Figuera and Masella, 2009). Despite this, when political sociologist have empirically studied the influence of school upon individuals’ political attitudes, the evidence has been mixed, and not always consistent (Langton and Jennings, 1968; Percheron, 1993; Niemi and Junn, 1998). Conversely, political sociologists do agree on the importance that parents’ socialization has on children’s political attitudes and opinions.

This paper brings together these two schools of literature and contrasts, for the first time, parental and school influence on the configuration of individuals’ national self-identification. The research focuses on Catalonia; a case in which the centre-periphery cleavage, the regional government responsibility for education, and the presence of a very large number of immigrants who moved to Catalonia from other Spanish regions between the mid-fifties and mid-seventies, has meant that family and school messages regarding the nation are not always concurrent. The analysis of the Catalan case also allows me to examine how children of natives and children of immigrants diverge in their feelings towards Catalonia, and to explore hypotheses related to second generations’ acquisition of a Catalan identification.

The paper builds on a recent work in which the authors find that the adoption of an assimilation language policy in Catalan schools has had a profound influence on the promotion of individuals’ identification with Catalonia (Aspachs-Bracons et al., 2008). This work argues as well that exposure to Catalan in school has even fostered a Catalan identity among individuals belonging to families with a Spanish origin (Aspachs-Bracons et al., 2008; Clots-Figuera and Masella, 2009). By closely analyzing the Catalan case, I here test the influence of the school against that of the parents. The paper questions Aspachs-Bracons et al.’s and Clots-Figuera and Masella’s works, and contends that the omission of key variables such as: the social composition of the neighborhood in which children grow up and, even more importantly, the parents’ national identification, introduces a bias with a positive sign in favor of school influence.

The paper draws on data from the ‘Panel de Desigualtats a Catalunya, Fundació Jaume Bofill, 2001-2005’, which is a household survey that includes information on the national identification of all members of a household aged 16 or over. The empirical analysis examines the determinants of the national identification of Catalan-born individuals who reached the age of 18 between 1983 and 2005. I perform a multinomial logistic analysis to estimate the influence of parents’ identification and schooling years on the probability that the offspring generation identifies itself as: ‘primarily Spanish’; ‘more Catalan than Spanish’; or ‘only Catalan’. The influence of peers will be very roughly captured by a variable that provides information on the immediate context of individuals: namely the immigrant composition of the neighborhood. Other agents of socialization, such as the television, for

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example, are assumed to be captured by the parents’ national identification.\(^1\)

The results of the analysis suggest that even if the introduction of education in Catalan in schools helps to explain, on the one hand, differences in the national identification between those individuals who completed their whole education under the new educational system, and those who did not, and, on the other, the decrease in the number of ‘primarily Spanish’ identifiers among the younger generations; they also imply that the years of schooling do not have the degree of impact suggested by previous works.

Two reasons explain the limited influence of school. First, the influence of school years on the promotion of Catalan identification is contingent upon the immediate context in which children live, in which they socialize with other children, and in which they go to school. Therefore, when children go to schools in neighborhoods in which the presence of immigrants is moderate, post-compulsory years of schooling\(^2\) can foster a more Catalan oriented identification. Conversely, when children go to schools in which there are no immigrants, or in which the number of immigrants reaches 35% or over, the years of post-compulsory education do not seem to be related with greater Catalan identification.\(^3\) This finding seems to indicate that it is not only exposure to the Catalan language and to Catalan culture in school that promotes individuals’ Catalan identification, but the contact with other Catalan identifiers.

Second, the effect of the school is limited because parents are the key agents that affect their children’s Catalan oriented identification. So, in those families in which parents identify themselves as ‘primarily Catalan’, the school ‘national’ socialization effect is null. Any additional

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1 In my sample, individuals’ consumption of Catalan or Spanish television correlates very strongly with the mother’s national identification.

2 Here we refer to years of schooling in lower and upper secondary education. We exclude from the analyses the years of higher education.

3 In this paper, when I refer to immigrants, I am referring to individuals born in other Spanish regions that are different from Catalonia.

year of schooling beyond compulsory education can increase the probability that children of immigrants feel ‘as Spanish as Catalan’; however, and contrary to what Aspachs-Bracons et al. (2008) have claimed, my results suggest that school is not able to foster a more Catalan oriented identification among these children, once I control for their parents’ national identification.

The paper is organized as follows. The following section reviews the literature on the formation of political orientations as it relates to national identification. The third section contextualizes the study. The hypotheses are presented in section four. After presenting the data, the dependent and independent variables are introduced. Section six examines the similarity of national identification for parents and children. Section seven contrasts the effect that the school and the parents have in individuals’ national identification. Finally, section eight discusses the results and concludes.

**WHERE DOES INDIVIDUALS’ NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION COME FROM?**

‘One of the first features of a child’s political involvement is his sense of belonging to a political unit. Although it is difficult to obtain evidence on the nature of this early attachment, interview material and early questionnaires indicated that in the United States the young child develops a sense of ‘we’ in relation to his country and a sense of ‘they’ with respect to other countries’ (Hess and Torney, 1967, 31).

Even though the study of how national identification is shaped is not the purpose of this paper, it may be worth devoting some space to explain this process.\(^4\)

According to Hess and Torney (1967, 33-37), the development of individuals’ national identification occurs in three-

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4 As far as I am aware, the few pages that Hess and Torney (1967, 33-37) devote to the formation of individuals’ identification with the nation are the only pages in the political socialization literature that deal specifically with the formation of a national identity.
stages: a first stage in which children learn that national symbols are anchors for attachment, a second in which children add cognitive significance to these symbols, and a final stage in which children become aware of the existence of a system of countries.\(^5\)

However, where do these affective bonds to the nation and related cognitive substance come from? The literature on political socialization has traditionally pointed to the family and to the school as the main sources of attitude formation. Hence, family and school should also play a leading role in the shaping of children’s national identification.

Identification with the nation may be learned through the mechanisms of classical conditioning to which Hess and Torney (1967, 107-111) referred in the ‘The Development of Political Attitudes in Children’: namely direct teaching, emulation and adjustment of expectations. At home, parents’ purposive transmission of their national allegiances, the emulation of their parents’ cultural practices, and children’s adjustment to family expectations about national loyalty, would all point to the belief that children learn and then internalize their parents’ national identity.

Children’s national allegiances can also be shaped through other indirect mechanisms. According to Jennings and Niemi (1974) and Glass et al. (1986), the inheritance of certain social attributes, such as social status, would cause that children develop the same political preferences as their parents. Although it is unclear how the transmission of social resources impact on the formation of a particular national identification, it could be argued that the inheritance of certain attributes, such as mother tongue, mediates the formation of individuals’ national identification. This is particularly true in the context of minority groups where the transmission of the minority language is connected to the formation and maintenance of an ethnic identity (Rumbaut, 1994; Phinney et al., 2001).

At school, ‘national’ socialization has been thought to take place through exposure and indoctrination (Martinez-Herrera, 2002). On the one hand, the displaying of the flag, the singing of the national anthem, the drawing of the national flag or other expressions of hot nationalism would help children to become familiar with the nation’s symbols. Furthermore, the school curriculum and, in particular, the history, geography, literature and language courses at school would provide children and adolescents’ attachment to the nation with substantial content. Yet, the national content of these subjects should be stronger in those contexts in which there is a centre-periphery cleavage, than in contexts where national identity is not contested and, therefore, the nationalist potential of these subjects is more banal.

In fact, the function that education has had in the promotion of national consciousness is supposed to vary depending on which institution has responsibility for education. So, while for the state’s agents, secular education and schooling would have been viewed as a key instrument to achieve the political socialization and assimilation of the ethnolinguistic minorities—and to secure, therefore, the nation’s cultural homogeneity— for the ethnolinguistic minorities, education would have been envisaged as a means of achieving political emancipation and promoting their own national identity (Tomiak and Kazamias, 1991, 8-10).

However, and despite the influence that school presumably should have on individuals’ national identification, as I mentioned above, the literature on political

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\(^5\) Hess and Torney’s (1967) quote indicates that this kind of social identification is developed in early middle childhood. However, the precise moment in which national identity or other kind of group oriented attitudes are formed is disputed. Previous works have examined this question by investigating the formation of ethnic identity among minority group members and second generations. These works have reached different conclusions; so, while Phinney (1989) argues that adolescence is the time during which individuals explore and commit to an ethnic identity, Aboud and Doyle (1993), Akiba et al. (2004) and Marks et al. (2007) have found evidence in favor of the idea that individuals’ self-recognition and self-identification with their parents’ country of origin occurs earlier in life.
socialization has not paid much attention to the ‘national’ socialization role of the school. Conversely, this literature has focused on examining the role that civics courses play in shaping adolescents’ political knowledge, political interest or political efficacy. Evidence on the influence of school is, however, mixed. On the one hand, Langton and Jennings (1968, 866) and Jennings et al. (1974) have argued that the civics curriculum’s leverage on adolescents’ political knowledge, political interest or political efficacy is limited, and mediated by children’s background. In particular, these authors have argued that school substitutes parents’ political socialization in deprived families. Conover and Searing (2000) and Hart and Atkins (2002) are, however, less positive regarding the counteracting influence that school can have among those children who come from deprived ethnic enclaves; as the schools these children attend are, with a high probability, ‘failing’ schools.

At odds with these works, Westholm et al. (1990) and Niemi and Junn (1998) have claimed that the civics curriculum and history courses do actually have an effect on all teenagers’ level of political knowledge. Ultimately, the fact that school makes more use of indoctrination than any of the other mechanisms of political socialization would explain why schools have been found to be more successful in the transmission of political information, than in the shaping of actual political attitudes and beliefs (Ehman, 1980, 113).  

In this same direction, Percheron (1993) has also contended that the influence that school has upon students’ political opinions is considerably less than parents’. According to Percheron (1993, 16-17,147-148), four reasons explain the lesser impact of the French school on the political opinions of children. First, the laïcité and neutralité principles of the French school mean that political training is undertaken outside the school. Second, the teaching method as inculcation is seen as a less successful method of teaching than that of simple emulation which, according to Percheron, is a much more common mechanism of socialization within the family. Third, the fact that many students develop distant attitudes, and even hostility, towards their teachers. And finally, the multiplicity and heterogeneity of teachers’ political positions.

Nevertheless, even if school has a limited influence on the formation of children’s political orientations and in the configuration of children’s political opinions, school would still be expected to have a significant influence on the shaping of individuals’ national identification. This is, in fact, the position of the literature on nationalism that has linked the expansion of education to the process of language standardization and the formation of a collective national consciousness (Hans, 1949; Miliband, 1969; Weber, 1976; Seton-Watson, 1977; Smith, 1979; Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990).

Recent works have also argued that beyond the role that education has historically performed in the formation of collective national-state consciousness, school also has a say in the formation of individuals’ actual identification with stateless nations. So, Martínez-Herrera (2002) has argued that education is an instrument through which decentralized regional institutions, with educational responsibilities, model individuals’ identification with the region. Furthermore, according to Martínez-Herrera (2005, 209) in multinational countries, the fostering of individuals’ identification with the nation would not only occur through a process of indoctrination, but also through the learning of the vernacular language in school.

Specifically, with the goal of examining the impact that exposure to the vernacular language in school has on individuals’ national identification, Aspachs-Bracons et al. (2008) have compared two settings in which a language reform was implemented at the same time: Catalonia and the Basque Country. While the reform in Catalonia made teaching in the vernacular language compulsory, in the Basque Country parents were allowed to choose the language in which their children would be eventually educated. From the comparison of these two cases, the authors show that

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6 Ehman (1980) argues that teaching methods or classroom climate should have a greater impact than the curriculum on the formation of certain political attitudes.
assimilation settings are more successful than multicultural settings when promoting identification with the ‘state-less’ nation. Moreover, Aspachs-Bracons et al.’s and Clots-Figueras and Masella’s results indicate that compulsory language policies can counter the effect of the family’s immigrant origin, while non-compulsory language policies produce a sorting of students in the different school models, thereby canceling out the school effect.

However, while these empirical works have made an important contribution in explaining the role that schooling can eventually have in the shaping of national identification, they have overlooked the role that parents perform in the formation of their offspring’s national identification. However, by focusing on institutions and leaving aside the family, these studies could be playing down the importance of the family as an agent of ‘national’ socialization.

Nevertheless, the number of works that have looked empirically into the role that parents have when shaping their offspring’s national identification is noticeably scant. Two studies deserve attention here. In ‘La Reproducción del Nacionalismo. El caso Vasco’, Pérez-Agote (1984) examines the reproduction of Basque national identity within the repressive environment of Franco’s dictatorship. Using in-depth interviews, Pérez-Agote explains how Basque parents made use of different strategies to deal with the dictatorship’s linguistic, cultural and political repression.

Basque citizens’ ‘weapons of the weak’ ranged from accommodation strategies, such as self-imposed silence within the family, to the use of violence (Pérez-Agote, 1984, 88-105).

Using the same household data that I employ in this paper, Rico and Jennings (forthcoming) have also examined the intergenerational transmission of national identification within the Catalan family. By comparing the transmission of national identification with the transmission of other political orientations, Rico and Jennings (forthcoming) find that parents in Catalunya are more successful when passing on their national identification to their children, than when transmitting other allegiances (such as social class identification, left-right orientation, or religious practices). The authors’ analyses lead them to conclude, in agreement with Jennings and Niemi (1974, 153-178) and Tedin (1980), that parents’ concurrence regarding national identification enhance parent-child similarity in their national identification. Moreover, they find that it is the same-sex parent which seems to be the main agent fostering offspring’s identification.

The study of how family and education together influence individuals’ ethnic and national identification mainly comes from the literature addressing the study of immigrant minorities in the United States. These works, however, focus on the study of minorities, and do not compare contrast the role of these two agents of socialization on the children of natives.

A number of studies in this area have emphasized the decisive role that parents play in shaping their children’s ethnic/national identity (Alba, 1990; Knight et al., 1993; Hurtado et al., 1994; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Parents transmit ethnic content to their children through their childrearing practices, and enculturate and socialize their children into their own ethnic culture. At the same time, non-familial agents transmit to these ethnic minority children the dominant culture content fostering, in this way, children’s acculturation or re-socialization into the dominant culture (Knight et al., 1993, 108-109). Social learning and the development of different cognitive adaptation

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7 In his comparative study of the Irish and the Basque Country policies of language recovery in school, Mezo (1996) claims that the voluntary and incentivized schooling in Basque has been more effective than the compulsory schooling in Irish when promoting the language recovery in schools. However, this work does not enter into an examination of these policies effectiveness in the promotion of the general use of Irish or Basque, and neither does it look into the influence of these policies on individuals’ identification.

8 Although Martínez-Herrera (2002) and Aspachs-Bracons et al. (2008) introduce the family origin as an element influencing national identification, they do not examine the parents’ role on the formation of individuals’ national identification.
mechanisms to multi-ethnic environments would model the minority children’s attitudes, values and identification choices (Knight et al., 1993).

In particular, some of these studies have shown that education does not only favor children’s exposure to the host society’s values and lifestyles, but it also promotes identification with the host nation, in a direct (Rogler et al., 1980; Casey and Dustmann, 2010) or indirect way, through the learning of the receiving society language (Rogler et al., 1980). Some other works have also argued that the influence that education has on second generation nation/ethnic identification choices is mediated by the immediate context in which children grow up (Lin et al., 2006; Rico and Jennings, forthcoming). When second generation children are concentrated in schools in which they are surrounded by children with similar backgrounds, stimuli leading to an acculturation process will be limited. In contrast, when second generation children come into contact with children from the mainstream culture, contact has been considered to foster either second generation’s openness to the new culture, or children’s ethnic awareness (Umaña Taylor, 2004; Supple et al., 2006).

Some authors have argued that biculturalism is more likely to emerge in these multicultural contexts (Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997). Others, on the contrary, have claimed that second generations can follow multidirectional tracks as they mature (Portes and Zhou, 1993). These various tracks have three possible main directions: a path of upward mobility into the white middle-class majority, a path of downward mobility into the underclass, or a path of economic advancement and ethnic awareness. While the first process can lead to what Gordon (1964) referred to as ‘identificational assimilation’, it is hard to believe that the other two processes lead to the same result. In fact – and contrary to the idea that the immigrants’ structural assimilation into the receiving society is a linear process– we now know that the process of immigrants and second generations incorporation into the receiving society differs among immigrant families, and that it depends on the receiving society’s immigration policies (Berry, 1984; Bourhis et al., 1997; Nauck, 2001).

Building on this broad discussion and on previous empirical work, this paper contrasts, for the first time, the impact that family and school have upon children of natives and children of immigrants’ identification with two territories: Spain and Catalonia. Although school and family messages regarding the nation are very often concurrent; in those polities in which the idea of the nation is contested or in those contexts in which immigrants participate in the mainstream educational system, the messages that family and school deliver about the nation are not necessarily the same. In these circumstances, as I have argued above, schooling should play a significant role in the promotion of individuals’ identification with the nation that has the education responsibilities. By focusing on the case of Catalonia, I will be able to explore various hypothesis related to children’s acquisition of a Catalan identification, to examine how immigrants and their children diverge in their feelings toward Catalonia, and to contrast the influence that parents and school have on individuals’ identification with Spain and Catalonia.

However before doing so, in the next section, I contextualize my case of study.

A NOTE ON THE CONTEXT

When the Convergence and Union (CiU, Convergència i Unió) coalition won the first regional elections in 1980, one of its main goals was the restoration of Catalan identity. This goal was part of the National Reconstruction project that sought to reverse forty years of Francoist repression of the Catalan identity. Enhancement of the Catalan identity made necessary the normalization of the use of Catalan language.

However, the promotion of Catalan identification, in general, and of the learning of the Catalan language among the Catalan population, in particular, was not an easy task. On the one hand, the Catalan population comprised a large number of immigrants from the less developed and impoverished regions of Spain, who had arrived between the mid-fifties and mid-
seventies. The majority of these newcomers were low-educated Castilian speakers, who concentrated themselves in Castilian speaking neighborhoods in the industrial outskirts of the main Catalan cities, and who worked in industries where the Catalan language and culture was completely absent.

Additionally, Franco’s legacy also made the promotion of the Catalan identity difficult. For almost forty years the dictatorship had tried to impose Spanish identity. In schools, Franco’s regime had tried to legitimize the National Movement and to promote Spanish nationalism. The Catalan language had been forbidden in schools, Catalan writers had sunk into oblivion, and Catalonia’s past had been erased from history courses (Calzada and Llorens, 1995, 30-31). In this way, the repression of the Catalan language during Franco’s dictatorship did not only prevent post-war generations being educated in Catalan, but it also reinforced immigrants’ alienation from the Catalan language and Catalan culture (Conversi, 1997, 208).

The relaxing of the prohibition of the use of Catalan in the sixties was followed in 1970 by a new education law (the General Law of Education, LGE) that authorized the teaching of Catalan, although the implementation of this law was delayed (Woolard, 1989, 29). In fact, five years later, in 1975, a new regulation established that the promotion of vernacular languages in schools would only have an experimental and voluntary character (Calzada and Llorens, 1995, 221). So, even though some of the initial regulations of Josep Tarradellas’ transitional government sought to extend the presence of the Catalan language in schools (Argelaguet i Argemí, 1999, 110), by 1980, when responsibility for education was transferred to CiU’s Catalan government, the actual number of schools in which Catalan was taught was still very reduced.

In 1983, with broad support, a new Law of Language Normalization was approved by the Catalan Parliament (Lo Cascio, 2008, 126). This law promoted a generalized bilingual model of school. The new law mandated that, besides a course on the Catalan language, one basic subject (either social or natural sciences) should be taught in Catalan in the primary schools. On the other hand, in secondary schools, at least two subjects (from natural sciences, drawing, history or mathematics) should be taught in Catalan. The law aimed at making Catalan progressively the language of instruction in all the educational levels and courses, and expanding the knowledge and use of Catalan. Ultimately, the Law sought immigrants and their descendants’ assimilation into Catalonia (Keating, 1996).

However, the implementation of the law in Catalan schools had to surmount significant difficulties. First, at the beginning of the eighties, Spanish-speaking students were the majority in 31% of the schools (Linz, 1985, 470). In these schools, the high rates of Spanish-speaking students made teaching in Catalan difficult. On the one hand, these children had more problems learning a language that was different from their mother tongue, and on the other, they were very possibly receiving fewer stimuli from the surrounding environment to motivate its learning and, more specifically, its use. In fact, the use of the Catalan language in school was strongly related to the social status of the students’ families: so, while Spanish-speaking middle class students adopted Catalan quite rapidly,

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9 Cabré and Pujadas (1984) have calculated that the balance of migration between Catalonia the rest of Spain was 1,160,316 individuals between 1951 and 1970. In 1975, the percentage of the population who had not been born in Catalonia comprised 39% of the total population (Conversi, 1997). These figures were even higher in the province of Barcelona, where immigrants constituted 42% of the population (Cabrè, 1999). In some areas of Barcelona’s industrial belt, as happened in the Cornellà, for example, the non-native population amounted to 78.4% of the total population (Conversi, 1997).

10 It is worth noting that the teaching of Catalan in school was only allowed, and encouraged, during the period of the Second Republic.

11 These schools were the Col·lectiu d’Escoles per l’Escola Pública Catalana (Collective for the Catalan Public School), which comprised eighty Catalan oriented and progressive school cooperatives (Lo Cascio, 2008, 194).

12 Article 6 of the September 8, 1983 Order on the implementation of the Language Normalization Law in Primary and Secondary School.
lower class students resisted speaking it (Woolard, 2003, 94). After all, even if students perceived that the learning of the Catalan language had a ‘premium’ (Linz, 1985, 479); Catalan was completely unnecessary for working class students in their neighborhoods, and in the kind of jobs in which these children aspired to work in the future (Woolard, 2003).

A second problem with the implementation of the law in the schools was teachers’ limited competence in Catalan. On the one hand, many primary and secondary teachers, who were immigrants themselves, were also Castilian-speakers.

I remember my fourth grade teacher, for example. She was from Lago de Sanabria, near Leon. Because she was responsible of teaching all the subjects, she taught us Catalan while she was learning Catalan herself. [Interview number 8, male, born in Catalonia, 35 years old, immigrant parents].

On the other hand, neither did native Catalans who had become teachers during the dictatorship possess fluent Catalan. In the 1977-78 school year, 48% of primary school teachers stated that they could not speak Catalan well, and 20% of this group admitted that they could not understand Catalan (Argelaguet i Argemí, 1999, 142-3). The acquisition of competence to teach in Catalan was a smoothy and, on many occasions, a costly process for teachers. Nevertheless, by the 1986-7 school year, 87.38% of primary school teachers stated that they felt competent in Catalan (Argelaguet i Argemí, 1999, 143).

Taking into account these changes, and from what has been discussed in the previous section, I present in the next section some expectations regarding the influence that parents and schooling should have when shaping individuals’ national identification.

**HYPOTHESES**

As mentioned above, this paper’s goal is to test parents and school influence upon individuals’ national identification. However before presenting this paper’s hypotheses, I would like to make clear that here I am especially interested in learning about the role of the years’ of school, and not about the role of education. This clarification is relevant as education and identification with Catalonia are strongly correlated. This correlation, however, does not necessarily show the effect of a socialization process, but the effect of a selection process, as the children of natives achieve higher education in a greater proportion than the children of working class immigrants.

Two sets of hypothesis will be presented in this section. The first set of hypotheses relates to family influence and, the second set refers to the role of schooling. The last hypotheses in this section will try to disentangle whether parents and school have a separate influence on individuals’ identification.

I start, therefore, with a first hypothesis on the family’s background and, more specifically, on the impact that the family’s economic status has on the modeling of individual identification. Although the relationship between certain familial characteristics, such as the parents’ identification or the family origin, and offspring’s identification with Spain and Catalonia is well known and does not need further elaboration (Aspachs-Bracons et al. 2008, Clots-Figueras and Masella, 2009; Rico and Jennings, forthcoming); the relationship between the family’s economic background and individuals’ Spanish or Catalan identity has not yet been established. Rico and Jennings (forthcoming) have also tested the influence that the family economic background has on individual identification. Nevertheless, the authors have not found any positive or negative influence of family’s economic background on their offspring’s identification. Here, however, I am interested in testing the impact that the economic status of immigrant families has on their children’s national identification. In agreement with Rumbaut (1994, 756) who has argued that the children of better-off immigrant families remain attached to their parents’ national identification, I can hypothesize that:

*Hypothesis 1a:* The children of better-off immigrant parents will be more
likely to exhibit stronger identification with Spain.

On the other hand, and in line with Hogg et al.’s (1995, 260) idea that social mobility can make members of a low-status group adopt the identity of high-status group members, I expect that:

**Hypothesis 1b:** Children from immigrant families, who perform better, in economic terms, will show stronger identification with Catalonia.

The economic promotion of immigrants who came to Catalonia from the less developed and impoverished regions of Spain can make them feel grateful to the receiving society for their social progress (external attribution). This gratitude can turn into a positive image towards Catalonia, and can make immigrants more attached to it. Parents’ positive feelings towards Catalonia can be passed on to their children. If this is the case, we should observe, as hypothesis 1b suggests, that children of immigrant families who are better-off, identify more with Catalonia.

The second set of hypotheses refers to the influence of school. I have already discussed in section 2 of this paper the idea that school is an agent of ‘national’ socialization. Through the teaching of history, geography, literature and language, schools provide cognitive content to children’s psychological attachment to the nation. Moreover, as language not only performs a communicative function, but is also the most distinctive symbol – a ‘core value’ of the Catalan collective identity that carries with it an emotional and affective load (Woolard, 1989; Barrera, 1985; Conversi, 1997) – exposure to the Catalan language should foster stronger identification with Catalonia. Moreover, the greater presence of ‘primarily Catalan’ identifiers among Catalonia’s school teachers should potentially have a say in the configuration of individuals’ identification with Catalonia (Miley, 2006).

The changes introduced in the Catalan school after the Law of Language Normalization was implemented in schools (1983) undoubtedly had a significant impact on the spread of the knowledge of Catalan, as the Catalan linguistic censuses have reported. However; Did school have a similar impact on the promotion of identification with Catalonia?

Aspachs-Bracons et al. (2008) and Clots-Figueras and Masella (2009) have shown that differential exposure to Catalan in school explains the differences in the probability of identifying with Catalonia among those individuals who were educated before and after the implementation of the Law of Language Normalization, and among those who remained for longer in the educational system after 1983. In the empirical analysis of my data, I will also test the impact of the reform under the expectation that:

**Hypothesis 2a:** For those children who were educated after the Law of Language Normalization was implemented, school will have a different impact than for those who started their education before that date.

**Hypothesis 2b:** For those children who were educated after the Law of Language Normalization was implemented, each year of additional schooling will positively influence their identification with Catalonia.

However, school is also a general context for socialization and so, it can also contribute to the fostering of Catalan identification by promoting contact

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13 In addition to this, Woolard and Gahng (1990) have shown that language policies have also influenced the symbolic meanings that people attribute to the Catalan and Spanish languages, and also to the attitudes that individuals attribute to the speakers of that language (status assessments and solidarity bents).

14 Exposure to Catalan in school varies according to the child’s year of birth and to the years children remained in school. So, those individuals who were born after 1977 would have completed their education in a bilingual educational system, while those who were born before will have had heterogeneous exposure to bilingual education, depending on whether they also completed secondary education or whether they dropped out of school before 1983.
between immigrant children and children who already feel Catalan. As I have argued in a previous section, in Catalonia, school composition is heterogeneous and contingent on the composition of the neighborhood in which children live. So even though bilingual education was introduced in Catalonia in all schools after 1983, in the playgrounds, and even sometimes in school classes, Spanish remained, for some years, the predominant language of communication in those classes in which children with an immigrant background concentrated. Therefore, the influence of school in the promotion of identification with Catalonia should vary according to the composition of the neighborhood in which individuals went to school. Thus, I expect that the effect of school will be limited in those neighborhoods where individuals of immigrant origin concentrated. Neither do I expect that the influence of school will be that relevant in those neighborhoods in which most of the population was born in Catalonia, as the students who attend these schools already bring to their classes a Catalan identity that has been fostered by their own families. According to this, I conjecture that:

**Hypothesis 3**: the years of schooling will positively affect individuals’ identification with Catalonia only in those neighborhoods where the presence of people born in other regions of Spain is moderate.

The final hypotheses relates to the joint effect of the school and the parents. In principle, we can think that in those families, in which parents already have a Catalan identification, the ‘national’ socialization role of the school would be redundant and, therefore, I expect that:

**Hypothesis 4**: the school influence diminishes once parents’ national identification is taken into account.

However, among immigrant families, in which the parents have a predominantly Spanish or ‘bi-national’ identification, the school could perform a more significant role when fostering children’s identification with Catalonia. Therefore, I expect that:

**Hypothesis 5**: the school influence will be greater in the children of families with an immigrant background than in the children of native’ families.

If this was the case, as Aspachs-Bracons et al. (2008) and Clots-Figueras and Masella (2009) results suggest, we could confirm that the Catalan school counteracts immigrant parents as agents of ‘national’ socialization.

**DATA AND VARIABLES**

**Data**

In this paper I draw on household data from the ‘Panel de Desigualdats a Catalunya (PaD), Fundació Jaume Bofill, onades I’a 4, 2001-2005’. Although the PaD survey was originally designed with the objective of providing information on Catalonia’s inequalities and on the mechanisms and social processes that explain them, the survey also contains information on household members’ national identification and other variables of interest for the purposes of this study.

The original sample of the PaD is representative of the population living in Catalonia, and includes information on 2,000 households and approximately 4,880 individuals.\(^\text{15}\) Data is collected by means of computer assisted face-to-face interviews at the respondents’ houses. Moreover, respondents choose the language in which they are interviewed (Spanish or Catalan), which reduces possible bias in the respondents’ answers to the national identification item. To date, the national identification question has been asked in four waves (2001-02, 2004, 2005 and 2009); although at the time this research was conducted data was only available for the 2001-02, 2004 and 2005 waves.

For this study, I have selected those households in which parents-child relationships were present. This means that those households made up of couples or

\(^{15}\) Only those individuals who were aged fifteen or over at the time of the interview were eligible to answer the individual questionnaire.
single individuals, for instance, were excluded from the analysis. In order to maximize the number of observations, I have pooled the data from the three waves for which this information was available. Whenever information on the national identification of any members of the family was missing in the first wave, either because the child was not yet eligible to answer in the first wave, or because members of the household did not reply to that particular issue in that wave, I have used the data from the subsequent wave that included complete information on all the members of the household (parents and child in two-parent households and father/mother and child in one-parent households). In this way, parents and child observations all come from the same wave.

Only individuals born in Catalonia who were aged between 15 and 39 years old when they were interviewed are included in the analysis. Altogether 490 parent-child pairs are present in the study. When only mother-child or father-child pairs are considered the sample amounts to 588 and 505 cases, respectively. The presence of one-parent families and lack of information on one of the parents explains the differences between these figures.

---

16 Children of immigrants from other countries are not considered in this analysis as the question we are examining here (identification with Spain vis-à-vis identification with Catalonia) commonly lacks of relevance for them. I have also excluded from my analysis first generation Spanish immigrants.

17 Two reasons explain the decision to exclude from the sample those individuals who are older than 39. The number of individuals aged forty years or more in children-parent pairs was very low. Also, in the households where children are older than 39 years old, the probability that parents live at their children’s houses, instead of the other way around, is higher. As this simple fact can have consequences in the direction of the causality mechanism that we are studying, I have preferred to leave these individuals out of the sample.

18 Before excluding the individuals who did not answer this question or answered ‘don’t know’ or ‘none of them’, parent-child pairs made up 643 cases, mother-child made up 628 and father-child pairs made up 538. In total, the number of individuals who did not answer this question or answered ‘don’t know’ or ‘none of them’ in the offspring and in the parents’ generation, amounts to between 16 cases in the mothers group and 29 cases in the offspring group.

19 Although the PaD is a representative sample of the population living in Catalonia, the final sample in this paper is only representative of the cohorts born between 1965 and 1987, aged between 15 and 39 between 2001 and 2005, and within this, of those individuals who are still living at their parents’ household. In this regard, I would like to emphasize that the main goal of this paper is to gain insight into the influence that parents and school have upon individuals’ national identification.

20 As I mentioned above, the total number of ‘don’t know/don’t answer’ and ‘none of them’ responses for the offspring final sample was 29, which limits the scope of any in-depth analysis of this group.

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**Dependent and Independent Variables**

National identification is measured by means of a bi-directional indicator that forces individuals to report on their identification with two national categories; Spain and Catalonia. Answer categories consist of an anchored scale that presents alternative categories of identification in an incompatible or compatible way. Unlike unidirectional measures of identification, this variable helps to capture the national cleavage which is present in Catalonia. In the PaD, the question is posed as follows:

‘In which point of the following scale in which 1 means only Spanish and 5 means only Catalan will you place yourself?’

The answer categories are 1 ‘only Spanish’, 2 ‘more Spanish than Catalan’, 3 ‘as Catalan as Spanish’, 4 ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ and 5 ‘only Catalan’. The ‘doesn’t answer’, ‘doesn’t know’ and ‘none of them’ responses were excluded from the analysis. Moreover, as the ‘only Spanish’ and ‘more Spanish than Catalan’ categories present a very few number of cases in the offspring group, in the analysis that I carry out in section 7 I have merged these two
categories into an only ‘primarily Spanish’
category.\textsuperscript{21}

The models presented in section 7
include a series of independent variables
that seek to contrast the influence that
family and school have upon the offspring’s
national identification. For the sake of
simplicity, I have treated parents’ national
identification as a continuous variable.\textsuperscript{22}

The immigrant family variable takes a
value of 1 when at least one of the parents
was born outside Catalonia.

Other background characteristics will be
included in the analysis to test for other
hypothesis. Therefore, I introduce
household income as a continuous variable,
and I interact this variable with the
immigrant family origin to test whether the
economic status of the immigrant parents
affects their offspring’s identification with
Catalonia.

Following Rico and Jennings
(forthcoming), I also include the percentage
of the population from other regions of
Spain that is present in the census section of
the respondent’s household to control for
the effect of the immediate context on the
offspring’s national identification. For the
sake of simplicity, this variable is
introduced in the analysis as a continuous
variable. This variable takes a value of 0
when the percentage of individuals who
were born in other regions of Spain and live
in the same census tract of the respondent is
lower than 5 percent, and a value of 7 when
the percentage of individuals who were
born in other regions of Spain and live in
the same census tract of the respondent is
over 35 percent.\textsuperscript{23} The rationality behind
this variable is that respondents who live in
those neighborhoods, in which the share of
the immigrant population is high, will have
fewer opportunities to interact with the
native population and to assimilate Catalan
identification. This variable will also allow
me to check for the heterogeneous impact
that schooling can have, according to
neighborhood composition.

To test for school influence I include a
variable in the analysis that measures years
of schooling beyond compulsory education
and before university. In my sample, the
years of schooling variable ranges between
8 and 12. Individuals who have 8 years of
education only completed compulsory
primary school. Conversely, individuals
who have 12 years of education completed,
at least, secondary school.\textsuperscript{24} The influence
that school can have in those four years is
very relevant as those years correspond to
children’s adolescence; an age in which
group attitudes are, according to the
literature, being formed.

However, as the impact of school is,
according to Aspachs-Bracons \textit{et al.} (2008),
different for those who went to school
before and after the Law of Language
Normalization was implemented, I will
contrast the different effect that schooling
years have among those individuals who
were born before 1977, and those who were
born after that year. In order to do that, I
have divided the sample into two groups:
those who were born between 1965 and
1976 and those who were born between
1977 and 1987.\textsuperscript{25} The first group is made up
of those who entered school between 1971,
after the General Law of Education was
passed, and 1982, a year before Catalan was
made compulsory in schools. The second
group is made up of those who entered

\textsuperscript{21} Among the offspring, 8.83\% (52) answer
primarily Spanish, 27.67\% (163) answer ‘as
Catalan as Spanish’, 34.62\% (204) answer
‘more Catalan than Spanish’ and 28.86\% (170)
answer ‘only Catalán’.

\textsuperscript{22} The implicit assumption for treating these two
variables (mothers’ and fathers’ national
identification) as continuous is satisfied. The
coefficients increase by a similar proportion in
each category.

\textsuperscript{23} This variable’s original values ranged
between 1 and 7.

\textsuperscript{24} In the logistic analysis, I have rescaled this
variable so it includes a zero value. In this way,
the years of education variable takes a value of
0 when the individual has completed primary
school (8 years of education) and a value of 4
when the individual has completed secondary
school (12 years of education).

\textsuperscript{25} In the logistic analysis in which I test the
influence of school, I have excluded those
individuals who were aged 17 or less when they
were interviewed. Excluding these individuals
leaves me with a more homogeneous sample, in
which every individual has had the time to
complete pre-university education. Some of the
older respondents, who had four to five years of
education, were assimilated into the group of
individuals with eight years of education.
school between 1983 and 1993, and who therefore were completely exposed to the reform. Since in 1988 the Catalan government passed a further regulation that added new contents of Catalan history to the history courses, all individuals in this group who remained in school after finishing primary education would have been additionally taught Catalan history in their history courses.

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics of the variables used in this paper.

### Table 1. Summary of Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>22.711</td>
<td>4.641</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age groups</td>
<td>0.752</td>
<td>0.432</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Education (including university)</td>
<td>13.007</td>
<td>2.824</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Schooling (all)</td>
<td>11.385</td>
<td>1.039</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Schooling (children of natives)</td>
<td>11.460</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Schooling (second generations)</td>
<td>11.250</td>
<td>1.080</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offspring National Identification</td>
<td>3.810</td>
<td>1.006</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ National Identification</td>
<td>3.609</td>
<td>0.986</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathers’ National Identification</td>
<td>3.642</td>
<td>1.009</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents’ National Identification</td>
<td>3.599</td>
<td>0.910</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offspring’s Use of Catalan</td>
<td>67.885</td>
<td>36.467</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ Use of Catalan</td>
<td>68.831</td>
<td>40.175</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathers’ Use of Catalan</td>
<td>72.343</td>
<td>38.210</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offspring’s Left-Right Positioning</td>
<td>0.353</td>
<td>0.175</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ Left-Right Positioning</td>
<td>0.413</td>
<td>0.157</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathers’ Left-Right Positioning</td>
<td>0.425</td>
<td>0.166</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ Origin (1=native)</td>
<td>0.733</td>
<td>0.443</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathers’ Origin (1=native)</td>
<td>0.754</td>
<td>0.431</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant Family</td>
<td>0.360</td>
<td>0.480</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood Composition</td>
<td>4.540</td>
<td>2.105</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Income</td>
<td>28861.805</td>
<td>16492.831</td>
<td>4200</td>
<td>106000</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHILDREN-PARENTS CONGRUENCE IN NATIVE AND IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

This section compares parents’ and children’s national identification. First, I test whether there are significant differences between the parents’ and the children’s generations – distinguishing between the native and the immigrant parents – to learn about the assimilating process of second generations. Then, I examine the degree of parent-child similarity/dissimilarity. As a basis for comparison, besides the self-declared national identification, I include in these descriptive analysis, the use of language in private spheres, which is very often taken as a component of individuals’ national identity, and parents-child left-right ideology.

Language use is computed as a summarized scale of four indicators: language spoken at shops, with friends, neighbors and in the household. The scale, which ranges between 0 and 100, includes information on the frequency of Catalan usage over a week. On the other hand, left-right identification represents individual’s

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26 Therefore, I exclude from the analysis the language spoken at work and at school, as in these two public spheres the language spoken is less voluntarily determined.
position’ on a scale that goes from extreme left to extreme right.27

Table 2 offers an interesting picture of family intergenerational change. It can be seen, for example, that offspring’s national identification differs significantly from both mothers and fathers’ national identification. Children exhibit a more Catalan oriented identification than their parents; and this is so not only among the immigrant families where a process of intergenerational assimilation was expected to occur, but also in those families in which both parents were born in Catalonia.

A similar pattern is found when immigrants and their children’s usage of Catalan are compared. In sum, immigrant children’s usage of Catalan is significantly higher than that of their parents. However, this change is not observed among the offspring of Catalan-born parents: strikingly, this group speaks Catalan less often than their parents; although differences are not significant, at least when frequency of use between the mother and their children are compared.

Significant differences prevail, however, between the offspring of Catalan-born parents’ and the offspring of immigrant families or mixed couples (see Table 3). Differences are quite large when usage of the Catalan language in the children of natives and the children of immigrants are compared. So, even if the children of immigrants have learned to speak Catalan; in the context of their family, friends, neighbors and shops, usage of the Catalan language does not seem to be necessary. A possible explanation to this result is the linguistic separation of the Spanish and Catalan-speaking communities. Moreover, it can happen, as Linz (1985, 470) has argued, that individuals’ contexts of reference (parents, peers, etc.) are more important than language policies when determining individuals’ language practices. Despite this, it is worth noting that, as Woolard (conference paper) has recently argued, transitions to university, entrance into the job or into the marriage market and parenthood can alter individuals’ language patterns. These life-course transitions can therefore mean that the differences between these two groups decrease as they get older. Unfortunately, data that tracks generations over time is unavailable, and therefore we are unable to test this hypothesis.

Strikingly, children of immigrants are closer to the children of natives in their national identification. This result may reflect the fact that second generations’ attachment to Catalonia is not linked to the language, but to the birthplace, something that Woolard (1989, 136) had previously noted.

A quick way to test the degree of parent-child similarity/dissimilarity consists in looking at the mother-child and father-child correlations. According to the acculturation hypothesis, I expect that the influence of immigrant parents is lower than that of Catalan-born parents. The results in Table 4 confirm this expectation. Surprisingly, parents and children are much more alike in their language patterns than in their self-declared national identification. Even if parent-child language use’ correlations are lower in immigrant families than in families in which both parents have been born in Catalonia, correlations are still high in this group, and they are also greater than in the national identification variable.

Compared to these two components of national identity, parent-child resemblance is lower in their left-right positioning; a finding that has been made by Rico and Jennings (forthcoming).

FAMILY AND SCHOOL AS DETERMINANTS OF CHILDREN’S NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION

In this section I examine the role that family and school have as determinants of individuals’ national identification. First, I separately examine the effect of family characteristics and the effect of years of schooling on national identification. Next, I look at the interplay of these two sources of ‘national’ socialization. Ultimately, I am

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27 As the item scale changed between first, second and third waves, this variable has been transformed into a 0=Extreme-Left to 1=Extreme-Right scale.
## TABLE 2. Mothers, Fathers and Children Groups Comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean Values</th>
<th>Parents-Child Comparison</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Obs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Fathers</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Mother-Child</td>
<td>Father-Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Identification&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Identification (Parents born in Catalonia)</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Identification (Immigrant Mother)</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Identification (Immigrant Father)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Usage&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Usage (Parents born in Catalonia)</td>
<td>69.99</td>
<td>70.97</td>
<td>72.30</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Usage (Immigrant Mother)</td>
<td>90.86</td>
<td>92.85</td>
<td>89.62</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Usage (Immigrant Father)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>23.46</td>
<td>36.87</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Item values: 1= Only Spanish 2= More Spanish than Catalan 3= As Spanish as Catalan 4= More Catalan than Spanish 5= Only Catalan

<sup>b</sup> Item values: 0=Don’t use Catalan language at all 100=Use Catalan language always

<sup>c</sup> S= statistically significant at .05 level using paired t-test; NS=not statistically significant.

TABLE 3. National Identification and Language Use Differences by Ascendancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Identification</th>
<th>Mean Valuesa</th>
<th>95% Confidence Intervals</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catalan-Born parents</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>[.78 .83]</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One immigrant parent</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>[.56 .65]</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents immigrants</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>[.46 .57]</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Language usage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Identification</th>
<th>Mean Valuesa</th>
<th>95% Confidence Intervals</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catalan-Born parents</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>[.87 .92]</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One immigrant parent</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>[.50 .65]</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents immigrants</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>[.19 .34]</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The variables range has been transformed into a 0 to 1 scale for comparability reasons.


TABLE 4. Parents-Child Similarity/Dissimilarity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>.55***</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>.55***</td>
<td>505</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalan Born</td>
<td>.45***</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>Catalan Born</td>
<td>.39***</td>
<td>372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>.39***</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Language Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>.84***</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>.85***</td>
<td>367</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalan Born</td>
<td>.83***</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>Catalan Born</td>
<td>.81***</td>
<td>261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>.68***</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>.65***</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Left-Right Identification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>.40***</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>.36***</td>
<td>399</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Spearman Rank Order Correlation (rho).
b Pearson Correlation (r).


interested in learning whether school has any effect on individuals’ identification, and whether it can be separated from the effect that parents have on their children’s national identification.

The models that I present next have been estimated using a multinomial logit model that does not impose the constraint of proportional odds. Although multinomial logit models produce a loss of efficiency in the estimation, these models provide more information on the effect that independent variables have on each category of the dependent variable. In order to control for the presence of siblings within the households, which would violate the assumption of the independence of observations, standard errors have been adjusted for household clusters.

Table 5 presents two models that examine the influence that family characteristics have on offspring’s national identification. The first model includes parents’ national identification, family immigrant origin and household income. The second model includes an interaction

---

28 For the multinomial logit, the assumption of the independence of irrelevant alternatives has been tested, and has not been proved to be violated in any of the additive models presented in this section.
### TABLE 5. Multinomial Logistic Model for the effect of Family Background on Offspring NI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P.Spa</td>
<td>Cat&gt;Spa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idfather</td>
<td>0.289</td>
<td>0.815***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.339)</td>
<td>(0.212)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idmother</td>
<td>-1.017***</td>
<td>0.428*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.449)</td>
<td>(0.219)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant parents (IP)</td>
<td>0.663</td>
<td>-0.928***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.601)</td>
<td>(0.350)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Income (HI)'</td>
<td>0.898</td>
<td>0.486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.279)</td>
<td>(1.035)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP*HI</td>
<td>-0.184</td>
<td>4.472**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.427)</td>
<td>(1.837)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.073</td>
<td>0.037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.055)</td>
<td>(0.033)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.149</td>
<td>-2.102***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.177)</td>
<td>(0.903)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observations: 405 Cluster: 279 II: 404.405 Wald Chi2: 104.966(15) Adj. Count R2: 0.28

The reference category is ‘As Spanish as Catalan’
*HI has been transformed into a 0 to 1 variable
IJA Assumption not violated
Collinearity diagnostics do not detect problems in the additive model. VIF values under 2.5

Standard Errors Adjusted for Household Clusters

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

between household income and parents’ immigrant origin to test hypothesis 1a and 1b.

The results in Table 5 confirm the fact that parents’ national identification has a significant influence on their children’s national identification. Mothers are more successful when transmitting to their children their ‘primarily Spanish’ identification. In fact, fathers’ identification does not influence their offspring’s ‘primarily Spanish’ identification at all. This seems to indicate that minority identities are better transmitted by the mother, a result that is coherent with Sabatier (2008).

Family’s immigrant origin has an independent effect on children’s identification, and it makes less likely that children’s self-identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ or as ‘only Catalan’, than as ‘Spanish as Catalan’. In addition, family immigrant origin seems to be related positively with the probability that the offspring’s self-identify as ‘primarily Spanish’, even though the coefficient for this variable is not significant. These results suggest that the children of immigrants and the children of mixed couples are more likely to place themselves in the ‘primarily Spanish’ and the ‘as Spanish as Catalan’ category than in any of the others. In coherence with Rico and Jennings’s (forthcoming) results, in this model, the economic status of the families does not have any effect.

Model 2 includes the interaction between household income and parents’ immigrant origin. If we pay attention to the coefficients of the ‘immigrant parents’ term in this second model, we can easily notice that the offspring of immigrant families, who have the lowest household income in the sample, also have a lower probability to self-identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ or ‘only Catalan’. 29

29 The variable has been rescaled so the 0 value is directly interpretable.
Hypothesis 1a/b claimed that the good economic performance of immigrant families should result in the children of these families exhibiting a more Catalan/more Spanish identification. In order to test if either of these two hypotheses is fulfilled, we can look at Table 9 that reports the marginal effect and the standard errors of the interaction term. From the results in Table 6, we can see that household income does not have any significant impact on the national identification of those children whose parents were born in Catalonia. However, household income does have a significant effect on the probability that the children of immigrants identify themselves as being ‘more Catalan than Spanish’.

The magnitude of the coefficient indicates that this effect is significantly strong; so, when household income goes from its lower level to its higher level, the odds ratio that the children of immigrants identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ increases by 3.25.

To test school influence and, in particular, the effect of the 1983 reform, individuals identify themselves as ‘primarily Spanish’ and increases the probability that they self-identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ and as ‘only Catalan’. Model 1 also shows that the younger age-group, that is, individuals born after 1977, is less likely than the older group to self-identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’. Apart from this, the two age-groups seem to be quite similar in their national identification.

However, I am especially interested in learning about whether years of schooling have had a heterogeneous influence among those children who were completely educated under a system in which education in Catalonia was compulsory, and those who did not.

Model 2 shows that years of schooling do not have any effect among the older age group, that is, the age-group born between 1965 and 1976. However, as shown in Table 8, the marginal effect of every additional year of education after compulsory education (and before university) decreases the likelihood that individuals from the young generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6. Marginal Effect of Household Income on N.I. by Parents’ Origin (IP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.Spa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalan-Born parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least one immigrant parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat&gt;Spa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalan-Born parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least one immigrant parent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Values estimated from results in Table 5.

respondent’s national identification is examined as a function of the number of years during which children went to school, and the age group to which children belong (see Table 7). The age group variable will help us test very roughly the effect that the Law of Language Normalization and the introduction of the Catalan education in schools had in the generation which entered school after 1983, when this Law was first implemented.

Model 1 in Table 7 indicates that years of schooling decrease the likelihood that

---

30 It could be argued that due to the association between origin, social class and national identification in Catalonia, only those who self-identify more with Catalonia finish secondary school. I have checked for this possibility by examining the average years of schooling of the children of natives and second generations. As Table 1 shows the difference in the years of schooling (before university) of these two groups is quite similar. This rejects the possibility that the relationship between years of schooling and national identification goes in the other direction.
TABLE 7. Multinomial Logistic Model for the effect of Years of Schooling on Offspring NI (I)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P.Spa</td>
<td>Cat&gt;Spa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Schooling (YS)</td>
<td>-0.465*** (0.141)</td>
<td>0.312** (0.124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age groups (AG)</td>
<td>0.439 (0.461)</td>
<td>-0.457* (0.260)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS X AG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-0.198 (0.512)</td>
<td>-0.541 (0.479)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>522</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clusters</td>
<td>379</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il</td>
<td>-651.205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wald chi2</td>
<td>31.632(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. Count R2</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reference category is ‘As Spanish as Catalan’
IIA Assumption not violated
Collinearity diagnostics do not detect problems in the additive model. VIF values under 2.5

Standard Errors Adjusted for Household Clusters
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

TABLE 8. Marginal Effect of Years of Schooling (YS) on N.I. by Age Groups (AG)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>δ̂β/δYS</th>
<th>s.e.(δ̂β/δYS)</th>
<th>p.value</th>
<th>95% Confidence Intervals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.Spa Born between 1965 &amp; 1976</td>
<td>-0.261</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.267</td>
<td>[-0.723, 0.200]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1977 &amp; 1987</td>
<td>-0.542</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>[-0.878, -0.207]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat&gt;Spa Born between 1965 &amp; 1976</td>
<td>0.303</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.107</td>
<td>[-0.066, 0.672]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1977 &amp; 1987</td>
<td>0.327</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>[ 0.006, 0.648]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat Born between 1965 &amp; 1976</td>
<td>0.262</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.231</td>
<td>[-0.167, 0.692]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born between 1977 &amp; 1987</td>
<td>0.234</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.165</td>
<td>[-0.096, 0.565]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Values estimated from results in Table 7.

(born between 1977 and 1987) self-identify as ‘primarily Spanish’; and increases the likelihood that they self-identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’. These results corroborate Aspachs-Bracons et al.’s results, and prove correct hypotheses 2a and 2b; which state that the impact of schooling was different for those who went to school before and after the 1983 implementation of the Law of Language Normalization, and for those who –having gone to school after 1983— remained longer in the educational system.

However, as I argued in section 3, the implementation of the Law was more difficult in the schools of those neighborhoods in which the children of immigrants concentrated. In order to test for the direct and indirect influence of the immediate context on individuals’ national identification, and for the heterogeneous effect that the reform may have had, depending on the composition of the neighborhood in which the children were growing up, and in which they went to school, I add neighborhood composition

31 In Catalonia, children usually go to the public schools or the state-aided private schools that are closest to their home. There is the possibility that children go to a school of another neighborhood if their parents opt for a private school, instead of a public or state-aided private school. The PaD data, however, only provides
to the years of education. Since the years of schooling do not seem to affect the identification choices of those individuals who started school before 1983, I now restrict the analysis to those individuals who started school after that date.

The results in model 1 (Table 9) are robust and confirm previous analysis. For those individuals who started school after 1983, each additional year of schooling decrease the likelihood that children self-identify as ‘primarily Spanish’ and increase the likelihood that they self-identify as

TABLE 9. Multinomial Logistic Model for the effect of Years of Schooling on Offspring NI (II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P.Spa</td>
<td>Cat&gt;Spa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooling (YS)</td>
<td>-0.470**</td>
<td>0.337**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.190)</td>
<td>(0.164)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood (NC)</td>
<td>0.232*</td>
<td>-0.396***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.126)</td>
<td>(0.082)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| YS X NC                  | -0.901   | 0.355   | 0.782  | 0.942   | 0.869   | 1.083 
|                          | (0.975) | (0.670) | (0.710) | (1.517) | (1.201) | (1.131) |
| Observations             | 373              | 373              |
| Cluster                  | 286              | 286              |
| ll                       | -435.498         | -434.376         |
| Wald Chi2                | 80.780(6)        | 74.198(9)        |
| Adj. Count R2            | 0.096            | 0.096            |

The reference category is ‘As Spanish as Catalan’
IIA Assumption not violated
Collinearity diagnostics do not detect problems in the additive model. VIF values under 2.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Standard Errors Adjusted for Household Clusters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*** p&lt;0.01, ** p&lt;0.05, * p&lt;0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘more Catalan than Spanish’. The composition of the neighborhood has a significant impact on offspring’s national identification. The immigrant composition of the neighborhood reinforces offspring’s Spanish identification, and lessens the probability that individuals self-identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ or ‘only Catalan’. This shows the relevance that the immediate context has within a wider context in which Catalan identification is the mainstream identification.

Model 2 shows that in those neighborhoods in which the percentage of the immigrant population is very low (between 0 and 5 per cent), each additional year of schooling after compulsory education decreases the probability that individuals self-identify as primarily Spanish, but does not make children feel more Catalan. The coefficients for neighborhood composition indicate that in those children who have only eight years of

‘more Catalan than Spanish’. The composition of the neighborhood has a significant impact on offspring’s national identification. The immigrant composition of the neighborhood reinforces offspring’s Spanish identification, and lessens the probability that individuals self-identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ or ‘only Catalan’. This shows the relevance that the immediate context has within a wider education, the greater the number of immigrants in the neighborhood, the lower the likelihood that they self-identify as primarily Catalan.

Table 10 reports the marginal effect that years of schooling have on offspring’s national identification, depending on neighborhood composition. In those neighborhoods in which the population born in other regions of Spain is very low to moderate (between 0 and 20 per cent), any additional year of education decreases the likelihood of individuals self-identifying as primarily Spanish. Besides, and in agreement with hypothesis 3, years of

information on the type of school of those children who are still enrolled in school, so I cannot control here for this.
TABLE 10. Marginal Effect of Years of Schooling (YS) on N.I. by Neighborhood Composition (NC) (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( \partial\bar{y}/\partial\text{YS} )</th>
<th>s.e.(( \partial\bar{y}/\partial\text{YS} ))</th>
<th>p.value</th>
<th>95% Confidence Intervals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P_Spa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 0 and 5% of</td>
<td>-1.150</td>
<td>0.509</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>[-2.148,-0.153]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 20 and 25%</td>
<td>-0.630</td>
<td>0.201</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>[-1.024,-0.235]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 35%</td>
<td>-0.239</td>
<td>0.243</td>
<td>0.324</td>
<td>[-0.715, 0.236]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat&gt;S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 0 and 5% of</td>
<td>0.186</td>
<td>0.328</td>
<td>0.571</td>
<td>[-0.457, 0.829]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 20 and 25%</td>
<td>0.320</td>
<td>0.175</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>[-0.023, 0.663]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 35%</td>
<td>0.420</td>
<td>0.304</td>
<td>0.167</td>
<td>[-0.175, 1.015]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 0 and 5% of</td>
<td>0.163</td>
<td>0.306</td>
<td>0.593</td>
<td>[-0.637, 0.764]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 20 and 25%</td>
<td>0.202</td>
<td>0.199</td>
<td>0.310</td>
<td>[-0.188, 0.593]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 35%</td>
<td>0.232</td>
<td>0.339</td>
<td>0.495</td>
<td>[-0.434, 0.897]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Values estimated from results in Table 9.

Schooling positively influence the likelihood that an individual self-identifies as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ in those neighborhoods in which the percent of immigrants is moderate (between 20 and 25 per cent). However, when the presence of immigrants is over 35 per cent, the school loses its influence.

In order to contrast the joint influence that parents and school have on individuals’ national identification, in the next model I add to the previous model parents’ identification and parents’ origin. Therefore, each respondent’s identification is now modeled as a function of each individual’s parents’ characteristics and each individual’s schooling characteristics. In this case, I follow a similar strategy to that followed in Table 12, and I restrict the analysis to that group of individuals who started school after the Law of Language Normalization was implemented. The parents’ identification, years of schooling and neighborhood composition variables have been transformed into a 0 to 1 range variables, so that the magnitude of the coefficients can be compared.

The results in Table 11 show that parents and school have separate effects on individuals’ national identification. While school prevents children from self-identifying as ‘primarily Catalan’, parents’ identification seems to be the main variable affecting individuals’ identification as ‘primarily Catalan’. However, as proposed in hypothesis 4, once that we control for the parents’ national identification, the effect that school has on the probability that individuals identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ vanishes.\(^2\) The immigrant

\(^{2}\)Although the results are not presented in here, I have also tested the impact that having a university degree has on individuals’ identification. Results show that having a university degree does not affect the probability of self-identifying as ‘Spanish as Catalan’ compared to identifying as ‘primarily Spanish’. In other words, the years of schooling continue to be the ‘only’ factor fostering individuals’ binational identification vis à vis the ‘primarily Spanish’ identification. On the other hand, having a university degree increases the probability that individuals feel ‘more Catalan than Spanish’, even after controlling for parents’ identification. Although, it is possible that the contents of degrees such as Catalan, History or Political Science can contribute to the shaping of individuals’ identification with Catalonia, and facilitate the possibility that teachers exhibit their views on the Catalonia/Spain cleavage, there are many other fields in which it is difficult for this to occur, as qualitative materials from my interviews show. In this regard, it is hard to believe that the positive association between university and national identification has anything to do with the teachings students receive at university. A possible explanation for this positive association could come from the fact that university is a more diverse environment in which students from native and immigrant families come into contact, and an environment in which political mobilization on the center-periphery cleavage encourages students’ identification with Catalan identity, or to the fact that the children of natives are more likely to go to university.
TABLE 11. Multinomial Logistic Model for the Effect of Family and Schooling on Offspring National Identification (NI)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Born between 1977 &amp; 1987</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Model 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P.Spa</td>
<td>Cat&gt;Spa</td>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>P.Spa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Id&lt;sub&gt;parents&lt;/sub&gt;*</td>
<td>-1.009</td>
<td>4.906***</td>
<td>9.499***</td>
<td>-1.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.555)</td>
<td>(1.132)</td>
<td>(1.259)</td>
<td>(1.559)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant Family (IF)</td>
<td>0.727</td>
<td>-0.399</td>
<td>-0.393</td>
<td>0.447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.589)</td>
<td>(0.387)</td>
<td>(0.483)</td>
<td>(1.238)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Schooling (YS)*</td>
<td>-1.965**</td>
<td>0.789</td>
<td>-0.128</td>
<td>-2.249**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood Composition (NC)*</td>
<td>0.934</td>
<td>-2.045***</td>
<td>-2.859***</td>
<td>0.921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.769)</td>
<td>(0.577)</td>
<td>(0.651)</td>
<td>(0.755)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS X IF</td>
<td>0.420</td>
<td>-0.065</td>
<td>-0.166</td>
<td>0.420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.503)</td>
<td>(1.565)</td>
<td>(1.878)</td>
<td>(1.503)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-1.014</td>
<td>0.258</td>
<td>0.150</td>
<td>-0.825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.871)</td>
<td>(0.686)</td>
<td>(0.850)</td>
<td>(1.060)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>373</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster</td>
<td>286</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>-366.280</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-366.227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wald Chi2</td>
<td>126.063(12)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>127.75(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. Count R2</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reference category is ‘As Spanish as Catalan’
*Id<sub>parents</sub>, HI and NC have been transformed into a 0 to 1 variable
IIA Assumption not violated
Collinearity diagnostics do not detect problems in the additive model. VIF values under 2.5

Standard Errors Adjusted for Household Clusters
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

TABLE 12. Marginal Effect of Years of Schooling (YS) on N.I. by Family Origin

|                      | P.Spa                             |                      | Cat>Spa                        |                      | Cat                          |                      |
|                      | Catalan-Born parents              | -2.249               | 1.124                          | 0.045               | -4.452,-0.045                |                      |
|                      | At least one immigrant parent     | -1.829               | 1.005                          | 0.069               | -3.801,0.142                 |                      |
| Cat>Spa              | Catalan-Born parents              | 0.797                | 0.792                          | 0.314               | -0.754,2.349                 |                      |
|                      | At least one immigrant parent     | 0.732                | 1.341                          | 0.585               | -1.897,3.362                 |                      |
| Cat                  | Catalan-Born parents              | -0.113               | 1.022                          | 0.911               | -2.118,1.890                 |                      |
|                      | At least one immigrant parent     | -0.280               | 1.589                          | 0.860               | -3.395,2.834                 |                      |

Note: Values estimated from results in Table 11.

The composition of the neighborhood continues to have a strong negative effect on the probability that respondents’ self-identify as ‘primarily Catalan’. Moreover, this variable absorbs the effect of the family’s origin, which loses its significance in this specification.

Finally, to test hypothesis 5, model 2 adds an interaction between family origin and years of schooling. This interaction allows me to test for the heterogeneous effect that school might have among the children of natives and the children of immigrants. The school effect is robust to this new specification for the two groups; it fosters bi-national identification and prevents individuals identifying themselves as ‘primarily Spanish’, but it does not promote a more Catalan oriented identification. Parents’ identification continues to be the key factor affecting offspring’s Catalan identification.

The results presented in tables 5 to 11 qualify Aspaschs-Bracons et al.’s results. They indicate that even if the 1983 reform can account for the generational decrease in the proportion of ‘primarily Spanish’ identifiers; what determines that
individuals’ from the youngest generation feel primarily Catalan (i.e. ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ or ‘only Catalan’) is that their parents feel the same. Moreover, the results suggest that the influence that the adoption of Catalan in schools supposedly had in the fostering of individuals’ Catalan identification is contingent on the composition of the neighborhood in which children grew up and, in which children went to school. Finally, the results have shown that the effect of years of schooling is not very different among the children of natives and the children of immigrants; even if years of schooling effect is bigger in the first group, the effect always goes in the same direction in both groups.

The next section discusses these results in detail.

DISCUSSION

This paper has touched on many issues related to the influence that parents and school have upon individuals’ national identification. The paper has examined these issues in a context in which the national cleavage, the regional responsibilities on education, and the presence of a population with an immigrant background, affects the concurrence of parents’ and school’s messages about the nation. Some aspects examined here undoubtedly demand closer analysis; nevertheless, and despite the limitations of the small household sample that I counted on, we have been able to gain some notable insights into the question which motivated this research.

In this regard, the empirical results presented in this paper have confirmed that parents are very relevant determinants of an individual’s identification. This finding, which could be considered commonplace, is not that banal if we take into account the fact that previous empirical research has argued for the prevalence of school influence on individuals’ national identification, by not taking into consideration parents’ national allegiances.

To date, evidence on the occurrence of intergenerational changes on national identification in Catalonia had relied upon the comparison of different age cohorts or different origin groups. By using data from different generations within the same family, this paper confirms, for the first time, that these changes have also occurred within the same family. The results confirm that the offspring’s generation is more Catalan oriented than their parents’ generation.

Beyond this, I have found that mothers are more successful when transmitting their minority ‘primarily Spanish’ identification to their children; although the fathers seem to have a more important role in their offspring’s ‘primarily Catalan’ identification. In previous pages, we have also learned that parents and children appear more alike in their language patterns than in their national identification. In immigrant families, correlations in language use are also greater than in national identification; a finding that provides additional evidence in favor of the idea that subjective affiliation to Catalonia is not deterministically linked to the language most frequently spoken, especially among second generations for which birthplace seems to be a sufficient criterion to vindicate a Catalan identity (Woolard, 1989).

Results in this paper have also shown, in agreement with Rico and Jennings’s finding, that parents and children are more alike in their national identification than in their left-right orientation. Although Rico and Jennings (forthcoming, 24) explain this result by the ‘accessible and less abstract character that territorial identities have, compared with overt political orientations’, I would argue that the accessibility of national identification is contingent on Catalan context, and that, therefore, the greater similarity of parents’ and children’s national identification cannot be extrapolated to other contexts. In fact, it could happen that in other contexts in which the left-right cleavage was more salient than the center-periphery cleavage, parent-child continuity on the left-right scale could be larger. Besides, we should take into account the fact that the average age of the offspring generation in this sample is around 22. Therefore, differences in the left-right positioning of the offspring generation and their parents can be due to a life-cycle effect, which makes young children more progressive and adult parents
more conservative. This life-cycle effect is not believed to be present in the national identification.

Returning to the issue of generational change, if parents contribute to the reproduction of national identification, what explains change? The analyses of section 7 have provided us with some clues which point to the importance of the social mobility of immigrant families, and to the role of schooling.

Multinominal analyses have shown that, in the better-off immigrant families, children exhibit a more Catalan oriented identification. Although the lack of longitudinal data does not allow us to test what is behind this result, two alternative mechanisms could be envisaged. One possible explanation could be that those immigrant families who moved to Catalonia with a higher economic status were also more interested in adapting to the Catalan standards, and to promote their children’s identification with Catalonia to preserve this high status. This mechanism, however, would contradict the hypothesis that the children of high status immigrants feel more entitled to remain attached to their parents’ national identification (Rumbaut, 1994, 756). An alternative and possibly more plausible explanation, taking into account the social origin of the majority of Spanish immigrants, would be that the social mobility of the immigrant families is responsible for this association. So, the children of those immigrants who have performed better in economic terms would mirror their parents’ gratitude to the host society and, therefore, would become more attached to it.

The 1983 educational reform, and schooling in general, has also contributed to explain the decrease in the aggregate levels of ‘primarily Spanish’ identifiers. According to my results, the years of schooling after compulsory education seem to prevent individuals self-identifying as ‘primarily Spanish’. Nevertheless, and contrary to what Aspachs-Bracons et al. (2008) claimed in their work, my results in this paper do not show that the effect of the years of schooling after compulsory education make individuals more Catalan oriented, once that we control by the parents’ national identification. In other words, although years of schooling can account for the decrease that has occurred in aggregate ‘primarily Spanish’ identification over time, the language policy has not had the impact highlighted by previous studies (Martínez-Herrera, 2002; Aspachs-Bracons et al., 2008; Clots-Figueras and Masella, 2009).

Furthermore, I have found that the influence that years of education have on the children who started school after 1983 is contingent on the composition of the neighborhood in which children grew up and, in which they went to school. Therefore, years of education only increase the probability that offspring self-identify as ‘more Catalan than Spanish’ in neighborhoods in which the percentage of the population born in other regions of Spain is moderate. On the other hand, in those neighborhoods in which levels of immigrants are low or very high, school does not have any influence. This is an intuitive result as, in schools which are located in neighborhoods with a very low percentage of immigrants, students bring into the schools their Catalan identification from their homes; while in those neighborhoods in which the percentage of immigrants rises to 35 per cent or over, exposure to the Catalan language and Catalan culture in school is limited. All in all, these results seem to indicate that students are sorted into different schools according to the neighborhoods in which they live, and that this sorting partially cancels out the influence of school.

The immediate context in which children live has, therefore, a significant influence on individuals’ national identification both, directly, through contact with neighbors and friends, and indirectly, through the school. Nevertheless, parents can consciously lessen this impact by taking their children to private schools that are not located in the same neighborhood where they live. In this case, as the below quote shows, a different kind of sorting, which is determined by the parents’ national identification, occurs.

- You tell me that the school you attended was "catalaneta". Was that a decision of your parents that you attended that school?
- Yes. Yes, because it was not a school from our neighborhood, and neither was it the school that was closer to my home.
- Why do you think that they decided to take you there?
- One day I asked my mother why and my mother told me that she wanted me to study in Catalan. And, of course, the school which was in my neighborhood was, at that time, full of Spanish-speakers. I do not remember this, eh! That’s what my mother told me. And so they did not want that. Explicitly my parents wanted me to go to a school like the one I went to: "progressive" and Catalan oriented. [Female, 28 years old, born in Catalonia, parents: mixed couple.]

Two more points should be made before concluding this paper. First, the cross-sectional analysis performed here has only provided a snapshot of parents’ and children’s national identification, and of the continuities and discontinuities of families’ national identification.33 However, will parents and children likeness persist after children move out of their parents’ home? In principle, we can think that once children move out, parents lose their influence, while peers’ or couples’ influence gain leverage. Despite this, there are reasons to think that, in some cases, the resemblance between parents and children will continue. On the one hand, if children move out once their national identification is fully crystallized, which is quite frequent in the Spanish context in which children move out quite late, it will be difficult for the offspring’s national identification to change in any radical and permanent way. On the other hand, we know that individuals’ election of their friends and couples is many times endogenous to their political orientations (Watson et al., 2004). In Catalonia, where national identity is so salient, friends and mating selection can be also endogenous to individuals’ national identity. Therefore, my intuition is that the offspring generation will continue to follow their parent’s identification after moving out. In any case, longitudinal data and further research would be essential in order to advance this intuition.

Second, new educational reforms have been carried out after the 1983 reform. In 1998, fifteen years after the approval of the Law of Language Normalization, a new Law of Language Policy was passed in the Catalan Parliament. Article 21 of the new law established that ‘Catalan should normally be used as the instruction language in non-university education’. The Catalan language therefore became schools’ language of instruction from that time onwards. Some years before, in 1990, the Organic Law on the Education System (LOGSE) established that 45 per cent of the curricula would be decided by the regional government of Catalonia. This law also added two years to the period of compulsory education, making it obligatory until the age of 16. Finally, in 2009 the Catalan Law on Education ratified Catalan language as the language of instruction in schools, and limited the time devoted to the teaching of Spanish. These changes could eventually have an impact on the national identification of the younger generations and, perhaps, on the new immigrants and children of the new immigrants arriving from other countries. Nevertheless, as the separation of native Catalans and immigrants persists, it is hard to believe that schooling will have such a significant impact on individuals’ national identification.

33 Due to the low number of cases with longitudinal information on the national identification of the children who have moved out of their parents’ home, I have not been able to examine the evolution of children’s national identification.
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