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Bilingualism and Biculturalism: a study on second generation migrants

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Introduction

In the contemporary global world, bilingualism and biculturalism are phenomena that are constantly increasing and significantly affecting people's lives, especially those of second generation migrants. As individuals who are born and raised in a foreign country, or who moved to a specific country during early childhood, second generation migrants find themselves in a hurricane of different stimuli and experiences. This dissertation aims to explore the different aspects of the phenomenon, examining how the duality of bilingualism and biculturalism can influence second generation migrants' experience. The dissertation is based on the following research questions:

- What is bilingualism and how it impacts people's brain?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism and biculturalism?
- How can biculturalism affect the identity of people?
- How do second generation migrants experience bilingualism and biculturalism?

In the first chapter there will be a general overview of bilingualism and biculturalism, relating those circumstances to theories given by scholars and academics. The definitions of both of them will be explained, followed by the characteristics and by a few studies on bilingualism; there will be a section dedicated to the benefits and the challenges that bilingualism brings and finally a part dedicated to research on second generation migrants.

The second chapter will describe the different effects of biculturalism on identity, analyzing the topic of ethnic identity and how it impacts an individual's life, during his/her growth, from psychological and social points of view. Then, I will provide a description of bicultural identity integration (BII), describing its features, mentioning positive and negative traits. Details of the questionnaire, the interviews and the aim of the survey will also be given, to introduce the study to the reader.

The third chapter contains general and technical information about the survey: the questionnaire and the interview conducted: how they were created; how the sample was

chosen; and how they were administered. The results will be explained in detail, showing the respondents' choices and answers.

CHAPTER ONE: An introduction to bilingualism, biculturalism and second generation migrants

The goal of the first chapter is to provide some definitions of bilingualism and to analyze them, giving examples and outlining the process that leads to such a phenomenon. I will briefly explain the acquisition of languages and then I will describe specifically that of bilingualism within second-generation migrants and how biculturalism is also an important part of bilinguals' life. I will investigate how achievements are made, by giving a general perspective of the psycholinguistic processes of the bilingual brain. Bilingualism is a vast topic and it has been studied by different scholars, each using their own approach. By exploring a few studies that have been conducted, I will present the results and evaluate them.

1.1 Definition and types of bilingualism

It may be hard to define a phenomenon such as bilingualism, because there still does not exist a single description of the process. Learning two or more languages throughout life can happen in a wide variety of ways, and everyone experiences the development with a different pattern. It may be an arduous process, demanding and continually evolving. The reader might ask if a common definition exists, and scholars mention different theories and explanations. According to Bloomfield (1933), bilingualism can be explained as the ability to have "native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield, 1933 in Romaine 1989:10). As he argues, bilingualism is a result of a meticulously incorporated foreign language that can be additional to one's own (Bloomfield, 1933 in Bhatia, et al., 2004). On the other hand, Haugen's idea (1953) brings attention to the fact that the phenomenon of bilingualism might be defined according to the moment when a person develops the capacity to create significant and meaningful statements in a different language from the mother-tongue (Haugen, 1953 in Romaine 1989:10). In compliance with Mohanty and Perregaux (1997), a person can be defined bilingual when he/she achieves the communicative skills that allow him/her to engage with others in a different language. (Mohanty, Perregaux, 1997 in Bhatia, et al. 2004:115). Weinreich's (1953) point of view is both ambiguous and simpler, since he defines it as the use of two languages (Weinreich, 1953 in Bhatia, et al 2004:8). It is easily noticeable how these definitions are very different from one another. Furthermore, earlier definitions have become more and more complex and authors have started questioning the origins of bilingualism, specifically considering the four basic language skills: speaking, reading, writing and listening. To indicate one's proficiency in a language there are also other components to analyse, such as the subdivisions of the basic skills. For example, the speaking skill can include, beyond vocabulary, also grammar and accent (Bhatia, et al 2004:8). The categories to review are broad and different. There have been many tests to estimate bilinguals proficiency, which can include classifications of fluency, flexibility, language use, the capacity to report; it was noticed that factors such as age, sex, viewpoint, memory, language distance, diversity and context can be contradictory and the general results might be unclear (Bhatia, et al 2004:9).

In the process of acquiring more than one language, a distinction must be made between *addictive bilingualism* and *subtractive bilingualism*. The former adds a second language to the main one, expanding the linguistic knowledge of a person; in this case, both languages are continuously used. Meanwhile, the latter can lead to a total substitution of the mother-tongue. This is usually applied within a society which appreciates and evaluates one language more than the other, leading to the possible loss of the least considered. (Bhatia, et al. 2004:10).

To achieve bilingual competence, two main paths have been identified: *simultaneous* or *successive*. (Bhatia, et al. 2004:11). The former represents exposure to two or more languages from a very young age, while the latter refers to the approach to a new language at a more mature age. Simultaneous acquisition represents first language development, but still it is well known that children on many occasions use one language more unwillingly than the other. This is not necessarily related to a deficiency in cognition, but it is a topic that still has several gaps to be filled. After controversies emerged about the risks that simultaneous bilingualism could produce, there were studies which suggested that these negative effects were almost always caused by other factors, such as social, personal or cultural issues (Bhatia, et al. 2004:11). The preferred use of a language rather than another one is often reconnected to the family background and the environment of

the household. For instance, Fillmore (1991) refers to the conflict between generations caused by different kinds of acculturation, which produces in bilingual children the rejection of the parents' language, with the consequent wider use of the host country language. The child may find him/her-self in an intrinsic difficulty both in personal expression and in relationships with others (Fillmore, 1991 in Nguyen, 2022:54-55).

As regards, Meisel (2004) reports how one of the most important questions is about how much the exposure of children to different languages during critical development periods, from birth to around the age of five, could influence the brain linguistically, cognitively and emotionally. In an environment where bilingualism is not a necessity but rather an option, for instance in an immigrant family, parents often choose to opt for monolingualism, seen as a safer alternative. Research has instead shown that child bilingualism does not cause any harm to brain development or to linguistic capacities, and that these concerns are the result of prejudices and social fears (Meisel, 2004 in Bhatia, et al. 2004:92). According to Cummins (2001), the choice of monolingualism in a globalized world such as the one we are living in may prove to be in a great disadvantage, since the knowledge of different languages and cultures could play a significant role in the social and economic environment. Children who are raised as bilinguals and who continue to expand their bilingual education, including literacy, develop a capacity for deeper understanding of the language and its uses (Cummins, 2001:17).

It has been found that children, by the sixth month of life, have the ability to associate sounds to nouns when heard by a familiar speaker; many infants are born in families or territories where bilingualism is developed among people (Schweiter 2015:157). The mind of the child not only has to learn two different languages, but it also has to understand how to separate them when required, monitor the information and how to use specific language in different contexts (Schweiter 2015:157). In an experimental study about the vocabulary learning process, monolingual children and bilingual children were given the task of associating two objects to the corresponding labels. The results showed that the monolingual child was able to do so at the age of 17 months old, while the bilingual child did not associate them until 20 months of age (Schweiter 2015:166).

However, more recently, it has been shown that bilinguals and monolinguals succeed at the same age, as long as the stimuli differ from each other. In fact, bilingual children are particularly flexible when related to specific language instructions, since they all respond in different ways, based not only on their language knowledge but related to their cultural background too (Schweiter 2015:166).

Because of the differences in the learning process of a bilingual, Edwards (2004) comes up with the question "What of the notion that bilingualism can increase intellectual scope?". He gives us an overview of all the problems that bilinguals might face, starting from marginalization, emotional issues, stuttering, ending up with materialism, laziness and resulting with unhealthy implications for intelligence. These problems, which Weinrech addresses with experimental verifications, are more likely connected to the social issues of bilingual and bicultural households more than to bilingualism itself (Edwards, 2004 in Bhatia, et al. 2004:15). Paulston (1982) raises concerns on migrant parents' expectations placed on the children, using the example of Turkish girls from small villages, who moved to Sweden. She describes the difficulties of these girls to reconcile their parents' traditions with those of Swedish people (Paulston, 1982 in Beardsmore, 2003:14). If the two cultures of the bilingual person are very different it may be hard to bring them together (McLaughlin, 1985 in Beardsmore, 2003:15).

1.2 Biculturalism and its characteristics

Being bilingual often means encountering different cultures; bilinguals who live their life through different languages find themselves interacting with cultural identities. They can be categorized as being bicultural, which can have a strong impact on different levels: personal, psychological, linguistical and cognitive. Grosjean (2013:22) separates biculturals into three different categories: in the first category he inserts those who take part, in various ways, in the life of two or more cultures; in the second one, the author places those who alter their personality traits, tongue, and way of thinking to these cultures; in the last category, he positions those who merge and integrate different aspects of the cultures that are taking part in their lives. There is a distinction that must be made about bilingualism and biculturalism; they are not a direct consequence of each other, and

it is not rare to find bilinguals who might not be biculturals. Usually, this case does not apply to migrants, many of whom have become proficient in the language of the host 22country by living in it, and bicultural by absorbing the new culture (Grosjean 2013:23). However, experts acknowledge that biculturalism is difficult to achieve even for migrants who live in contact with both cultures; for instance, Gomez and Fassinger (1994) discovered in a study of 244 Latina students in an American college that most of them were actually more advantaged in knowledge on American culture rather than on the Latino culture. This resulted in considering only 16% of them as biculturals (Gomez and Fassinger, 1994 in Holloway-Friesen, 2008:40).

Grosjean (2013) points out another characteristic of bicultural bilinguals: he describes how these people manage to adjust their actions, thoughts or behaviour when a change of language is applied to the context. This may lead to the creation of a myth, in which it is strongly believed that different languages provide different personalities. The author cites a famous Czech proverb, "Learn a new language and get a new soul"; the explanation of these suggestion is clearly findable in those studies which prove how a shift in behaviour happens when there is a change of context. Yet, these shifts are simply explainable by people's ability to adapt themselves according to the situation they are, in the same way monolinguals do. For instance, biculturals who are not bilinguals have the same identical ability (Grosjean 2013:23). Researchers explain that biculturals do not necessarily incur in linguistic issues or identity conflict; otherwise, the encounter between cultures can bring great benefits, as long as the possible conflict between them does not affect the person directly (Chen, et al. 2008:805).

In bicultural bilinguals, the nature of lexicon was studied by Weinrech (1968). He presents three types of bilingualism: in each of these typologies, the meaning of words is considered in distinct ways. In the first type (Type A), the meaning of the two words is kept unconnected, whilst in the second type (Type B) the words unite in the same reality and they have an identical meaning. He added a third type (Type C), which I previously mentioned, called *subordinative bilingualism*, where words in one language are elucidated by words in the other language. Yet, it has to be kept in mind that bicultural bilinguals may represent, throughout their spoken sentences, the realities of the cultures

they approach; hence, different aspects of life will lead them to use one word rather than another, with a defined meaning, based on their cultural preference (Grosjean 2013:23-24).

Park (1928) and Stonequist (1935) developed a discussion on people who live in between two cultures and feel part of both of those, defining them as "marginal people", which leads them to being a disconnected person, without unity and with a self-perception that can be disordered, not to mention the psychological inconsistency (in LaFromboise, et al. 1993:395). DuBois (1961) identifies this as a *double-consciousness*, which involves a divided self, with a dual and different attitude towards identification. These assumptions result in a discussion of the phenomenon in an undesirable way, showing it to create personality complexities and to generate confusion, uncertainty and unregulated behaviour (DuBois, 1961 in LaFromboise, et al. 1993).

On the contrary, Goldberg (1941) and Green (1947) claim that bicultural people do not necessarily face all of these issues; it may surely happen, especially when the person internalizes the conflict between the cultures he lives in. Yet, this does not represent a prerogative to all the previously mentioned characteristics. (Goldberg, 1941 and Green, 1947 in LaFromboise, et al. 1993:395). According to Goldberg (1941) "a marginal person may (a) share his or her condition with others of the same original culture; (b) engage in institutional practices that are shared by other "marginal people"; (c) experience no major blockage or frustrations associated with personal, economic, or social expectations; and (d) perceive himself or herself to be a member of a group" (Goldberg, 1941 in LaFromboise, et al. 1993:395).

Despite the fact that a wide number of forms behaviour are likely to be involved in bicultural competence acquisition, the studies on biculturalism still point to the psychological struggles that living between different cultures may cause to a person. Research conducted by Bennet (1991) suggests, on the other hand, that a life spent in between bicultural environment, to somebody, could be definitely more beneficial than a monolingual one. (Bennet, 1991 in LaFromboise, et al. 1993:402) The answer to achieving psychological balance within two cultures can be found in the ability to manage

them and to maintain a stable relationship with both cultures. Sameroff (1982) puts forward that self identity is created around one's self-perception and the impact that one's has in social roles or on a cultural level in relationships. He suggests that a person's ability to incorporate bicultural competence is developed by having a strong individuality, which can allow one to avoid negative consequences by the immersion in a double-culture context (Sameroff, 1982 in LaFromboise, et al. 1993:402).

1.3 Studies on bilinguals

In the first part of this section, I will analyse the results of a longitudinal study in bilingual achievements among the Spanish second generation speakers. The study was conducted by Peal and Lambert, matching a monolingual class in Montreal with bilingual speakers (English-French) (Martinez, Portes, 2022). The researchers interviewed 6725 children of immigrants in Madrid and Barcelona, with an average age of 14. They were all defined "second generation", although they had different backgrounds: some of them were born in Spain from immigrant parents, others were born in a foreign country but brought to Spain before the age of 12. The results were surprising, as they found that balanced bilinguals had a higher performance in distinct IQ tests, which included verbal and non-verbal tests. 8% of them were monolingual, because of their South-America origins. The indicators used were education and occupational achievement (Martinez, Portes, 2022).

The authors advocated that bilinguals have two different representations of objects in their minds, with the consequent association to different words. Thereby, the emancipation and detachment from concreteness is effortless. As Bialystok (2011) states, "in controlled studies of cognitive performances across the life span, bilinguals consistently outperformed their monolingual counterpart" (Bialystok, 2011 in Martinez, Portes, 2022). The effects of bilingualism on cognitive skills have also been seen in large-scale studies in Southern California, where bilingual students perform remarkably in a school context. Most bilinguals are born in a foreign country or have foreign parents; the effort put by these bilinguals in learning the host language while preserving their family mother-tongue, could improve their ability and academic performances, because of the big effort they put in the process of maintaining both languages simultaneously.

The study also claims that bilingualism increases the flexibility of the brain, opens the door to much more communication, especially when immigrant parents don't efficiently learn the host language and preserve their native one (Martinez, Portes, 2022). Further to this, fluent bilingualism is also a resource for job opportunities, besides the educational ones. From the study it comes out that children born in the country (Spain, in this case) are less likely to become bilingual.

Additionally to this, another brain resource is the one Diamond (2010) describes: "Multilingual people have a special challenge involving executive function" (Diamond, 2010), because of the execution that needs to be done when trying to keep the different languages, words and their respective meanings separate. For instance, the word "burro" heard by an Italian who also speaks Spanish has two whole different meanings (burro in Italian means butter, meanwhile in Spanish it means donkey) and the person has to be able to interpretate it depending on the context (Diamond, 2010:332). Furthermore, early studies showed that bilingual children perform better than monolingual children on metalinguistic tasks that demand controlled attention and inhibition, but they perform equally when asked to distinguish grammatical errors (Bialystok, 2009). The research reported by Bialystok affirms also that bilingual children develop the ability to solve problems concerning with conflicting or misleading at an earlier age than monolinguals.

On the other hand, the analyzation of how bilingualism affects adulthood qualities and properties reports that there is a clear pattern where bilinguals reach a superiority in results of the indicators in various achievements. For example, the average employment of bilinguals is higher than that of monolinguals. Students who handled acquiring two or more languages are also shown to perform better in school leading (Martinez, Portes, 2022). There is a connection in youth's achievement in education and their bilingualist background; bilingualism in fact influences the levels of education, and consequently this contributes to families' higher incomes. As can be expected, higher education leads to more opportunities in the labour market. Therefore, bilingualism is not directly affecting the levels of occupation, but it is increasing levels of education, using it as a mediation. The economic wealth of second generation migrants is a result of family situation with the addiction of their own achievements in academic or workplace fields. It is quite foreseeable that, as it was found in the study, variables as gender, country of birth or

family status are just aspects which may have positive effects on education (Martinez, Portes, 2022).

1.4 Benefits and challenges of bilingualism

The controversies on the linguistic integration of concern different school of thoughts. There are those who believe that integration allows migrants to have access to the host culture and language whilst maintaining those of their family background. Others argue that integration can be negative, particularly because migrant children are likely to lose their parental language, which should instead be considered a precious resource (Martinez, Portes, 2022).

Regardless of those controversies, the challenges of bilingualism may be various; Diamond (2010) presents a few of them. Until the 1960s, studies showed that bilingual children developed in a slower way the use of languages and performed with a smaller repertory of vocabulary. Some migrants decided to raise their children as monolinguals, because it was strongly believed that doing so would make it easier for the child to learn. Bilingualism was thus put aside, owing to the fact that it was believed to cause confusion. Yet, contrary to the previous statements, Diamond (2010) illustrates one of the benefits of bilingualism; he describes how recent studies have shown that children who were raised bilingual gain specific cognitive advantages during childhood, and bilingualism can, in fact, provide protection against Alzheimer's dementia developing. Moreover, recent studies are searching for the benefits that bilingualism can produce, rather than limitations (Diamond, 2010:332).

Among hundreds of elderly Canadians suffering from Alzheimer's dementia, the author noticed how bilinguals manifested the first symptoms 5 years older than monolinguals. This confirms that the brain is exactly like any other muscle in our body: the more you exercise it, the less probability that it will deteriorate. This is also the reason why Alzheimer's patients are motivated on continuously train their brain activity, and what could be better than bilingualism process? It represents a constant practice, because it also happens in different moments: it can happen consciously or unconsciously (Diamond, 2010:333).

The source of those advantages have been correlated to bilingual's need to select and to keep under surveillance their spoken words and their language production (Schweiter, 2015:169). When speaking, bilinguals are used to operate with both vocabularies alongside in their mind. This perpetual activity, set side by side with the monolingual one, needs an involving increased attention, to reach the levels of automatically selecting the suitable word based on the context of the situation. Kovàcs and Mehler (2009) did a study on 7-months-old infants to evaluate their capacity to inhibit a formerly learned reaction (Kovàcs & Mehler, 2009 in Schweiter 2015:169). The infants, divided in monolinguals and bilinguals, were learnt to look at a specific direction subsequently at a received stimulus. On the second phase of the experiment, the location was modified. Even though there were not differences in firstly learning where to direct the gaze, only bilinguals were able to move their gaze in the right direction in the second phase. Several studies have reported cognitive benefits for bilingual infants in the component of memory skills too (Schweiter 2015:169).

1.5 Research on second generation migrants

Paying attention to the bilingualism phenomenon from the point of view of second generation migrants, in this last part of the chapter I will examine some results from a study that was conducted on language knowledge and preferences among second generation students. During the early 1900s, scientific knowledge imposed its opposition to the phenomenon of bilingualism (Portes, Schauffler, 1994:642). Many migrants, during this period, continued to promote and use their native language through religion, newspapers and community organizations. At this point, resistance and opposition to languages other than languages positioned within society (Ovando, 2003 in DeCapua, Wintergerst, 2009). Further to this, two schools of thought developed in this period: the first one connected a low level of English to a low level of intelligence, basing the results on genetics differences, debating migrants' ability to learn; meanwhile the second one based its results on environmental influences, for instance the use of a different language at home (Portes, Schauffler, 1994:643). As previously mentioned in the studies of Peal and Lambert, those affirmations were soon disapproved by pioneer studies, reaffirming a greater degree of cognitive flexibility on the part of bilinguals and confirming that

bilingualism does not cause any confusion, but rather it helps people in understanding in a wide range of situations.

The United States, despite the positive outcome of the studies on the benefits of bilingualism, is still one of the countries with a very high rate at which foreign languages have been extinguished in between generations. The pattern represents the loss of the language within the third generation of migrants, in which the home language has already shifted to English (Portes, Schauffler, 1994:643). However, recent sociological studies have shown the importance and the relevance of the first language, the environment, the social class and the context in the social adaptation of groups of migrants. Consequently, those migrants who find unpleasant situation in governmental reception, are strongly depreciate and show more difficulties in adapting to the new society, due to a feeling of non-appreciation by the host country. (Portes, Schauffler, 1994:644).

Independently of migrant parents' wish to transmit their language to the children, the passage of time might place English in first place in social and personal contexts, leading to the gradual abandonment of the home language. Portes and Schauffler (1994) investigated, with a survey of 2843 eight and nine grade students in Miami schools, the effects of time in language shifting between generations. Children from the most diverse regions of the world were interviewed, and that also helped to design the composition of immigrants in the area. The results show that children of migrants declare that they have become proficient in English categorizing themselves as knowing English "very well" or "well" (Portes, Schauffler, 1994:647).

Characteristic	English Proficiency				Foreign-Language Proficiency				Language Preference "I generally prefer to speak:"				
	Not at All/ Not Well (%)	Well (%)	Very Well (%)	Va	Not at All/ Not Well (%)	Well (%)	Very Well (%)	V ^a	English (%)	Other Language (%)	V ^a	Totals ^b (N)	
Sex													
Male	1.30	28.80	69.90	0.066	36.00	36.90	27.10	0.064	81.10	18.90	0.022	1,367	
Female	1.30	23.10	75.60	(0.010)	33.40	33.60	33.00	(0.010)	79.40	2.60	(0.240)	1,476	
Age													
13 or younger	0.70	19.50	79.80		34.20	37.90	27.90		86.10	13.90		549	
14	1.20	23.70	75.10		33.00	36.20	3.70		79.90	2.10	0.087	1,286	
15	0.70	31.10	68.20	0.120	36.30	32.50	31.20	0.038	78.80	21.20		804	
16 or older	5.90	35.80	58.30	(0.001)	39.20	31.90	28.90	(0.250)	72.10	27.90	(0.001)	204	
National Origin													
Cuban (private school)	1.20	27.30	71.50		11.00	51.20	37.80		93.50	6.50		172	
Cuban (public school)	0.60	23.90	75.50		27.50	4.00	32.50		81.00	19.00		991	
Nicaraguan	3.10	41.70	55.10		22.10	36.40	41.40		73.90	26.10		321	
Other Latin American	1.00	26.60	72.40		27.00	38.20	34.80		74.60	25.40		692	
Haitian	4.60	25.70	69.70		67.80	2.40	11.80		85.50	14.50		152	
West Indian	0.80	17.90	81.30	0.126	7.60	15.60	13.70	0.265	83.30	16.70	0.132	262	
Other nationality	1.20	18.60	8.20	(0.001)	58.10	24.90	17.00	(0.001)	85.50	14.50	(0.001)	253	
Length of U.S. Residence													
Five to nine years	2.90	4.10	57.00		24.50	32.70	42.70		7.80	29.20		660	
10 years or more	0.80	28.30	7.90	0.157	35.40	35.20	29.40	0.120	77.60	22.40	0.155	724	
U.Sborn	0.80	18.20	81.00	(0.001)	38.90	36.30	24.90	(0.001)	85.80	14.20	(0.001)	1,459	
Place of Residence													
Miami (Dade County)	1.30	26.90	71.80	0.063	31.50	36.90	31.50	0.177	8.90	19.10	0.043	2,504	
Fort Lauderdale (Broward County)	1.50	18.30	8.20	(0.010)	57.50	22.40	2.10	(0.001)	75.50	24.50	(0.030)	339	
Father's Education													
Not high school graduate	1.70	3.00	68.30		3.90	36.80	32.30		77.60	22.40		634	
High school graduate	1.00	25.00	74.00	0.061	35.50	35.50	28.90	0.031	81.10	18.90	0.048	1,010	
College graduate	0.70	21.50	77.80	(0.010)	32.90	35.20	31.90	(0.300)	82.60	17.40	(0.060)	767	
Mother's Education													
Not high school graduate	1.50	3.70	67.80		33.50	35.10	31.40		76.00	24.00		678	
High school graduate	1.40	24.30	74.30	0.062	34.60	35.70	29.70	0.015	82.20	17.80	0.066	1,319	
College graduate	0.30	22.10	77.60	(0.001)	32.70	36.00	31.30	(0.890)	81.20	18.80	(0.010)	633	

TABLE 1	
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Figure 1: Table 1: Language Knowledge and preferences among second generation youths in South Florida:1992 (Portes & Shcauffler, 1994).

Characteristic		For	eign-Langu	age Proficienc	Language Preference "I generally prefer to speak:"							
	Not at All/ Not Well (%)	Well (%)	Very Well (%)	V ^a	Not at All/ Not Well (%)	Well (%)	Very Well (%)	Vª	English (%)	Other Language (%)	Vª	Totals ^b (N)
ather's Occupational Status												
Lower	0.90	30.10	69.00		33.80	35.40	30.80		78.30	21.70		957
Lower-Middle	0.90	21.60	77.50		36.00	37.30	26.80		82.50	17.50		467
Upper-Middle	0.70	18.50	80.80	0.080	28.30	34.90	36.80	0.057	81.40	18.60	0.067	421
Higher	0.70	21.10	78.20	(0.001)	34.20	38.80	27.10	(0.03)	85.20	14.80	(0.020)	436
Aother's Occupational Status ^c												
Lower	1.10	30.60	68.30		35.00	35.30	29.70		77.30	22.70		836
Lower-Middle	0.70	26.90	72.40		31.90	38.40	29.70		81.20	18.80		417
Upper-Middle	0.50	16.50	83.00	0.098	44.70	30.70	24.60	0.071	84.70	15.30	0.083	394
Higher	1.30	19.30	79.50	(0.001)	31.30	38.00	30.80	(0.010)	84.80	15.20	(0.010)	400
lass Self-Identification												
Working class or poor	2.20	33.10	64.70		32.40	35.70	31.90		74.30	25.70		586
Lower-middle class	1.50	26.70	71.90	0.079	34.10	36.10	29.80	0.023	80.30	19.70	0.079	963
Upper-middle class	0.80	21.90	77.30	(0.001)	36.10	34.20	29.70	(0.550)	82.80	17.20	(0.001)	1,294

*Cramer's V². Probability levels in parenthesis. *Table totals exclude missing data. *SEI occupational prestige scores collapsed as follows: Lower 40%="Lower;" next higher 20%="Lower-middle;" next higher 20%="Upper-middle;" top 20%="Higher."

Figure 2: Table 2: Language Knowledge and preferences among second generation youths in South Florida:1992 (Portes & Shcauffler, 1994).

As shown in Table 1 and Table 2, different characteristics were added to the questionnaire, in order to comprehend the correlations, but only age, national origin and length of residence in USA influenced the results about English proficiency. It is also interesting to note how the higher the parental positions, the higher is the children's knowledge of English. However, the key factor to read this table is the correlation between English knowledge among migrants' children and their length of residence in the United States. The highest number of those who were born in the U.S. are in fact those who show a higher proficiency in English. In the same way the knowledge of the foreign language was also calculated, and it is clear that there is a difference between the two parts. The proficiency in the foreign language (Portes, Schauffler, 1994:650). In fact, looking at the differences in generations on maintaining the heritage-language, most members of the later generation only speak English. This happens because there are no bilingual programs in the school and there is very little community support. (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002 in DeCapua, Wintergerst, 2009).

The results of the interview are in agreement with the previously outlined theories, and the passage of time in fact has negative effects on the maintenance of the foreign language. It is to be specified that the loss of the home language it is not to be encouraged, on the contrary bilingualism should be supported, as it leads to the positive effects formerly indicated (Portes, Schauffler, 1994:650).

CHAPTER TWO: The effects of biculturalism on identity and an introduction to the study

In the first part of this chapter I will focus on the effects of biculturalism on identity, exploring the processes and the approaches, as well as the different features of it, such as the feeling of belonging to the community. The aim is to give the reader useful information on the phenomenon, in order to continue in the second part of the chapter with the introduction of the study, its aims and the structure of the tools adopted, such as the questionnaire and the interview.

2.1 Ethnic identity

Today's new second generation of migrants is likely to present diverse perspectives and to take different paths in life, according to their background experience and to conditions and social context (Rumbaut, 1994:753). Young people compare themselves with the others around them, a process based on similarity or dissimilarity with the reference group – for instance groups are categorized by gender, age, class and nationality. In this case, ethnic self-awareness is heightened or lessened depending on the type of context they find themselves in; if the context is appropriate for youths to grow up in, ethnicity might not be troubling; if, on the contrary, the context presents a dissonance, the salience of ethnicity becomes higher, especially when followed by discrimination (Rumbaut, 1994:754).

Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) point out how the importance of bicultural identity in both individual and social contexts offers researchers a new point of view to explore personal differences in the self-conception dynamic (Benet-Martinez, Haritatos, 2005:1016). As Phinney (1999) explains, "increasing numbers of people find that the conflicts are not between different groups but between different cultural values, attitudes, and expectations within themselves" (Phinney, 1999 in Benet-Martinez, Haritatos, 2005:1017). Facing the topic of ethnic identity, the question "Where do I come from?" is the first that may come to mind. While ethnic-identity can be socially created, nativity variables (for example the place of birth) are without doubt important for ethnic and national definitions. For children of migrants, there are some variables that can allegedly cause difficulties in answering questions of ethnic origin, for instance when the country of birth of the parents differs from that of the children (Portes, Rumbaut, 2001). Compared to the first generation, second generation identification is more complex and members face more challenges in the process of identity formation, where they often need to balance conflicting allegiances and attachments. Living between two cultural situations, they create their identity and define themselves in comparison with multiple reference groups (often in two countries and two different languages) (Portes, Rumbaut, 2001).

The influence of bicultural ideologies is amplified by modern technologies that help and make it easy for migrants and their children or relatives to stay in touch with family and friends who live back home (Portes, Rumbaut, 2014 in Meca et al., 2019). and to have access to family cultural-related media (Jensen et al., 2011 in Meca et al., 2019). For instance, the Chicano community in the USA has a particularly story about immigration, because of the strong pressures imposed on becoming monolingual in English. The results in integration terms are strongly influenced, even though US majority members are starting to realize the importance and the value of keeping a bilingual and a bicultural identity (Hurtado, Gurin, 1987). Language appreciations may also be released from ethnic identity, whereas individuals create their identities by distinguishing their group appurtenance from another one.

Since language is one of the bases of social differences, it represents a social construction for group identification (Hurtado, Gurin, 1987). As can be seen in a study conducted by De La Zerda and Hopper (1975) in San Antonio, Texas, a difference has been found in evaluating English and the Chicano dialect. Firstly, people who thought of themselves as American downgraded speech styles and favored standard English; meanwhile people who considered themselves Mexican accepted speech styles but still preferred standard English. Finally, people who identified as Chicano downgraded standard English and favored Chicano dialect (Hurtado, Gurin, 1987). As Hunynh, Benet-Martinez and Nguyen (2018:2) point out, what one should remember about biculturals is that "these individuals are undergoing acculturation, the process of adapting behaviorally and psychologically to a second culture. [...] In this adaptation process, they must negotiate sets of affective, behavioral, and cognitive expectation stemming from membership in two or more cultural groups."

2.2 Bicultural Identity Integration (BII)

When thinking about biculturalism, a connection may be made with senses of pride and a strong sense of community, but it may also cause identity confusion, double expectations and values dissonances (Benet-Martinez, Haritatos, 2005:1017). Arnett (2002) addresses identity issues as one of the main consequences of globalization. The phenomenon of developing a bicultural identity happens through processes of culture traditions interacting with each other. For non-Western groups, local traditions are rooted in tradition, norms and practices with which they were raised; on the other side, the Western world leads them to face a global identity that is influenced by values and beliefs of Western cultural groups (Arnett, 2002 in Chen, et al. 2008).

Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) has been a central topic of studies over the years for many scholars (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Hong, Wan, No, & Chiu, 2007; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015). BII represents biculturals' perception of the level of compatibility between their two cultures and identities. For instance, Oppeheim-Weller and Kurman (2017) conducted a study on BII to highlight the factors that can lead and help the process. They divide three types of identity: central, peripheral and conflictual. The former is the one people identify and dominates their lifestyle; the second one is a more distant one; the latter is a peripheral identity that involves dealing with two groups in an already-existing conflict between them (Oppenheim-Weller, Kurman, 2017).

BII is typically conceptualized as a stable individual difference, but Cheng and Lee (2013) found out, throughout a study, that BII can me malleable (Cheng, Lee, 2013). The malleability of BII was supported by the research and it was shown that it is in fact malleable depending on biculturals' past experience and personal background history. In the view of culture where biculturals can switch between schemas depending on the situation, BII has been seen to play a fundamental role in the way biculturals manage to shift within different cultures (Cheng, Lee, 2013).

BII is defined as "high" when the two cultural identities are represented as interconnected, coherent and integrated, meanwhile is defined as "low" when the cultural identities are opposed, separated, divided and unintegrated (Mok, Morris, 2012). Additionally, "BII goes beyond additive consideration of cultural identification, as two bicultural people whose two cultures are equally important to them can differ on BII depending on how they manage and integrate the two cultural systems" (Meca, et. al. 2019:43). Research on Bicultural Identity Integration has greatly advanced the study of cultural identity by describing the essential cognitive and emotional characteristics of an integrated identity, offering a way to measure this integration. It can be summarized that the dimensions of BII offer an original method for merging and synthesizing one's two cultural backgrounds, resulting in the creation of a personalized and unique culture (Schwartz, et. al., 2019:28).

2.3 The aim of the study

From a psychological perspective, each language activates a corresponding psychological response; bilinguals may alternate their emotion, cognition and behaviour, considered personality traits, as a feedback to linguistic cues (Chen, 2015). With my research I wish to explore the self-perception of second generation migrants on their personal experiences when they come across possible emotional and behavioral discordances and how their cultural mindset might be influenced. Little is known about how BII changes when culturally significant events happen during adulthood; these are events such as marrying or having children, both of which involve a personal and familiar sphere but that are also cognitively and emotionally challenging. Such events may possibly cause some irregularities in behaviour after periods of identity stability (Lilgendahl et al., 2018:1619). Within my interviews, this is a topic that I would like to explore, in order to understand if those cultural significant events really represent a difficult and intricate bridge to cross to achieve a more clear and stable identity.

One of the main challenges in the adult life of a second generation migrant is to combine the different elements of oneself into creating a strong sense of self-identity. Research on BII has shown that the paths to achieve and win this identity challenge may be different in everyone's experience. Some may experience lower levels of BII, because of distance and dissonance in between the cultures, while someone else develops a higher level of BII, because of powerful feelings of bicultural consonance (Ligendahl, et al., 2018).

As both bilingualism and biculturalism play a central role in the development of second generation migrant identity, one of the aims of my study will be to investigate the phenomenon related to living in a host country that presents a different language and a different culture from that of one's household. Combining the two or more realities may create dissonances and insecurities that can influence the growth of the identity and could result in the appearance of difficulties to integrate in society.

Question construction may be divided in two main forms: closed and open. Both of them have advantages and disadvantages. Closed ones can be "yes/no" or multiple choice. This makes it easier to the respondent to answer and consequently to gather and compare the different answers. In contrast, open questions concede respondents to provide accurate and personalized answers. Researchers can often better explain the meaning of a particular issue, but the comparison and the data collecting can be inevitably more challenging. Once the answers are collected, effective data management becomes the key for a successful use of questionnaires. Electronic responses may also allow direct placement into the system (Slattery, et al., 2011:).

The focus of the study is to investigate both the advantages and disadvantages that living in between two different languages and cultures can produce. Questionnaires represent the most used data collection devices when it comes to statistical work; their main efficacy is the ease of their construction process (Dörneyi, 2003). As Brown (2001) affirms, "Questionnaires are any written instruments that present respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers". In general, questionnaires can be divided into three categories: factual, behavioral and attitudinal. The first one implies questions to find out typically demographic characteristics, residential location, status, education or religion. In the second category, questions revolve around respondents behavior and what they have done in the past or are doing; typically the questions are about life-style, habits and personal history. In the last category, the research concerns attitudes, interests, opinions, beliefs and values (Dörneyi, 2003).

Further to this, in general, semi-structured interviews are suitable for lecturing more intricate social-behavioral questions. These typically involve questions which aim is to better understand if a service is necessary, how a service should be applied, how a service is currently functioning or how it could be improved. [...] (Adeoye-Olatunde and Olenik, 2021). Sampling is also an important part of research, because of its influence on the trustworthiness of the findings. They strongly rely on the sample's knowledge of the topic. For this reason, it is important to well-consider and find the best sample possible for the study. [...] (Adeoye-Olatunde and Olenik, 2021). There are different ways in which semi-structured interviews might be conducted: in person, by phone or via video. It is often recommended to record interviews in order to capture the data most effectively for analysis, but it remains up to investigators to decide whether or not to do it. Additionally, recording the conversation allows the interviewer to act more naturally and flow effortlessly during the interview (Adeoye-Olatunde and Olenik, 2021).

In this case, participants were asked to fill a short questionnaire with both close-ended and open-ended questions. The results were analyzed to indicate the average age of the respondents, their status and to present a small overview of their background. Moreover, through the answers the advantages and the disadvantages of bilingualism and biculturalism will be analyzed, also through personal experiences of respondents. To a smaller sample, I will personally propose some questions about their own perceptions about bilingualism, about their personal approaches to the languages and also about biculturalism, how they experience it and how it affects their everyday life. Moreover, my goal was to focus on how an identity could be divided in two different realities: the one experienced outside the household and the one experienced at home or within the community. The whole sample includes second generation migrants who were born in the country they currently live in; they all have different backgrounds, with different stories.

2.4 The questionnaire and the interviews

By administering a questionnaire to a group of people, a large amount of information could be obtained in a little space of time, requiring a smaller amount of effort than the one put in interviewing the same number of people. Moreover, if the construction of the questionnaire is well-done, processing the data becomes fast, especially by using modern software (Dörneyi, 2003). To create the questionnaire, I decided to mix the three previously mentioned categories (factual, behavioral and attitudinal) in order to achieve broader and more varied results, so that the analyzation might be done on more aspects of the respondent's lives. In this case, to avoid misunderstandings and problems in categorizing the answers, the sample will be wider when it comes to the questionnaire and smaller for the interviews part. The first step is to gather information about second generation migrants who have experienced problems such as: bilingual difficulties, identity issues, conflict, language struggling, culture insecurity. The information will be helpful to understand how their own experience and environment influenced their life and how the exposure to this type of issues can have an impact in a person's identity.

In questionnaire design, the length of the questionnaire is very important. Producing a long questionnaire could be counterproductive, and most researchers agree that anything longer than 4-6 pages might be considered too much (Dörneyi, 2003). Because of this, this questionnaire will consist of 16 questions. A number of the questions will concern bilingualism and others will explore biculturalism and identity. All these patterns create a faster and much more fluid questionnaire. It is important to specify that the questionnaire is identical for every respondent, with no differences in between and no personalization. The respondents will have complete anonymity and no name or confidential information will be reported here. They are also informed that every information gathered within the questionnaire will be used for study purposes only. In the first part, the respondent will give general information about himself/herself, such as age and provenience. Additionally, he/she will provide deeper information about family background, personal view and possible issues related to language and identity. Finally, there is the chance to share more information about personal experiences related to the topic. The questionnaire in total presents 9 closed-ended items, 2 checklists, 1 rating scale

item and 4 open-ended items. As regards the interviews, they will be conducted entirely by me, on person, with each one of the interviewees.

For the analysis of the results, the use of thematic analysis (TA) will surely help. Through the data extraction from both the questionnaire and the interviews, I will evaluate the information gathered. TA's main strength is flexibility in terms of research question, sample size and constitution. TA is useful when patterns are to be identified across the data in relation to respondent's lives and experiences, views, perspectives and behaviour. [...] Researchers have used TA to analyse various experiential concerns using positive psychology; TA can also be used to interrogate patterns that revolve around a specific topic, and to ask questions about the implications of these. TA is a method that can also be used in the analyzation process of both large and small data sets, from cases with 1-2 participants, to large cases with 60 or more interviews (Clarke and Braun, 2017).

CHAPTER THREE: Results extraction and discussion

In this chapter, I will present the results of the questionnaire and I will report the answers given to the interviews, analyzing the different points of view and with reference to the previously discussed arguments. Finally, I will provide some concluding observations.

3.1 Technical information

The sample selected for the research questionnaire includes 171 respondents. I created an online form and distributed it among second generation migrants, through friends, colleagues and social media. All the participants were asked to answer to the questions and (if they wished) to give a personal opinion or suggestion at the end of the questionnaire. The decision to use the questionnaire was driven by the simplicity of creating it and by the wide number of people I could reach by using this method. It facilitated the collection of the data and the summarization of the results, through the use of the software chosen.

On the other hand, I conducted five interviews about bilingualism and biculturalism with five different second generation migrants. They were all asked the same seven questions and they gave answers based on their own personal experience. They had different cultural backgrounds: one Brazilian, one Macedonian, one Croatian and two Albanians. The interviews lasted about 10 minutes each, and those interviewed had the opportunity to speak openly and without interruptions.

3.2 Questionnaire results

1. How old are you?

171 risposte

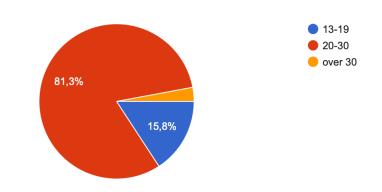


Figure 1: Answers to question 1

The first question (Figure 1) was related to age. The respondents were given three possibilities: 13-19, 20-30 or over 30. As seen in the figure (Figure 1), the majority of the respondents (81.3%) are 20-30 years old. Following, the 15.8% are between 13-19 years old and lastly, just the 2.9% of the respondents are over 30 years old.

2. Where are your parents from and where did you grow up?

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Figure 2: Question 2

The second question (Figure 2) was an open-ended question, and all of the 171 responded. Everyone answered that they had grown up in Italy, but the answers to the origin country of the parents were very different. The parents were:

- 28 from Romania
- 27 from Albania
- 10 from Morocco
- 10 from Brazil
- 9 from Peru
- 7 from Moldova

- 6 from Ukraine
- 6 from India
- 5 from Bosnia and Herzegovina
- 4 from Philippines
- 4 from Macedonia
- 4 from Germany
- 4 from Ecuador
- 4 from Colombia
- 3 from Poland
- 3 from Kosovo
- 3 from Algeria
- 2 from Switzerland
- 2 from Sri Lanka
- 2 from Spain
- 2 from Mexico
- 2 from France
- 2 from England
- 2 from Cuba
- 2 from Canada
- 2 from Belgium
- 2 from Argentina
- 1 from Uzbekistan
- 1 from Tunisia
- 1 from Serbia
- 1 from Russia
- 1 from Pakistan
- 1 from Jordan
- 1 from Ivory Coast
- 1 from Ghana
- 1 from Czech Republic
- 1 from China
- 1 from Bulgaria

- 1 from Bolivia
- 1 from Benin
- 1 from Belarus

3. Would you describe yourself as bilingual?

171 risposte

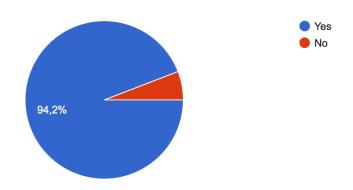


Figure 3: Answers to question 3

4. Would you describe yourself as bicultural?

The third question (Figure 3) was about considering oneself as bilingual, giving the opportunity to answer with a "yes" or a "no". The answers to this question represent a 94.2% "yes", and a slight 5.8% "no".

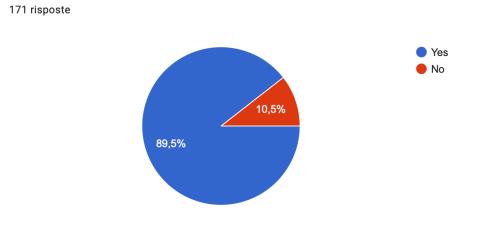


Figure 4: Answers to question 4

The fourth question (Figure 4) was about considering oneself as bicultural. As with the previous question, I gave the opportunity to answer with a simple "yes" or "no". 89.5% answered "yes", while the 10.5% answered "no".

Have you ever had difficulties in answering to the question "where are you from?"
 171 risposte

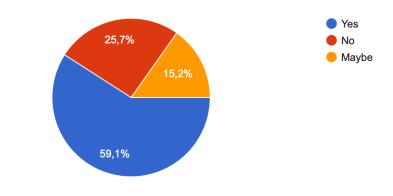
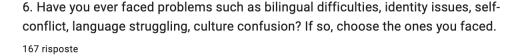


Figure 5: Answers to question 5

The fifth question (Figure 5) questions if respondents have ever had difficulties in answering the question "Where are you from?". The possible answers here were three: yes, no and maybe. 59.1% of the respondents chose "yes", followed by the answer "no" with 25.7% of respondents and lastly "maybe" was chosen by 15.2% of them.



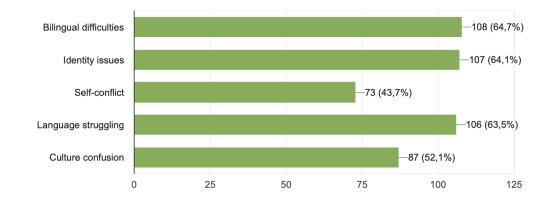


Figure 6: Answers to question 6

The sixth question (Figure 6) asks if respondents have ever faced a list of problems related to bilingualism and biculturalism, where they had to tick the problems they faced. Here, the respondents had the possibility to tick as many problems as they wished do, even all of them. In fact, 108 out of 171 chose "bilingual difficulties", representing 64.7% of participants; following, on "identity issues" the number of choices were 107 (64.1% of the respondents). "Language struggling" was selected by 106 respondents, which represents 63.5% of 171 respondents. Going on, the selection lowered a little with "culture confusion", with 87 choices (52.1%). The least selected one was "self-conflict", with just 73 selections, which represents the 43.7% of all the respondents.

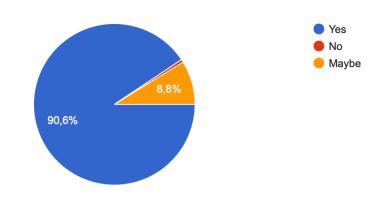
7. Did you learn the languages you know at the same time? If so, did you ever experience difficulties?171 risposte

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Figure 7: Question 7

The seventh question (Figure 7) asks if the respondents learned the languages at the same time and if so, if they ever experienced difficulties. The answers were several and varied. 60% learnt both languages at the same time, while 40% of the respondents learnt them at different times, especially in the case where one language was learnt within the family

and the other one at school. 24% answered that they did not experience difficulties in the process of learning the languages they speak, while the rest of the respondents (76%) experienced some kind of difficulty: someone reported difficulties in the grammar of the language spoken at home, others in lexicon in both languages, others in syntax and those who did not learn the languages at the same time had difficulties in learning a new language to communicate in at school.



8. Would you say bilingualism has brought benefits to your life?

Figure 8: Answers to question 8

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The eighth question (Figure 8) asked the participants if they thought bilingualism had brought benefits to their life. As with question 5 (Figure 5), they had the possibility to choose between yes, no and maybe. Most of them answered with "yes", gaining a percentage of 90.6%. 8.8% chose "maybe", while just 0.6% of them selected "no".

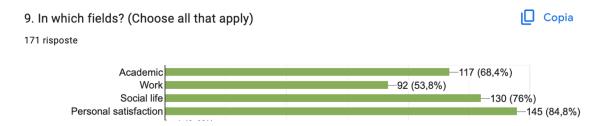


Figure 9: Answers to question 9

In the ninth question (Figure 9) I gave the possibility to choose some of the fields where the respondents thought bilingualism has brought them benefits. Among 171 answers, there were 145 to "personal satisfaction" (84.8%), 130 to "social life" field (76%), 117 choices were given to "academic" field (68.4%) and 92 to "work" field (53.8%).

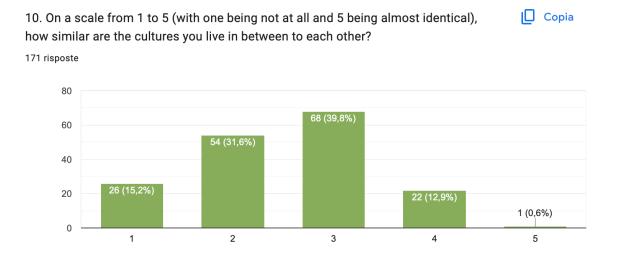


Figure 10: Answers to question 10

In the tenth question (Figure 10) the participants were asked to rate on a scale from 1 to 5 (with one being not at all and 5 being almost identical) how similar the cultures they live in between are to each other. The most-chosen answer was 3, which divides perfectly in half the scale; 68 respondents chose that, resulting in 39.8%. The second one was 2, picked by 54 participants, with an outcome of 31.6%. Next, number 1 (which represented "not at all") was selected by 26 respondents, achieving a percentage of 15.2%. Number 4 was chosen by 22 respondents, resulting in 12.9%. The least selected was 5 (which represented "almost identical") with 1 selection, that is, 0.6%.

11. Have you ever experienced difficulties in communicating with the people in your household?

171 risposte

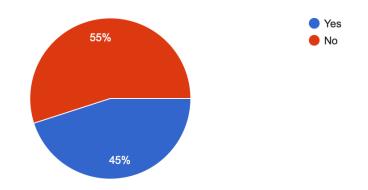


Figure 11: Answers to question 11

In the eleventh question (Figure 11) I asked the participants to express if they ever had difficulties in communicating with the people in their households. It was a yes/no possibility of choice, where 45% selected "yes" and 55% of the respondents selected "no".

12. If you answered yes to the previous question, has it ever happened because of the dissonance between the culture of your family and the culture of your host country? 85 risposte

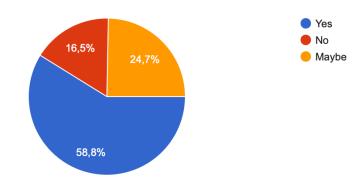
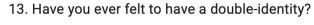


Figure 12: Answers to question 12

In the twelfth question (Figure 12) the respondents had to answer only if they answered yes to the question 11 (Figure 11). The question 12 (Figure 12) relates to the possibility

of the phenomenon happening because of the dissonance between the culture of the respondent's family and the culture of the host country. Looking at the table (Figure 12), it is clear that 58.8% of the respondents answered "yes" to the question, while 24.7% chose indecisiveness and selected "maybe". The least chosen one was the answer "no", with a percentage of 16.5.



171 risposte

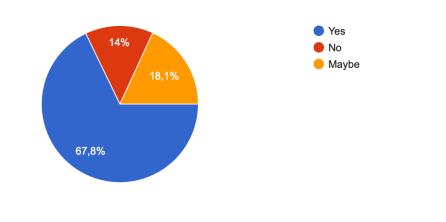


Figure 13: Answers to question 13

The thirteenth question (Figure 13) questions about the possible feeling of the respondents to have felt they have a double-identity. With the same pattern as question 5 (Figure 5), question 8 (Figure 8) and question 12 (Figure 12), the respondents had the possibility to choose between yes, maybe and no. The majority of them selected "yes", with a percentage of 67.8%, followed by "maybe" with 18.1% and finally with "no" chosen by 14% of respondents.

14. Would you say that you can live between two different cultures without having any difficulties in the approaches with each one of them?

171 risposte

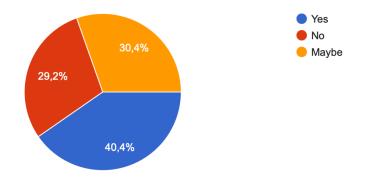


Figure 14: Answers to question 14

The fourteenth question (Figure 14) explores the candidates' perception about living between two different cultures without having any difficulty in the approaches with each one of them. The possible answers were: yes, no and maybe. The majority answered with "yes", as it presents 40.4% of the answers. It is followed by "maybe", with 30.4% of answers and lastly there is the "no" with 29.2% of choices.

15. Justify your previous answer.171 risposte

Figure 15: Question 15

The fifteenth question (Figure 15) asks the respondents to justify the previous question. The answers to this question were varied and diverse. The respondents gave different points of view and talked about their personal difficulties and obstacles they found throughout their life. One candidate expressed his/her difficulty in living between two cultures, saying: "At the beginning it was hard to understand the division between my two cultures, now I'm learning and understanding better both of them so I can actually separate them". Another one affirmed: "I was born in Italy, so I'm used to live between two different cultures. It's natural for me. The only problem is that I don't feel 100%

Albanian or 100% Italian, I feel in between, and this causes me identity crisis". One respondent also showed the difficulties in approaches with others, saying: "Even slight differences make it difficult to explain yourself or to make the others around you understand your traditions and your double identity", supported also by another one who affirms that "People sometimes don't get your point of view easily." As someone says, "It is not easy to be born in a different country from the one where my parents were, as the social and cultural differences and the way of thinking are very marked. The way of life also changes. Growing up in a well-developed country affects your life and you find yourself in a very different reality." Additionally, a respondent added: "I have difficulties feeling part of either cultures: sometimes you're called as a part of one in one country and the same way round. I never feel completely part of either". A really well-expressed phrase was also used by a respondent, as he/she says: "I think it's about balance, I've always tried to embrace both cultures by picking the aspects that were most compatible with me as a person and with my morals. So, at the end of the day, I feel like my national identity is a combination of multiple aspects of the cultures I grew up in, not mentioning one of them would be like hiding a whole side of me. Also, I believe that us bilingual and bicultural kids live in a dimension of our own, that neither our parents nor our people (from both countries) can truly comprehend, so it translates into a sense of solidarity among those who've lived our same life".

Another interesting point of view is the one expressed by a respondent who states that "I think that you definitely can live between two cultures without that many difficulties if you have enough contact with both of them. By that I mean that sometimes you end up living with one culture and not taking part in the other one enough. In my situation personally, living in Italy I'm fully immersed in the Italian culture and know everything about it, but I haven't had the chance to get to know English culture the same way. I know lots of things about it, but I don't know and haven't lived everything. So, I think this depends on person to person and situation to situation."

16. Thank you for completing the questionnaire. If you have any comment or want to share some experience related to the topic, please feel free to share it here: 31 risposte

Figure 16: Question 16

In the sixteenth and last question, the respondents could add any comment or share some experience related to the topic. In this question the respondents shared some personal observations on their own experience. As one stated, "Being bilingual and bicultural is a treasure I'll forever be grateful for!". Moreover, another affirmed that "Despite the difficulties I think that growing up being part of two cultures is a privilege and I'm thankful that my parents shared their language and their culture with me, even though I feel more part of the culture where I grew up and not my parents'. I feel like an important phase of my growth is represented by the moment when I accepted this division seeing it rather as an union". A few respondents also declared how this topic and these problems are not discussed enough, and people should talk more about the double-face, positive and negative, of bilingualism and biculturalism; they found the topic interesting and useful to other second-generation migrants, who might feel and experience the same issues, but they are not able to share those feelings with people who did not share a similar experience.

3.3 Interviews

The interview methodology allowed me to have a direct contact and establish a conversation with a few second-generation migrants who offered to tell their story and their point of view on the topic of bilingualism and biculturalism. The interviewees are five second generation migrants from four different countries: one Brazilian, one Macedonian, one Croatian and two Albanians. The Brazilian was born in Brazil to Brazilian parents and moved to Italy when she was 2 years old; she is now 25 years old. The Macedonian was born in Italy to Macedonian parents and grew up in Italy; she is now 22 years old. The Croatian was born in Italy to Croatian parents and grew up in Italy; she is now 17 years old. The first Albanian was born in Albania to Albanian parents and

moved to Italy when he was 3 years old; he is now 29. The second Albanian was born in Italy to Albanian parents and grew up in Italy; she is now 26.

3.3.1 Responses

As the first question of the interview was "Why do you think your parents chose to raise you bilingual?", the answers were fairly similar to each other. The Brazilian affirmed that "My mum didn't want me to lose my Brazilian heritage, she wanted me to be Brazilian. And speak Portuguese and losing the language for her would have been losing that part of my identity. For her was important not only to speak Portuguese but also speaking it correctly. She would always correct me so that I properly know how to speak it". The Macedonian, on the other hand, stated that "When I was little my mum always made me and my sister speak in Italian, meanwhile my dad would push us to try and speak Macedonian. The three summer months we always went to Macedonia, so we kept the language and we used it to speak with our relatives." The Croatian explained that "it was never a choice. It was necessary, for me to communicate with my mum (who learned Italian when I was in school already) and with my relatives who don't speak a word of Italian language". Both of the Albanians interviewees stated the same, that is, it happened for necessity and as a consequence of being born in that specific culture with that specific language.

The second question for the interviewees was: "Have you ever experienced difficulties in language learning because of bilingualism?". The Brazilian claimed that "I did have some difficulties, with Spanish. As I am an Italian and Portuguese bilingual I struggled so much with Spanish because I would be confused. It took me years to finally be able to differentiate between Portuguese and Spanish, and teachers would not understand me, and that made me hate Spanish and made me not want to learn it anymore". Similarly, the Macedonian affirmed that "In general no, but often it happened to have difficulties in understanding similar words in both languages that meant completely different things". On the other hand, the Croatian explained that "Bilingualism never caused me any type of problem in the learning process, by contrast it helped me to memorize words and grammar rules. I always try to connect words and rules in the languages I speak". Both Albanians confirmed that "In general I didn't have difficulties, however it happened that I confused words in the languages I know".

The third question required the interviewees to say if they feel more comfortable speaking one language rather than the other one. The Brazilian stated that "The language I'm more comfortable with is English, but definitely between Italian and Portuguese I would say Italian because I was raised in Italy and spoke it at school, so I'm more confident in Italian while Portuguese there are words I don't remember or I don't know how to write them down so I'm more comfortable in Italian". The Macedonian confirmed saying that "Yes, I feel more comfortable speaking in Italian than Macedonian because I grew up in Italy, I learned it at school and have all the friends who speak Italian, While I always learned Macedonian only by talking to my parents and listening to my relatives talk. In Italian I can also express myself better; it has also helped the fact that I have not returned to Macedonia for 10 years, so the use of my Macedonian has been decreasing". The Croatian, in the same way, affirmed that "I express myself in a more confident and elaborated way in Italian rather than in Croatian, and I think that is because I speak much more Italian during the day and especially in school." The Albanian noticed that "Honestly I feel more comfortable speaking in Italian because I studied it in school, meanwhile in my parents' language I have difficulties because I don't really know the grammar rules, I just speak it how my parents do, often using dialectal words rather than the right ones". The other Albanian said the same, that is, she felt more confident speaking Italian rather than the Albanian language, which she spoke only at home.

The fourth question asked: "Would you say that being bicultural has enriched your life? If yes, under which aspects?". When asked this question the Brazilian answered "I think it enriched my life because I'm able to have different perspectives on the world based on how people behave in Italy and in Brazil but I would not be able to understand them if I did not know the languages, because when you study a language you also study the culture behind that language". Following, the Macedonian added that "In my opinion, being bicultural has brought me something important that who is not bicultural cannot understand. I have always been aware that the two worlds are very different; this has opened my mind towards diversity, it shifted my point of view and it has made it almost

impossible for me to be racist. I realize that Earth population is various and what is different is not bad, it is just different, and that does not make it better or worse".

The Croatian added that "Yes, I think biculturalism is useful to create an open-minded person. Knowing two different cultures allows you to get closer to both cultures and understand the differences, without the influence of prejudices". The Albanian nodded, saying "Yes, it has enriched me in so many ways. Biculturalism has given me a vision of life divided in two parts. It can be used as an advantage and also as personal experience. Knowing two cultures is surely more formative than meeting with just one, and it can help to express two completely different points of view. Life experiences are amplified behaviorally and cognitively by both cultures, on positive and negative points. Knowledge is never wrong".

The fifth question was: "Did you ever notice any difference in methods and approaches in academic field between you and a non-bilingual/non-bicultural?". The Brazilian asserted that "Yes, when I studied Portuguese at university, I noticed that my colleagues would try to remember the grammatical rule behind phrases, while I would just say the phrase it in my mind and see which words sounded better in my head, and because I'm also native in Portuguese I just know where a word fits and where it doesn't". The Macedonian stated that "I noticed that the approaches in studying and learning a new language, that for example can be English, are different. I had an easier journey doing that, meanwhile I have witnessed Italian girls that did not make it, despite how hard they tried to learn it. I do not know if this can be associated with bilingualism, maybe it helped my brain to be more trained because of my previous knowledge of two languages". The Croatian affirmed that "I never focused on this theme, maybe because I did never notice significant differences in academic field. Besides, I believe that open-mindness and grammar/syntax training that us bilinguals have is bigger than the one non-bilinguals have, with obvious exceptions". The Albanian admitted that "having a bicultural background has helped me to understand better connections between cultures, grammar rules and also philosophical perspectives". The second Albanian argued "Biculturalism and bilingualism have helped me a lot when it came to study languages, like English, Spanish and French".

The sixth question was: "Have you ever experienced an identity crisis due to being raised with two different cultures?". Firstly, the Brazilian asserted that "I have experienced many identity crises because I don't see myself as totally Italian and neither as totally Brazilian. When I'm in Italy I'm still Brazilian, when I'm in Brazil I'm Italian, when I'm abroad I'm kind of both, but because I grew up in Italy I see myself more as Italian. Yet, at the same time I'm Brazilian, so I'm both and nothing at the same time, and growing up I had very impactful identity crisis. I could say I'm a citizen of the world because I don't feel that I have a specific nation and belong to specific identity and country". The Macedonian affirmed that "Definitely I had identity crisis, especially during childhood and adolescence. When I was asked "Where are you from?" I would not know how to answer, I did not understand if they meant the home country of my parents or where I grew up. I didn't feel Macedonian but neither Italian. Despite growing up in Italy, I did not have Italian traditions or the same manners. The problem was that the same happened in Macedonia: I did not feel Macedonian when I travelled there with my family, because I noticed differences there too, in lifestyle and especially mentality". The Croatian stated "I have, because I did not really understand which culture I belonged to, but I think this is good because us biculturals in fact don't belong to just one culture; we are a mix of all the cultures we live within". The Albanian said that "I had identity crisis when I was a teenager, but growing up I understood how to embrace both cultures and how to distinguish which characteristics of both I would like to have as my everyday lifestyle". The other Albanian argued that "Yes. I did have identity crisis, especially in adolescence. I did not know which lifestyle and which pattern of living I had to follow. It was difficult to separate the lifestyle of my friends from the one of my family and the tradition".

The seventh question asked: "Would you say you felt integrated in the society you grew up in? Why or why not?". The Brazilian answered: "I think I do feel integrated because I was raised in Italy. I don't have an accent in Italian, I don't even look Brazilian, my skin is white and I do not look like I'm not Italian, but I'm sure that if I looked differently, if I had an accent I would have not fitted in, especially because I have seen the experiences of some friends of mine. It can be clearly seen that they are not Italians and they had a completely different experience compared to mine. Unfortunately, the town where I'm from is very small, closed and racist. I was lucky enough to look like the rest of the Italians, otherwise I think my childhood would have been ten times worse." The Macedonian affirmed that "I felt integrated, but not completely. I have always felt a weird feeling of diversity towards my Italian friends, despite the sense of integration I had. Probably it happened because aesthetically I look perfectly Italian, I am white and blonde, so people could assume but they did not have proof unless they asked me directly. I have not an accent, and people have always treated me as Italian, until they found out I am Macedonian; lots of them look surprised. Not necessarily their behaviour changed, but it occasionally happened". The Croatian observed: "I think I can feel integrated because of school and because of the fact that neither me or my family have chosen to isolate ourselves in being just around Croatians; our friends groups consists of a lot of Italians. I would say that this has had a strong influence on my feelings of integration". The Albanian stated that "I felt integrated because of my own efforts. No one has taught me how to be more Italian, I just learned by imitation from my friends or classmates, because when I was at home with my family everything was very different. Discrimination episodes have happened, rarely, but they happened. Nevertheless, I strongly believe that I can consider myself integrated". The other Albanian affirmed that "I never experienced bad episodes or felt discriminated, maybe because I look like a normal Italian girl and not a foreigner, so everyone just assumes that I'm Italian and treats me the same. Regardless of this, once someone knows that I'm Albanian, it is not so rare to see a little shift in the way they speak, their behaviour towards me or my family".

3.4 Discussion

Of the participants involved in the survey, 94.2% declared that they feel bilingual, while 89.5% reported feeling bicultural. To justify the dissonance between those two results, Grosjean (2013) explains how bilingualism and biculturalism are not a direct consequence of each other, and it is not rare to find bilinguals who are not bicultural. The process of becoming bilingual implies a journey of study concerning the acquisition of a foreign language, while the process of becoming bicultural can require the intertwined process of studying the language while understanding the concept of a new culture. Many migrants end up being both bilingual and bicultural, since they might find themselves forced to dive deeply in a new country, with a different language and a new culture.

As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) affirm, the dissonance between the countries where migrant parents and their children are born can cause difficulties (for second generation migrants) in answering questions of ethnic origin: this is confirmed by the results of question 5 of the questionnaire (Figure 5), where the majority (59.1%) reported that they experienced difficulties in answering the question "where are you from?". Moreover, question 6 (Figure 6) shows how the most widely faced problems by biculturals are bilingual difficulties and identity issues, which have been addressed by the studies of Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005), and those of Arnett (2002), who addresses identity issues as one of the main consequences of the encounter between cultures.

Question 15 (Figure 15) regards this specific point too, as the respondents explain how they sometimes feel a double-identity due to living within two separate cultures. In the same way, the answers to the sixth question of the interviews ("Have you ever experienced an identity crisis due to being raised with two different cultures?") confirm that identity crisis is quite common in biculturals, especially during adolescence. Yet, as many of the interviewees stated during the interview, biculturalism still may still represents a very important source of knowledge and experience for migrants.

In agreement with Bennet (1991), who suggests that spending life in a bilingual and bicultural environment is more beneficial than a monolingual one, it can be associated question four of the interviews ("Would you say that being bicultural has enriched your life? If yes, under which aspects?"), in which all of the interviewees acknowledge the importance of biculturalism in their life, explaining how it helped them to be more open-minded and to have wider perspectives about life.

The interviewees asserted that the choice of raising children bilingual was caused by the need for communication between them and their family; the choice of the parents was driven by a simple communicational instinct. As cited in chapter one, Bhatia (2004) affirms that growing up bilingual may happen through two types of processes: *simultaneous* or *successive*. In such case, all of the interviewees went through the *simultaneous* process, learning both of the languages in the same period of time. Further

to this, according to Cummins (2001), bilinguals who continue using both of their languages throughout their lives and keep on expanding them can benefit from it; despite this, one interviewee has pointed out how using both languages may sometimes cause confusion between the languages. Yet this may just happen as a marginalized event, since the others interviewees affirmed that the benefits surpass the occasional lapsus. Another key concept that emerges from the interviews is the importance of biculturalism and how it improves and enriches the lives of those who live it. As Rumbaut (1994) affirms, young people tend to compare themselves with others, based on similarities and dissimilarities; when belonging to the group of second generation migrants, ethnic-self-awareness plays a central role in the perception of the surrounding world and in the feeling of selfrealization. The interviewees reported how the possibility to compare themselves with a wider number of people due to their dual cultural belonging has led them to appreciate the characteristics of both cultures and has helped them to be more open-minded. The chance to understand the different and accept it rather than ignore it is heightened by the amount of knowledge a bicultural life can bring. As affirmed in the last question of the questionnaire (question 16), this topic should be talked about more and there should be more widespread information about the advantages and disadvantages of the phenomenon.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to give the reader the possibility to have a deeper knowledge of the phenomenon of bilingualism and biculturalism, in order to understand the subsequent presentation of second generation migrants. The first chapter helped to understand the concepts of bilingualism and biculturalism, outline the differences in language learning processes and give examples by conducted studies. The second chapter had a specific focus on biculturalism and identity, as they are intertwined phenomenon, with a specific attention to the processes of integration of migrants. I gave an introduction to the study and described its aims and methods of collecting the data and the consequent analysis of them. The third chapter was useful to report all the results of the research and to discuss the conclusions drawn by the answers of the participants to the questionnaire and the interviews, related to the previously mentioned affirmations in chapter one.

One of the most important pieces of information extrapolated from the survey was the common feeling of loss and insecurity that characterizes second generation migrants when it comes to culture shifting and to language difficulties, especially in the are of grammar/syntax. It is not rare for them to experience similar events, even presenting completely different backgrounds. It also turned out that many second generation migrants claim that the topics I faced should be addressed more, especially to give the possibility to those migrants to feel understood and not alone in the difficult journey that growing up in such context could bring. Second generation migrants often face challenges in balancing their parents' expectations with the expectations of the society they grew up in, which may cause difficulties and confusion in behavior, along with a lack of feeling of belonging to any culture. The experiences of discrimination are another issue that second generation migrants might face when encountering people with different culture; as the Albanian interviewee affirmed, unfortunately, discrimination episodes have happened. These forms of marginalization may also lead to feelings of alienation and selfisolation. Moreover, the lack or the reduced presence of support systems for migrants may influence in their isolation and hinder the phenomenon of bicultural identity integration.

The main limitation to the study was the number of respondents: 171 people answered the questionnaire and I had the opportunity to interview just 5 individuals. If the number had been higher, I am sure that the research could have been extended to other topics related to the ones I analyzed, such as a deeper analysis of bicultural conflicts, the theme of code-switching in language or the educational policies regarding bilinguals; when analyzing bicultural identity crisis, with more people to interview I could have made a deeper comparison between their personal experiences in feelings of confusion or breakdowns. There could have been a longer and more detailed discussion about the results, since the respondents would have been a higher number and could have told their personal experiences and point of views.

Nevertheless, I would argue that the findings confirmed the previously-explored studies, such as the benefits of bilingualism described by Bennet (1991), along with the problem, presented by Rumbaut (1994), that young biculturals might face while growing up between two realities. My study also focuses on how the perception between different second generation differs because of the different personal backgrounds, but it shows how there still are common patterns and characteristics that may present themselves regardless of personal background. What can be noticed is the self-perception of biculturalism as an enriching experience; all the interviewees described it as broadening their horizons, despite positive or negative experiences. The results would appear to support the importance and the enhancement that comes from being born in a migrant environment, where both benefits and challenges shape a person's character.

Appendix

Bilingualism and biculturalism: second generation migrants
 Hello. My name is Anna and I am writing my thesis on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, with a specific attention to second generation migrants. If you are a second generation migrant, I would really appreciate if you could use a few minutes of your time to answer this questionnaire and help me with my research. If you do not identify with such definition, this questionnaire is not for you. It is anonymous and it contains both closed-ended and open-ended questions. By completing the questionnaire, you agree that your responses will be used for study purposes. Any personal information that is entered in this form will be treated as confidential and will remain completely anonymous. The information you give may be quoted anonymously in my thesis. For any question, please contact me at this email: anna.mjeshtri@studenti.unipd.it
1. How old are you? *
0 13-19
<u> </u>
○ over 30
2. Where are your parents from and where did you grow up? *
Testo risposta breve
3. Would you describe yourself as bilingual? *
⊖ Yes
○ No
4. Would you describe yourself as bicultural? *
⊖ Yes
○ No

5. Have you ever had difficulties in answering to the question "where are you * from?"
⊖ Yes
○ No
O Maybe
6. Have you ever faced problems such as bilingual difficulties, identity issues, self- conflict, language struggling, culture confusion? If so, choose the ones you faced.
Bilingual difficulties
Identity issues
Self-conflict
Language struggling
Culture confusion
7. Did you learn the languages you know at the same time? If so, did you ever * experience difficulties?
Testo risposta breve
8. Would you say bilingualism has brought benefits to your life? *
⊖ Yes
○ No
O Maybe
9. In which fields? (Choose all that apply) *
Academic
Work
Social life

10. On a scale from 1 to 5 (with one being not at all and 5 being almost identical), * how similar are the cultures you live in between to each other?								
	1	2	3	4	5			
Not at all	0	0	0	0	0	Almost identical		
11. Have you ever experienced difficulties in communicating with the people in your * household?								
⊖ Yes								
🔿 No								
						ned because of the our host country?		
⊖ Yes								
🔿 No								
Maybe								
13. Have you eve	er felt to ha	ave a dout	ole-identity	? *				
⊖ Yes								
🔿 No								
O Maybe								
14. Would you say that you can live between two different cultures without having * any difficulties in the approaches with each one of them?								
⊖ Yes								
🔿 No								
Maybe								

15. Justify your previous answer. *

Testo risposta lunga

16. Thank you for completing the questionnaire. If you have any comment or want to share some experience related to the topic, please feel free to share it here:

Testo risposta lunga

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Summary in Italian

La tesi esplora i fenomeni di bilinguismo e biculturalismo, concentrandosi sulla situazione tra i migranti di seconda generazione. Le definizioni di bilinguismo e biculturalismo vengono analizzate da diversi punti di vista, in quanto diverse teorie vengono espresse a riguardo. Una particolare attenzione si riserva alla costruzione dell'identità, alla competenza linguistica e alle problematiche legate a questi due campi. I flussi migratori hanno trasformato la società odierna, creando così una nuova generazione di individui che si ritrovano ad affrontare il percorso della crescita fra due mondi: quello della lingua e della cultura della loro famiglia d'origine e quella del paese ospitante. L'obiettivo principale della mia ricerca è analizzare come i giovani migranti, attraverso due culture e due lingue, vivono la loro quotidianità. Un punto focale della tesi è l'influenza del biculturalismo e del bilinguismo sullo sviluppo personale e sociale degli individui. Nel corso dell'elaborato, i vantaggi e gli svantaggi dei singoli fenomeni vengono esplorati in modo preciso e meticoloso.

Come spiega Grosjean (2013), il biculturalismo causa negli individui una trasformazione dei caratteri comportamentali in base alla cultura con cui si interagisce; oltre a ciò, i processi di apprendimento delle due possibili lingue-madre sono un fenomeno analizzato attraverso gli studi e le ricerche di vari personaggi di spicco, quali studiosi e ricercatori nel campo definito.

I pro e i contro del bilinguismo vengono inoltre esaminati, con una specifica analisi dell'influenza ricevuta da supporto familiare, politiche educative, dinamiche del paese ospitante e situazione economica e sociale degli individui; vengono forniti esempi concreti di soggetti appartenenti a comunità di migranti di prima e seconda generazione.

L'identità etnica è un altro punto importante della tesi: viene introdotta la definizione di tale, seguita dalla spiegazione delle conseguenze, positive e negative, di un'esperienza di vita caratterizzata dall'identità etnica. Per quanto possa essere una risorsa preziosa per la costruzione di una forte personalità individuale, la costruzione e il mantenimento equilibrato di un'identità etnica comporta dei processi mentali ed emotivi non indifferenti.

Questa tesi si pone un obiettivo duplice: in primo luogo, analizzare l'apprendimento delle lingue e il mantenimento di esse da parte dei migranti di seconda generazione; in secondo luogo, esplorare come avviene la costruzione della loro identità, analizzare i lati positivi e negativi della "doppia-identità" biculturale.

La ricerca è effettuata con un approccio misto, utilizzando sia metodi quantitativi che qualitativi. Ho effettuato la somministrazione di un questionario a un campione di migranti di seconda generazione, tra cui sono stati scelti alcuni partecipanti per condurre interviste di approfondimento per la raccolta di dati qualitativi. Questo approccio mi ha permesso di ottenere una visione più ampia e più dettagliata del fenomeno e delle esperienze degli intervistati.

I risultati ottenuti approfondiscono i processi di mantenimento della lingua d'origine da parte dei migranti, che spesso si presenta come una sfida, soprattutto se il mantenimento avviene senza il supporto di programmi educativi bilingue, scolastici o extrascolastici. Tuttavia, coloro che eccellono nel processo, dimostrano una spiccata competenza cognitiva, una maggiore propensità alla risoluzione dei problemi e un'ottima integrazione sociale Inoltre, il biculturalismo appare come un processo dinamico; viene caratterizzato in particolare dall'esperienza personale degli individui.

La tesi conclude con il riferimento a bilinguismo e il biculturalismo come un'importante risorsa e fonte di conoscenza ed esperienza per i migranti di seconda generazione. Sostenendo i fenomeni precedentemente citati come intermediari tra l'individuo e un positivo successo accademico, professionale e personale, il bilinguismo e il biculturalismo rappresentano anche l'importanza e la valorizzazione verso la diversità linguistica e culturale, promuovendo l'inclusività.