Acculturation and Hispanic Adolescents: Language and Identity

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to integrate two topics of research, identity and language use, within the field of socio-psycholinguistics, thereby increasing our understanding and knowledge of the acculturation process involved in promoting Hispanic identity and Spanish language use by second-generation Hispanic Adolescents in Australia. A specific aim is to examine the four acculturation groups identified by Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) and their impact on group identity and language use through the use of qualitative data. The analysis uses portions of transcripts from tape-recorded interviews obtained through the participation of fifty male and female Hispanic adolescents. Taken together, the results provide evidence that language does not determine identity, but does provide a way to express it; and that culture is a salient predictor of ethnic identity.

Keywords: acculturation, adolescents, identity, Australia, Spanish language.

RESUMEN: el propósito de este artículo es la integración de dos temas de investigación, la identidad y el uso de la lengua, dentro del campo de la socio-psicolingüística, para ahondar en la comprensión y conocimiento del proceso de aculturación resultante de fomentar la identidad hispana y el uso del idioma español entre los adolescentes hispanos de segunda generación en Australia. Se aplica el modelo de cuatro tipos de aculturación propuesto por Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) a la formación de una identidad de grupo y el uso de la lengua y se examina su impacto por medio de un análisis cualitativo compuesto por fragmentos de transcripciones de entrevistas grabadas, en las que participaban 50 adolescentes varones y mujeres hispanos. Los resultados sugieren que el idioma no condiciona la identidad, pero proporciona un canal para expresarla, mientras que la cultura constituye un factor saliente de la identidad étnica.

Palabras clave: aculturación, adolescentes, identidad, Australia, idioma español.

The children of immigrants, by necessity, have to negotiate a range of issues including questions of identity and concerns regarding the conservation of their mother tongue and culture. According to Erickson (1968), every adolescent tends to face or experience a series of changes and crises whilst constructing his or her identity / identities.[1] Studies of adolescent ethnic identity[2] (Phinney, Lochner and Murphy, 1990; Vasta, 1994; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder, 2001) have indicated that young immigrants experience very strong cultural conflict(s) as a result of their perceiving a need to choose between two cultures: that is, they tend to oppose their parents' culture with the culture in which they find themselves interacting daily and in which they develop as individuals and as members of (an) ethnic group(s).

Each individual who emigrates traverses, one way or another, the process of acculturation. This process consists of the changes that a person experiences as an individual or as a member of an ethnic group because of influences or contact with the host culture. In order to categorise the range of «acculturative strategies» employed by young people (viz., migrants from different backgrounds, social statuses, level of education, age and also indigenous people like the Aborigines), Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) developed a typology describing four main groups: assimilation, integration, marginalisation and separation.[3]

It is said that age plays an important role in the process of acculturation (Berry, 1992). If acculturation starts during childhood (0-12 yrs.), the process is generally passive. The reasons for this are still not clear, but it is believed that enculturation into one's parents' culture is not sufficiently developed to create serious concerns about cultural conflicts, or simply that childhood is the stage in which a person easily adapts to new environments or cultures (Berry, 1997). On the other hand, during adolescence (13-20 yrs.), the process of acculturation is different because young people experience a type of conflict and crisis between their family values and peer pressure from the society in which they interact. It is during this stage of life – adolescence – where individuals start to develop their identity as well as their personal values and beliefs (Erickson, 1968).

Phinney, Lochner and Murphy (1990) stated that minority adolescents, because of their experience in school and the community, confront complex

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1. Social identity theory (SIT) was originally developed by Henri Tajfel (1978, 1981, 1982). Tajfel's theory maintains that an individual's self image has two elements, a self-identity and a social identity, constructed through a series of processes by belonging to certain groups. The former refers to the subjective identity of an individual, compound by characteristics that distinguish an individual from others of the same social group. The latter refers to an objective or collective identity which consists of various social groups.
2. There are two types of ethnic identity: behavioural ethnic identity and symbolic ethnic identity. The former refers to cultural expressions such as language and its use, the practice of endogamy and the choice of a best friend from one's own ethnic group. The latter refers to the knowledge and pride that one reflects about one's own ethnic group (Berry and Laponce, 1994). Aspects of both identities are related to acculturation, therefore, both are considered for the analysis of this study.
3. Each group will be discussed in further detail at a later stage in this paper.

psychological issues related to ethnicity. They also pointed out that for this group of adolescents, ethnicity was an important component of their identity-forming process. Therefore, adolescents who did not develop a secure ethnic identity could be at risk of developing a poor self-concept. This was one reason why the present study considered this age group worth studying and examined aspects of identity (language and ethnicity) in a group of Hispanic adolescents.

In the course of these acculturation changes and the search for an identity, linguistic changes also emerge. These changes, resulting from daily contact with the second language – in this case English – lead to the acquisition of the second language at some level of fluency. This very often creates a language shift on the first language, in this case Spanish. However, sometimes, the individual feels the necessity to maintain the first language in order to avoid losing it for various reasons that include personal choice, parents' imposition and separation from the host culture, as it was found in this study. Therefore, echoing the growing recognition of the relationship between language and identity, it can be stated that these two fields will be positively related to acculturation. As a result, this study, by applying the acculturation theory put forward by Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001), aimed to analyse, explore and describe the relationships that potentially exist between the development of the Hispanic identity and the use of the Spanish language among the second generation[4] of Hispanic youth in Brisbane.

1. History of Hispanic[5] People in Australia

Australia has a history of immigration dating back to 1788. Among the first Spanish-speaking immigrants to arrive in Australia during the early 19th century were the Spaniards from Spain. In 1963, Franco's government interrupted this

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4. Vasta (1994: 22) defines the second generation in two distinct ways. The first refers to a statistical term, such as the population census. The second is a socio-political definition that pertains to ‹‹those people born in Australia whose parents were born overseas, as well as those who arrived in Australia during infancy or early childhood››. The present study employed the latter definition.
5. In the majority of multicultural societies there is controversy about which term to use to denote the ethnic identity of a person. The majority of ethnic labels are commonly designated according to the cultural attributes used to differentiate one group from another, for instance, gender, race, social statuses or language. Mostly this causes a homogenization which classifies different people under the same term. The perception that all Latinos are mestizos and Catholics is an example of this homogenization, ignoring the different personal, social or political experiences of each person. The same occurs with the term «Hispanic»: in the USA the majority of people, including those from Spanish background, believe that this term refers only to those who speak Spanish descended from Spain, and «Latino» to those who speak Spanish descended from Latin America (Oboler, 1995). In Australia, the majority of people with a Spanish background identify themselves as members of their own country, while others consider themselves as «Latinos» or «Hispanics» no matter which country they are from. However, Australian society identifies them as «Spanish-speaking people». This study employs the term «Hispanic», which includes Latin America's population as well as Spain's population.

wave of immigration, which then declined even more after his death in 1975. After World War II, Australia as a whole, and the Australian sugar industry in particular, experienced a labour crisis. The need to overcome this crisis permitted Spanish migration of Spaniards (García and Palomo, 1986). The Spaniards were not the only people of Spanish speaking background who emigrated to Australia; one may also include people from Latin America who had immigrated under different Government initiatives such as the Refugee Program, the Humanitarian Program, the Family Reunion program, as well as those who arrived independently. Even though these people came from the same continent, they came from different socio-economic, educational, professional and political backgrounds.

Essentially, there were two waves of arrivals of Latin American immigrants. The first one was in the middle of the 1970s including people mainly from Chile, Uruguay and Argentina, but also from other South American countries. This wave of immigration was the consequence of the financial and political problems those countries were facing at the time. Argentinian and Uruguayan migration has increased steadily since 1969, with migration being a result of deteriorating economic conditions in those countries (Amezquita, Amezquita and Vittorino, 1995). In the case of the Chileans, there was an early wave of migration during the 19th century gold rush in Australia, with Chilean gold-diggers who came from California (Schneider, 1988). The next wave of Chilean migration occurred in Australia two years after the death of Salvador Allende in the 1970s, mainly comprised of left-wing supporters, who had fled the country to ensure the safety of their lives from retribution by the incoming president, Augusto Pinochet (Schneider, 1988).

The second phase of Latin American immigration occurred during the 1980s, comprising mostly people from El Salvador, where a civil war was taking place, and from other Central American countries that were also experiencing political instability and protracted conflicts. The end of the civil war in El Salvador saw a reduction of Salvadorian immigrants and allowed others to return to their home country. The majority of these people entered Australia under the Refugee Program or the Humanitarian Program (Amezquita, Amezquita and Vittorino, 1995). The number of other Spanish-speaking migrants started to increase in the mid-late 1980s, but the biggest Latin American groups in Australia still came from Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and El Salvador. In recent years, many Colombians have started to immigrate as a result of the deteriorating political situation in their country.

Although there is a plethora of studies focusing on Hispanics in the United States, as it is the most important and fastest growing linguistic minority, and thus an excellent group to study (Grenier, 1984), the present study seeks to investigate this group because the political, economic and immigration policy context in the United States is quite different from the one in Australia.

Hispanics in Australia are a new group of immigrants in comparison to others (e.g., Italians), and therefore are a group that have not been widely studied. A great number of Hispanics in Australia have immigrated as refugees making the acculturation process of such an individual differ from one who immigrates by his or her own choice as it is frequently the case in the United States.

2. Language Shift and Language Maintenance

There is a difficulty in inferring the degree of maintenance or shift to the new language during acculturation. These difficulties have led to a few generalizations in the literature from the United States and Australia (Berry, 1980). The first generalization states that there is a slow change from the mother tongue, but that this change increases rapidly from the second generation on. The second generalization links the changes undergone by the mother tongue when it is confronted with the more prevalent language of the dominant group. The latter generalization implies that an inverse change occurs where the mother tongue is consciously relearned or retained with the objective of reaffirming the traditional identity (Berry, 1980). Of course, the degree of change depends on the individual's attitudes and his or her contact with his or her ethnic origin and the mother tongue. Fasold (1984: 213) states that ‹‹language shift and, on the other side of the coin, language maintenance are really the long-term, collective results of language choice››. Fasold also indicates that it is quite impossible to predict the shift or maintenance of a language when there are groups that maintain their language under the same conditions that influence other groups to language shift.

There have been numerous studies about language shift and language maintenance in a variety of ethnic cultural groups. However, only a few have been carried out in Australia on the Spanish speaking minority. Language shift from Spanish to English among Hispanic Americans has been studied by several researchers, among them Portes and Hao (1998), Veltman (1981), and Wherritt and González (1989). They have found a high tendency towards home language shift. Nevertheless, in comparison to other immigrant groups language maintenance is slightly higher in the Hispanic group (Dolson, 1985). In Australia,[6] the use of Spanish is not as pronounced as it is in the United States. However, there are media resources such as radio, television and three different newspapers which

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6.   Callan and Gallois (1987: 64) indicate that ‹‹the future of community languages other than English in Australia does not look bright. Australia almost certainly will remain strongly monolingual, and Anglo-Australians will maintain a narrow perception of the relationship between language and culture››. Until now, 2006, Australia continues to be monolingual with a few languages to be taught in some schools (mainly Asian languages – Chinese and Japanese – as well as French and German).

play a part in the maintenance of the Spanish language. In Brisbane there are also social, recreational, cultural (music), educational (Spanish Saturday school), sporting (soccer clubs) and religious groups which encourage participation in the Spanish culture.

3. Acculturation

Those immigrants living in the host country are usually confronted with two main issues regarding their acculturation. One is related to the ways in which an individual of a minority group wishes to remain culturally within his or her own ethnic group or to give up her or his culture in order to become part of the dominant group. The second is the extent to which an individual wishes to interact with members of the dominant group or with members of her or his own culture group on a day-to-day basis (Berry, 1990, 2001).

Among the several studies that have been carried out in the Hispanic communities in the United States we can highlight: Miranda, Andujo, Caballero, Guerrero and Ramos (1976), dealing with Mexican American dropouts in psychotherapy as related to their level of acculturation; Torres-Matrullo (1980), who studied acculturation, sex-role values and mental health among mainland Puerto Ricans; and Szapocznick and Kurtines (1980) on acculturation, biculturalism and adjustment among Cuban-Americans. Stevenson ([1973] in Carranza, 1982) attempted to study the impact of assimilation on Cubans in Miami, while Phinney, DuPont, Espinosa, Revill and Sanders (1994) studied ethnic identity and American identification among ethnic minority youth, including a great number of Latino participants. Alternatively, Schmitz (1994) studied the acculturation and adaptation processes among immigrants from Central and South America in Germany. In the area of acculturation, no literature relating to the acculturation of Hispanics in Australia has been found, however, the cultural group of the Australian Aborigines has been studied by Berry (1970).

3.1. Acculturation Changes and Intercultural Contact

During the process of acculturation the individual may experience certain types of positive or negative changes, such as physical changes (e.g., urbanization), biological changes (e.g., a new diet), economic changes (e.g., a new labour status), social changes (e.g., new friends) and cultural changes, in which he or she may experience a superficial change (e.g., the type of clothing) or a deep change (e.g., use of a new language; Berry, 1997). The process of acculturation varies for each individual and is likely to vary according to the contact situation

of each individual. For example, people have immigrated to a new country either voluntarily or against their will. When immigration is voluntary, such as immigrating for a job opportunity, the attitude to acculturation tends to be more positive towards the host culture because the individual has made a free choice (Berry, 1997). On the other hand, when immigration is involuntary, as in the case of refugees, that attitude to acculturation is more negative towards the host culture. This is because individuals have been forced to leave their country and suddenly need to adapt to a new country, values and way of life which may clash with their own (Berry, 1997).

3.2. Berry's Acculturation Attitudes Framework

In a multicultural or plural society, diversity is likely to exist and remain. As a result, as mentioned previously, Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) has proposed four different acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, marginalisation and separation. When an acculturating person rejects his or her ethnic values or ethnic identity, or avoids any contact with members of his or her own group for the purpose of adopting rapidly the culture of the host country and being accepted by it, then the *assimilation* strategy is being followed. The *integration* strategy is also known as biculturalism, and is theorised as the most balanced of all the strategies. An integrated person reflects the desire to retain important characteristics associated with his or her cultural group, while at the same time being willing to adopt aspects of the dominant culture. When a person rejects both cultures, his or her own and the dominant one, and avoids any contact with members of either group, a *marginalisation* strategy is being followed. When the *separation* strategy is followed, the individual is characterised by his or her rejection of the dominant group culture, with the objective of preserving only his or her own culture and being most of the time in contact with other members of his or her ethnic group. In this study, *assimilation* refers to adolescents who tend to adopt the Anglo-Saxon culture and reject the Hispanic culture; those who tend to keep their Hispanic culture without accepting the Anglo-Saxon culture are called the *separation* group; still there remain others who exclude themselves from both cultures (*marginalisation*), or alternatively try to adapt to and accept both cultures simultaneously (*integration*).

4. Method

The present analysis examines qualitative interviews in the relationship between acculturation experiences of second generation of Hispanic adolescents

in Brisbane and their use of the Spanish language, based on Berry's acculturation theory (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001).[7] Sixteen questions were developed for the interview; each interview was placed in one of the five domains used in the analysis of this data. Domains were grouped under the following headings: identity, culture, Spanish language, relationship, and general attitudes towards language and identity.[8] These domains were developed from the content of the verbatim transcripts, and based primarily upon the antecedent and consequent variables used in the quantitative[9] analysis of this study.

The questions in the interview consisted of both open-ended questions and semi-closed questions. The questions were designed to balance the research efficiency of structured questions with the spontaneity and deep insight derived from less structured questioning. During the interview, frequent probes were used to increase the precision of each participant's responses, and to facilitate their recall of memories related to the topic being asked about. At the conclusion of each interview, a debriefing question was asked, thus allowing the interviewees to express additional feelings and opinions about this study.

4.1. Sampling

The above mentioned domains are examined based on portions of the data collected in one-on-one interviews with 50 male and female Hispanic adolescents during June and November 1998. Of these 50, the responses of two participants could not be categorised because of ambiguous responses, thus making them difficult to place in any category, which led to their exclusion from the study. The final sample comprised 14 males and 34 females (average age of 17 years). Participation was voluntary and the participants' confidentiality was ensured. Participants were selected by way of cluster sampling with the objective of obtaining a representative sample of the population of interest, in this case all Hispanic adolescents residing in the city of Brisbane. The estimate of the total sampling population of Hispanics in Brisbane is 10,591, based on the 1996 Census.[10] Participants were recruited from educational institutions from different

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7.   Data used in this paper is drawn from a larger study that employed both quantitative and qualitative methods. However, only the qualitative data is considered here. See Mejía (2001) for the complete study.

8.   A brief explanation of the domains employed in this study is presented in the appendix.

9.   The antecedent variables that were considered in the quantitative analysis were: gender, age, age at arrival, country of birth, parents' country of origin, friendships and participation in the Spanish community. These antecedents led to identity (Hispanic, Australian, neither, or both). The combination of the antecedent variables and identity led to the following consequences variables: language at home and language preference.

10.   The current percentage of Hispanic people is 4.1% based on the 2001 Census.

suburbs in Brisbane such as secondary schools, and The University of Queensland, churches, youth organisations (e.g., sports clubs), personal contacts, the Spanish Club and, as a last resort, the Spanish program on the radio.

4.2. Interviews

As agreed upon by both researcher and participants, the majority of the interviews took place in the participants' home without the presence of parents, whilst other interviews occurred in the Spanish Club or in a designated room at The University of Queensland. The interviews were conducted in Spanish, however, more than once, the use of English was vital to clarify a specific question. The duration of each interview was between 40 and 90 minutes. The initial contact between the researcher and the participants consisted of informing the participants of the aim of the study, after which the participants were asked to sign the Consent Form. At the interview, participants were also asked to provide demographic data, such as age, birthplace, age at arrival, level of education and the country of birth of their parents. With the participants' written consent, each interview was tape-recorded to facilitate the accuracy of the recall of the responses and the transcription.

Initial coding involved classifying the response by identity (e.g., Hispanic, Australian). The responses were then categorised into one of the acculturation groups (assimilation, integration, marginalisation, separation). The responses to each of the questions were repeatedly read by the researcher until several themes were identified. At this stage, topics were selected and responses were coded according to the description of categories. Although the researcher conducted all the coding, inter-rater reliability tests on the coding procedures and techniques were conducted by using an independent coder who had not been involved in the data collection phase. The coder independently rated 25% of the transcripts, with a final inter-rater agreement of 88%. Disagreements were discussed by both coders and resolved.

Several additional topics emerged during the data collection phase: (a) how comfortable or uncomfortable some participants feel when using Spanish; (b) the importance of Hispanic cultural elements such as traditions, food and music; (c) description of the first experience at school; and (d) description of experience of discrimination at school or in public places. These themes were incorporated into the pre-determined coding strategy. For instance, how (un)comfortable participants feel when using Spanish was included in the language domain, while cultural-based themes were included in the culture domain.

5. Results

After analysing all 50 interviewees' responses, 26 of the interviews were grouped under the integration strategy; a total of 17 interviews were placed in the separation strategy; while 3 were identified in the assimilation group, and 2 in the marginalisation group. These findings suggest that Hispanic adolescents largely shared the integration and separation orientations. Consistent with these findings, cultural background as a core value[11] was found to be high, which indicated that most of the participants in this study identified themselves as Hispanic because of cultural heritage and not because of language use, as research on other cultural groups has demonstrated (Smolicz, 1981). Smolicz (1981: 77) has indicated that, ‹‹whenever people feel that there is a direct link between their identity as a group and what they regard as the most crucial and distinguishing element of their culture, the element concerned becomes a core value for the group››. Even though a language shift from Spanish to English appeared in this study, the present findings point to a more favourable attitude towards the maintenance of Spanish than to a shift away from it. Therefore, the findings suggest that language does not determine identity; it provides a way to express it.

Culture was a salient predictor of the participants' ethnic identity. The participants indicated respect for and a desire to transmit their culture to future generations. This was the case even in the assimilation group, who, while identifying themselves as Australian, indicated a tendency to sometimes identify themselves as Latino, and showed an interest in their culture. As expected, those individuals in the integrated groups identified themselves as bicultural and were very proud to be brought up within two cultures. Those in the marginalisation group reported feelings of confusion and experiencing an identity conflict. The separated group felt a great deal of pride to be Hispanic.

The use of Spanish among the assimilated participants suggested that it was not a choice; instead it was used to satisfy their parents. In contrast, the integrated group demonstrated a satisfaction with being able to use both languages: Spanish was commonly used with their parents, and English or Spanglish with their siblings and their friends. This finding was similar to that found for the separated and for the marginalised groups. Mixed marriages were not a problem for the participants across the four acculturation groups. However, participants from the four groups regarded culture as essential for the preservation of the Spanish culture and, therefore, there was some concern at losing part of their culture if they were to marry someone from a different culture.

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11.   The term *core values* is defined as ‹‹values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group's culture, and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership›› (Smolicz and Secombe, 1985: 11).

In summary, these results reflect that studies of language and identity are complex and dynamic because situations, people and events change as a reaction to the social context in which ethnic groups live. Therefore, it is not easy to specifically determine the identity of an individual. However, based on the results of this study, it can be concluded that the determinant factor of identity for Hispanic adolescents in Brisbane is culture rather than language.

6. Discussion

The findings from the current study have demonstrated that those who are highly acculturated tend to favour assimilation, while those not so acculturated tend to favour separation or integration. The data presented in this paper also suggested that the majority of participants had a strong tendency towards integration and separation. The results of the analysis pertaining to the two highest orientations found in this study, integration and separation, were notable for what was revealed about their attitudes towards their cultural heritage. Still, some of these participants, even if they did not speak the Spanish language and lived away from their parents' country of origin, considered the Spanish language as part of their identity and held a more favourable attitude towards the maintenance of the Spanish language than to a shift away from it.[12] It seems that both separated and integrated groups feel more strongly about maintaining their mother tongue than their actual language proficiency or use of it would suggest. This supports Berry's (1992) assertion that an individual's positive attitude towards language maintenance does not always indicate that he or she knows or uses that language.

Overall, immigrants can adopt one of the four acculturation strategies depending on their desire to maintain their own ethnic culture and the desire to adopt the host culture (Bourhis, 1997). Shifting or maintaining a language depends on the advantages or disadvantages of doing so. According to the findings in this study, these include economic opportunities for a better job or social level; the opportunities to practice the language that the person is exposed to in his or her environment; and finally the belief that shifting to another language also means a loss of cultural identity. However, some interviewees from the assimilation groups thought that Spanish was not useful at all, and therefore it was not of any importance for them to transmit the language to their children.

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12. An example of this attitude was given by a 16 year old Argentinian-born girl who was just six months old when she arrived in Australia: ‹‹My father wouldn't allow us to speak Spanish, he thought that English was more important, that's why we, my sisters and I, cannot speak Spanish. But if I could, I definitely would transmit it to my children››.

Based on the analysis and findings of this study, a series of implications can now be discussed. First, this study has shown that Hispanic adolescents in Australia tend to fall mostly within the integration orientation, and to a lesser extent within the separation orientation. These findings are supported by Phinney, DuPont, Espinosa, Revill and Sanders (1994), who found in their study of 505 Latinos in the United States that the participants tended to be integrated or bicultural. Schmitz's (1994) study partly supports these findings by indicating that a group of 65 Central and South Americans in Germany tended to be integrated, although some of those participants tended to be assimilated. These findings are in contrast to what has been found for other ethnic groups in other societies (e.g., Indigenous Australians in Queensland, Canadians in Quebec, and Chinese in Sydney), but are applicable to American Indians in Oklahoma (Kim, 1998). The observation that the acculturation process varies between ethnic groups further suggests that culture rather than language is a salient factor of identity. Secondly, contrary to previous research (Smolicz, 1981) in this study language was not found to be a determining factor of identity. However, present findings confirm previous research (Padilla, 1984; Wherritt and González, 1989) that language is a cultural symbol of the individual's identity, of which he or she feels proud, and is committed to transmitting to future generations. Carranza's (1982) study about language attitudes towards the Spanish language in the United States amongst Mexicans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans demonstrated that language plays an important role in how people from these groups define their group social identity; and concomitantly how this role is somewhat less significant when defining their individual identity. The results from the present study echo Carranza's conclusion as regards the second generation of Hispanic adolescents in Brisbane, who do not consider the Spanish language as a factor in determining their personal identity. Arguably, the tendency to favour the maintenance of the Spanish language would be explained more satisfactorily by ascribing it to language loyalty associated with positive values rather than to identification.

The present findings give further support to Berry's (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) model of acculturation. Berry's model has been used by many researchers in different contexts with different groups, finding a consistent relation between acculturation and features such as identity, language, psychological adjustment, coping styles and health behaviours (Berry, Kim and Boski, 1987; Berry, Kim, Minde and Monk, 1987; Kim, 1988; Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Phinney, Lochner and Murphy, 1990; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder, 2001; Schmitz, 1992, 1994; Szapocznick and Kurtines, 1980; Torres-Matrullo, 1980). The analysis of the network of relationships knitted between such factors and each acculturation group has confirmed the relationship between identity and language in this study.

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Appendix

Identity. One of the purposes of this study was to find out how participants identify themselves, think, and what they consider themselves to be. The questions addressed on this topic were: 1. «How do you think of yourself, as an Australian or as a Hispanic?» «Why?»; 2. «How do you identify yourself?» «Why?»; 4. «How Hispanic (Australian) do you consider yourself to be?».

Culture. These questions are aimed at finding out which are the important aspects of culture which influence how participants feel (or think they feel). They included: 5. «Do you think that for a Hispanic person to be accepted into Australian society they need to give up their culture?» «Why?»; 6. «Do you think it is important for Hispanics in Australia to preserve their culture?» «Why?»; 7. «How do you think this culture should be preserved?».

Spanish language. An examination of language maintenance and language shift was carried out. This was done by asking the following questions: 9. «How much Spanish do you use in everyday life and with whom?»; 10. «On which occasions do you prefer to speak Spanish?» «Why?»; 11. «In which language do you think / talk to yourself / express your feelings?»; 12. «Do you think the Spanish language should be preserved?» «Why?»; 13. «How important is the survival of the Spanish language to you?».

Relationships. Questions on participants' relationships included: 16. «What is your boyfriend's / girlfriend's nationality?» and «What is your parents' opinion about this relationship?».

General attitudes. Some of the questions asked were: 15. «Why do you think some people pass on their language to their kids and why others do not?»; 8. «What would you like to preserve and pass on to your children or to the future generation?».